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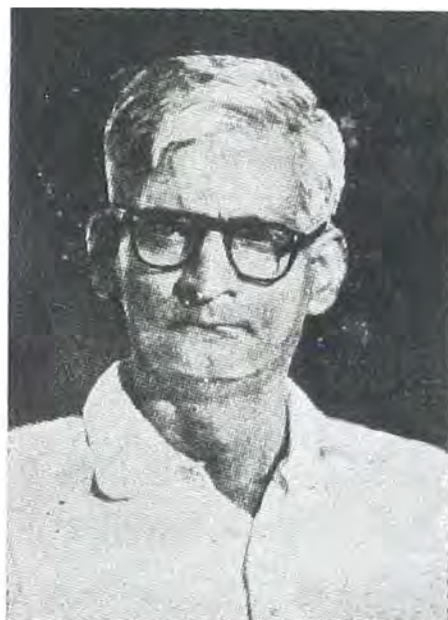
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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF LATE K. N. MAHAPATRA,

THE EMINENT ARCHAEOLOGIST, LITERATEUR AND HISTORIAN.

SECTION --I

Papers on Sanskrit Poets, Scholars and Literary Works

Two Little Known Sanskrit Poets of Orissa

(1) Kavibhūṣaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya

Due to lack of systematic survey and study of the Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts written in Oriya characters, the works of Sanskrit poets and scholars of Orissa are not yet well-known to the learned world. Now after the establishment of the Research Section by the Government of Orissa regular survey and collection of the unpublished palm-leaf manuscripts are being carried on. The study of the palm-leaf manuscripts already collected in the Orissa State Museum and the research work therefor are gradually bringing to light from the oblivion of the past many facts relating to a large number of forgotten Sanskrit poets and scholars of Orissa. The object of this paper is to give a short life-history of two such eminent Sanskrit poets named Kavibhūṣaṇa Govinda Sāmanantarāya and his grandson Kavichandra Kamalalochana Khaḍgarāya who flourished in Orissa in the 18th century.

Sir William Hunter was the first historian to give a list of poets and scholars of Orissa who wrote in Sanskrit and Oriya while writing on the Literature of Orissa[1]. In this Chapter he wrote as follows about one Gobinda Santra. "XLIV, Govinda Santra, lived 300 years ago; a Brahman, auther of (a) Sūri Sarbaswa,(b Bira Sarbaswa, both in Sanskrit, two treatises of laws and morals, etc." M. M. Chakravarti while writing on the Sanskrit and Oriya literature of Orissa on the basis of the list given by Hunter mainly discussed about the *Pauranic & Smritic* works compiled by the Orissan scholars[2] but said nothing about the Sanskrit poets of Orissa. H. P. Shastri in the Notices of Sanskrit manuscripts gave a brief note on the unpublished Oriya manuscript of a Sanskrit drama entitled Samṛddha Mādhava Nāṭaka composed by one Govinda Kavibhūṣaṇa Sāmantarāya[3]. His brief note runs as follows "Samṛddha Mādhava Nāṭaka by Govinda Kavibhūṣaṇa Sāmantarāya of the Bharadvāja

Gotra is an immitation of the Gitagovinda". He made some quotations from this work on page 240 of the same volume without any comment on the poet.

He again left a brief note on this manuscript of the unpublished Sanskrit drama in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal[4] without saying anything about its author Kavibhushan Govind. From the text of the drama quoted by the learned scholar it appears that this drama in seven Acts, depicting the spiritual love between Sri Krisna and Sri Rādhā was staged in Nilachala or Puri before an assembly of learned Pandits in the temple of Lord Jagannath. This information merely establishes the connection of the poet with the sacred place Puri but furnishes no clue for fixing the date of the poet or ascertaining his genealogy. Of the two works of Govind Kavibhushan referred to by Hunter in 1872, the first part of Suri Sarvasva was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1912 under the editorship of Mahamahopadhyaya Jagannath Mishra of Puri. But the editor only printed the text. In the first chapter of the text the poet has given a description of his forefathers after Mangalacharan in the following *Slokas* :[5]

"आसीत् श्री विश्वनाथः प्रवरतरभरद्वाजवंशावतंसः
पुत्रान्तेवासिपौत्रानुजहृदयमहासंशयध्वान्तहंसः ।
देवानां मन्त्रयन्त्राञ्च नविधिकुशलः कान्तिमन् शान्तमूर्त्तिः
श्रीमान् सामन्तरायेत्यधिपदपदवीमास्थितः ख्यातकीर्त्तिः ॥३
तदात्मजन्मा किल रामशर्मा प्रीत्यैं हरेस्त्यक्तसमस्त कर्मा ।
गृहाश्रमस्थोऽपि महाविरक्तः सतां मतः संसदि कृष्णभक्तः ॥४
तत् पुत्रोऽखिलगद्यपद्यरचनाचातुर्य्य चिन्तामणिः
शान्तात्मागमशास्त्रतत्त्वविदुषां संसन् सदामग्रणीः ।
भूभृत्भूसुरसज्जनेष्टसुहृदां प्रेमप्रमोदास्पदं
गोविन्दः कविभूषणो विजयते सामन्तरायोत्तरः ॥५

In the family of the famous Bharadvāja Risi there was born a great scholar named Sri Visvanātha Sāmantarāya who was also a reputed teacher. He had a son named Rāma Sarmā who was a devout

worshipper of Krishna and was living like a saint though leading family life. His son, Kavibhushana Govinda Sāmantarāya was a great scholar and poet and an author of many works in prose and poetry. He was highly respected in the learned society and received honours in royal courts. This description no doubt gives us some idea about the father and grand-father of the poet and also about his own poetic attainments. But this is incomplete as it does not furnish us with any information about the time and birth place of the poet.

Last year while critically examining the palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the Manuscript Section of the Orissa State Museum, I came across the unpublished second part of the Suri Sarvasva the first part of which was published in 1912. Fortunately for us in the last chapter of the text, the author has given a short but illuminating history of his renowed family in which was born a host of scholars and poets. It also gives the exact date of composition of the work. As it is not necessary to reproduce the entire chapter, the purport of it and also important *slokas* having historical significance are given below. The history as given by the poet runs as follows.[6]

In the days of yore there was born in the Bharadvāja Kula a Brahmin named Durgādāsa who became well-known throughout Utkaladeśa for his learning and scholarship. He performed many sacrifices and founded a Brahmin Śāsana named Durgādāsapur where he settled with family and relatives. His son Visvanatha was a devout worshipper of Visvanatha (Lord Siva) and got the title of Kavichandra from some king for his Poetic gifts and was highly honoured in the learned society. During his life time there came about a great political change in this country (Orissa) which came under the sway of Moghul Raja Manasinha. The relevant portion of the text referring to Raja Manasinha is quoted below:

'काले प्रविष्टं नृपमानसिंहम् पाश्चात्यभूपैः सह वर्तमानम् ।
अतोषयन् काव्यरसोपहारैः हरेरिवात्युज्ज्वलरत्नसारैः ।
नीत्वा सहामुं स नृपस्वदेश सम्मेलयामास च पत्तिपाह ।
प्राज्ञैः कवीन्द्रैः परिचायितोऽसौ काल कियन्तंच निनाय तत्र ।१०

ततो धनैः भूमिविभूषणाद्यैः ससत्कृतो हास्तिनपत्तिपाह
स्वदेशमागात् प्रथितप्रतिष्ठस्तिष्ठन्ति यत्र स्वजनास्म सर्वे ॥११

From this quotation it appears that the poet Visvanatha Sâmantarâya pleased Raja Manasinha who came to Orissa with other chieftains of the west (पाश्चात्य भूपैः सह) by his poetic attainments of a high order. While returning from Orissa Raja Manasinha took the poet with him and introduced him to पत्तिपाह Padshah, who is described in the next śloka as हास्तिन पत्तिपाह Padshah of Hastinapur or Delhi. This पत्तिपाह could be no other than Akbar the great, who was a patron of Hindu poets and scholars. He spent a short time in the court of Akbar where he became acquainted with many renowned poets and scholars of the time. In appreciation of his poetic attainments he got valuable rewards such as money, land and ornaments from the Padshah. After having earned name and fame in the Moghul court, the famous and enriched Kavichandra returned to his home land where his kith and kin had been living.

Raja Manasinha came to Puri in 1593 A. D. to finally settle the claim of Raja Râmachandra Deva to the throne of Orissa[7]. It may be presumed that Kavichandra Viśvanâtha got the opportunity of earning the sympathy and good-will of Raja Manasinha while he was at Puri for some time with Gajapati Râmachandra Deva. So he must have been sent to the court of Akbar after 1593 A.D. We learn that Manasinha returned to Delhi in 1594 and presented two nobles of Orissa in the Moghul court[8] on 23rd February, 1594. So Viśvanâtha might have reached Delhi in 1594 A. D. It may be mentioned in this connection that there was a famous Hindu Pandit named Viśvanâtha in the court of Akbar. He finds mention in the *Ain-i-Akbari* written by Abul Fazl in 1597 A.D. Professor D. C. Bhattacharya whille indentifying most of this Hindu Pandits of the court of Akbar remarks about this Pandit Viśvanâtha saying that it is difficult to indentify"[9]. But in view of the facts stated above, the famous Pandit Visvanatha mentioned by Abul Fazl may be identified with the renowned poet Kavichandra Visvanatha

Sāmantarāya from Orissa, who had the good fortune of being honoured and patronised in the court of Akbar, through the kindness of Raja Manasinha, the first Governor of Orissa.

Then the narrative runs as follows "Kavichandra Visvanatha settled in the last part of his life in the Brahmin village Pratapa-Ramachandrapur with his second wife and with her two sons after giving his paternal property to the issues of his first wife. When he baeathed his last by the performance of Yoga, his wife mounted into the funeral pyre and became a Sati. Their two orphan sons Mahadeva and Mahesvara after living very miserably for some days, were lucky enough to get the protection of the minister Dāsa Vidyādhara", e.g. :

कालेऽथ तस्मिन्नृपतेरमात्यः श्रीदासविद्याधरनामकोऽभूत्
तौ बालकौ कालवशादुपेत्य विज्ञाप्य गोत्रं श्रयतः स्म चामुं ॥१८

We get mention of a minister named Dāsa Vidyādhara in the Mādalāpānji, the chronicle of the Jagannath temple of Puri. The relevant lines are quoted below :

"राजाङ्क पात्र दास विद्याधरङ्क राजाङ्कु समर्पि देले। ए मानसिङ घे लेउटि गले। ए दासविद्याधरपुर शासन कले।"10

Manasinha before his return made Dāsa Vidyādhara minister of the king (Ramachandra Deva). He founded a Brahmin Śāsana named Dāsa Vidyādharpur which exists till to day near Sakhigopal. Dāsa Vidyādhar also continued to be the minister of the king Purusottam Deva, the son and successor of Ramachandra Deva I of Khurda. It is written in the same Mādalāpānji that Dāsa Vidyādhara was killed treacherously along with sixteen generals by Raja

Kalyan Mala (son of Raj Todara Mala), who had invaded the kingdom of Raja Purusottam Deva in his 17th Anka year or 13th regnal year. The descrption in the Mādalāpānji runs as follows :

"अ १७ ङ्क राजा कल्याण अइले । दासविद्याधरंकु कपटे गाडिले । घाट चिलिटाङ्गीरे भेट कराइले । भेटरे डेरा भितरे विद्याधरंकु धराइले । षाटह सेनापतिङ्कि मराइ पकाइले ।1:

In the Suri Sarvasva the murder of Dāsa Vidyādhar and the sad plight of his bereaved widowed wife have also been mentioned :

× न राजा कपटैर्निमन्त्रण
तं दासविद्याधर मज्ञशिक्षया ।
तदीय पत्नी भयशोकविह्वला
मुभामुपादाय परिछदः सह ॥[12]

Here the description given in the Mādalāpānji agrees with that given in the Suri Sarvasva. It is known from the History of Orissa[13] that Rājā Kalyān Mal governed Orisssa from 1611 to 1617 A.D. He invaded the kingdom of Purusottom Deva in 1614-15 A. D. in which year Dāsa Vidyādhara might have been murdered. This event gives another axact date in the genealogical history of Kavibhūshana Govinda. Then the family-history runs as follows— "After the death of Dāsa Vidyādhara (1514-15 A. D.) the two sons of Kavichandra Visvanatha named Mahadeva and Mahesvara fled with his widowed wife to the kingdom of Vakradurga or Banki adjoining Khurda. In this new place they lived happily and peacefully, because they could get the patronage of the Raja of Bānki, who was related to this widow. There they were married and settled in that kingdom permanently with their families. In the famaily of Mahesvara there was born a Pandit named Trilochana who had a son named Krisna. Krisna had a son named Padmanabha. The son of Padmanabha was Dasarathi, Dasarathi had a son named Visvanatha. Visvanatha had a son named Ramachandra, who got the title of 'Brihatpandit' for his learning. Ramachandra was blessed with a son named Govinda, who became famous as Kavibhushana for his vast knowledge and literary attainments. Thus the entire genealogy of Kavibhushana Govinda as given by himself may be drawn in the following manner :--

Durāgdāsa
(founded the Brahmin Sasana Durgādāspura)

|

Kavichandra Visvanātha Sāmantarāya
(He was honoured in the court of Akbar through the help of Raja Manasimha between 1594-1597 A.D. *Settled in Pratap Ramachandrapura after his return from Delhi).*

|

Mahādeva | Mahesvara *(both the brothers settled in Banki in 1615* A.D. *)*

|

Trilochana Sāmāntarāya

|

Krisnachandra Sāmantarāya

|

Padmanābha Sāmantarāya

|

Dāsarathi Sāmantarāya

|

Visvanātha Sāmantarāya

|

Rāmachandra Sāmantarāya 'Brihatpandit'

|

Kavibhusana Govinda Sāmantarāya.

In the same chapter, the date of completion of the second part of the Suri Sarvasva is expressed by the following *sloka* :

खशून्य मुनि चन्द्रमः प्रमित शाकसम्वत्सरे
गते व्यरचि मे वुधा........शास्त्रमेतन्मुदा' ॥४॥

The text was finished in the Saka year *Kha* (0) *Sunya* (0), *Muni* (7) and *Chandramā* (1). The figures when calculated from the

right to the left give the Saka year 1700 or 1778 A. D. as the date of composition of the text. Again in the colophon the author says that he completed the writing of this work in the 63rd *Anka* year (or the 50th regnal year) of the Gajapati Virakesari Deva. This Virakesari is identical with Virakisore Deva of the Bohi Dynaasty of Khurda. There is a confict of opinon among scholars about the date of accession of Virakisora Deva. So this much can be said with certainty that Kavibhushana Govinda was a contemporary ofVirakisora Deva. It may be presumed that he obtained this title of Kavibhushana from this Raja of Khurda who had a long reign of nearly sixty years and who was a great patron of learning.

Thus it can now be concluded that Kavibhushana Govinda flourished in the State of Banki under Khurda in the middle of the 18th ceutury when Virakisore Deva was the ruler of Khurda. Like most of the contemporary Orissan poets, he was a staunch follower of the Goudiya school of Vaishnavism. He wrote Samruddha Mādhava Nāṭaka on the model of the Gītagovinda and in imitation of the famous Sanskrit drama Vidagdha Mādhava, written by Rupa Gosvāmi in the middle of the 16th centuri. A great scholar and a poet as he was, he might have written a number of works. But up till now two other of his works, named Suri Sarvasva and Virasarvasva have come to the notice of the scholars. He seems to have a happy and prosperous career and his name and fame as a poet spread throughout the lengh and breadth of Orissa even during his lifetime as the manuscripts of his works are found in all parts of Orissa.

No information about his descendants is obtained from his works. But it is gathered from the works of his grand-son Kavichandra Kamalalochana Khadgarāya that Kavibhushana Govinda had a son named Krisna Chandra Khadgarāya about whom very little is known. But the assumption of the significant title of Khadgarāya by Krisna Chadra, instead of the title of 'Sāmantarāya' borne by his fore fathers since the time of Kavichandra Visvanātha (Circa 1560-1610) for nine generations, clearly indicates that he

had some connection with the court of the Raja of Khurda, who alone could confer such titles in those days on deserivng scholars. It is still to be ascertained whether he was also a Sanskrit scholar like his father and his son. In that age there was a poet named Rāmachandra Khaḍgarāya whose only *Kāvya* named 'Narahari Charitam' has been noticed as yet. In this work, the author, who was a follower of the Goudiya school of Vaishnavism, has beautifully described the 'Līlā' of Sri Krisṇa. The exact relation between Rāmachanra Khaḍgarāya and Krisṇa Chandra Khaḍgarāya cannot be determined now. But in view of the fact that both of them bore the title of 'Khaḍgarāya' and belonged to the school of Goudiya Vaishnavism, they may be presumed to be the members of the same family. In that case Kavi-bhūshaṇa Govinda had two sons named Ramachandra and Krisṇa-chandra, at least one of whom maintained the tradition of this family of scholars and poets by his contribution to the Sanskrit literture in the shape of 'Narahari Charitam'.

[*To be continued*]

References

1. Hunter 's Orissa, Vol. II. Appendix IX, *pp.* 199-210.
2. Language and Literature of Orissa by M. M. Chakravarti, Journal of the A. S Bengal, Vol. LXVI, No. 4, 1897, *pp.* 331-348.
3. Notices of Sanskrit manuscripts, Second Series, 1911, Vol. IV, *p* 240.
4. Kavya Manuscripts, Vol. VII, No. 5368, *p.* 261.
5. Suri Sarvaswam, Part I, Chapter I, *p.* 1.
6. Unpublished manuscripts of the second part of the Suri Sarvaswam, 40th Chapter.
7. Raja Mansingh from some Oriya and Persian records of Orissa by P. Acharya, Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XXII, *pp.* 86-89.
8. History of Bengal, Vol. II, published by the Dacca University, *p* 210.
9. Sanskrit Scholars of Akbar's Time, Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XIII, Part I, *p.* 34.
10. *Madala Panji*, published by the Prachi Samiti,Cuttack, *p.* 55.
11. Madala Panji, *pp.* 65-66.
12. Some letters are missing as this portion of the plam-leaf is worm-eaten.
13. History of Orissa by R. D. Banerjee, Vol. II, *p.* 35.

TWO LITTLE KNOWN SANSKRIT POETS OF ORISSA

(2) Kavichandra Kamalalochan Khaḍgarāya.

Kavichandra Kamalalochan Khaḍgarāya, another famous poet of this age was the grandson of Kavibhūshaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya, whose short biography has been narrated in first part of this article.[1] But some months ago Dr. V. W. Karambelkar, M. A., Ph. D. in his article under the caption "Three more imitations of the Gitagovinda" made an attemt to ascertain the nativity of this famous poet and wrote as follows :—

"The poet Kamalalochana was with a greater probability a Bengali Brāhman brought over to Nagapur by Bhonsle Rājā from Bengle in one of his campaigns in that province. This conjecture may justify the presence of the works of Kamalalochan in Nagapur only and not elsewhere in India. This solitary lamp of Chaitanya Bhakti burning in such a far of place from Bengal leads to such a conjecture. Hence we may tentatively place our poet in the middle of the 18th century, or earlier[2].

But the conjectures of the learned scholar that Kamalalochan was a Bengali Brāhmaṇa brought over to Nagapur by Bhonsle Rājā and that his works are found in Nagapur only and no where else in India are not acceptable. But Dr. Karambelkar deserves thanks of the Orientalists for throwing some light on the two previously unknown imitations of the celebrated Gitagovinda namely 'Saṅgita-Chintāmaṇi' and 'Gitamukunda' composed by the poet Kamalalochan. The manuscripts of these two works belong to the collection of the Bhonsle Rāj family of Nagapur.

The quotations from these two unpublished works of the poet given by Dr. Karambelkar help us a great deal to find out his native place. The last verse of Saṅgita-chintāmaṇi runs as follows :—

यःकृष्ण खड्गरायोऽभूद्गोविन्द कवि भूषणात्
तन्नन्दनः प्रबन्धस्य कर्त्ता कमललोचनः ।

This verse narrates that Kamalalochana was the son of Kṛshṇa Khaḍgarāya and grandson of Govinda Kavibhūshaṇa. In his other work called Gītāmṛta Mahākāvya or Gītamukunda phrases such as "कविभूषण सुत सम्भव भणितं' and 'कविभूषण सुत नन्दन भणितं' 'clearly indicated that he took pride in calling himself to be the grandson of Kavibhūshaṇa, who has been mentioned as Govinda Kavibhūshaṇa in the last verse of Saṅgītachintāmaṇi quoted above. This Govinda Kavibhūshaṇa can be safely indetified with Kavibhūshaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya whose short sketch of life has been described in the first part of this article.

Had the poet Kamalalochana been a bengali Brāhmaṇa, manuscripts of his works would have been surely discovered in Bengal. But not a single manuscript of any of his works has yet been noticed in Bengal to prove him to be a man of Bengal. On the contrary palmleaf manuscripts of two other works of Kamalalochana namely 'Vrajayuva-vilāsa' and 'Bhagavallīlā-chintāmaṇi' written in Oriya characters have been found in some villages in the district of Puri in Orissa. His unpublished Kāvya 'Vrajayuba-vilāsa' has been noticed by Pandit Sri Kulamani Mishra, the Smṛti Professor of the Sadāśiva Sanskrit College, Puri. This work containing seventeen sargas or chapters described the Līlā of Sri Rādhā and Sri Kṛshṇa in a simple, charming and melodious style.[3] Fortunately for us the last verse of his work 'Saṅgītachitāmaṇi,' discovered in the collection of the Bhonsle Rājā of Nagapur, quoted above is also found in a slightly modified form as the last verse of his unpublished work 'Vraja yubavilāsa' noticed by Protessor Misra and is quoted below :

यःकृष्ण खड्गरायोऽभूत् गोविन्द कविभूषणात्
तस्य पुत्रः कृती श्रीमान् कवि कमललोचनः ।

This clearly proves the indentity of the authors of both the works entitled Saṅgitachintāmaṇi and Vrajayubavilāsa.

Palm leaf manuscripts of his fourth work namely 'Bhagavallīlā chintāmaṇi', which is still unpublished were noticed some forty years ago in the town of Puri by the late Mahāmahopādhyāye

Sadāśiva Mishra, a famous Sanskrit Pandit of Orissa.[4] The late Mahā mahopādhāya Haraprasāda Shāstri also found a palm leaf manuscript of this work in the Brāhmaṇa village called Jagannātha Vidyādharpura near Sakshigopala in the district of Puri. This work containing 1500 Sanskrit slokas written in Oriya characters is a commentary of the Srimat Bhāgavata. H. P. Shāstri quoted three verses from the last chapter of the work which give the genealogy of the poet. The verses are quoted below as they have got historical significance.

"आसीत् श्री विश्वनाथः प्रवरतर भरद्वाजवंशावतंसः
शान्तात्मा कृष्णभक्तोऽभवदथ तनुजो यस्ततो रामचन्द्रः ।
तन् पुत्र चित्रकाव्यागमरचनापटुः श्रील गोविन्दनामा
तस्या सौनन्दनो यः सकलगुणकलावन्दितः कृष्णचन्द्रः ।।
तस्यात्मजो कमललोचन नामधेयः
श्रीनीलशैल-निलयः कलयन् अकस्मात् ।
कौतूहल हृदि हरीरितईशलीला-
चिन्तामणि विवृति मारचयाञ्चकार ।।

Colophon—इति श्री भगवल्लीलाचिन्तामणौ श्री भागवतनालीपदव्याख्याने द्वादश स्कन्धार्थ दिग्दर्शनं ।।

These verses tell us that Visvanātha, a gem of the fomous Bharadvāja Kula had a son named Rāmachandra who was of peaceful temperament and a great devotee of Sri Kṛshṇa. Govinda, son of Rāmachandra was famous as the author of many Kāvyas and Āgamas (Tantra). Kṛshṇachanrda son of Govinda, who was a qualified and accomplished person, was the father of Kamalalochana. Kamalalochana while residing at 'Nīlaśaila' or Puri 'श्रीनीलशैलनिलयः' composed a commentary on the famous Bhāgavata Purāna named 'Bhagavallīlāchintāmaṇi' Thus the genealogy of the poet as given by himself in this work may be drawn as follows:—

Viśvanātha (of the Bharadvājapravar)

|

Rāmachandra (a great devotee of Krișṇa)

|

Govinda (a famous scholar and poet)

|

Kṛshṇachandra

|

the poet Kamalalochana

This elborate genealogy given above fully tallies with those given dy the poet himself in three of his works namely 'Sangītachintāmaṇi', 'Gītamukunda' and Vrajayuvaviiāsa.'

Another important point to be noticed here is that the sentence "आसीत्‌श्रीविश्वनाथः प्रावरतरः भरद्वाजवंशावतंसः" found in this work is also found in the first chapter of the work 'Sri Surisarvasvam' composed by Kavibhūshaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya.[6]

All these facts stated above go to prove that Kavichandra Kamalalochana Khaḍgarāya was the grandson of the famous Kavibhūṣaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya, described before, who flourished in the kingdom of Banki in Orissa in the middle of the 18th century. The descendants of this renowned family of poets and scholars are still living in the village of Pathpur under P. S. Banki in the district of Cuttack. As Govinda completed the second part of his Surisarvasvam in Saka era 1700 or 1778 A. D. his grandson Kamalalochana might be living during the last decades of the 18th century.

From the above, it is clear that poet Kamolalochana was an Oriya Brāhmana of Banki in the District of Cuttack and lived for some years during his life-time at Puri where he composed his work called Bhagavallīlāchintāmaṇi.

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century A. D. description of the Līlā of Rādhā-Kṛshṇa became the predominant feature of the Sanskrit literature of Orissa. Nityānanda,

Raghūttama Tīrtha and Harekṛshṇa Kavirāja Brahmā who flourished in Orissa in the seventeenth century wrote Kāvyas entitled 'Sri Kṛṣṇalīlāmṛta' 'Mukundavilāsa' and 'Rādhāvilāsa' respectively ; the main theme of which was the Līlā of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Kamalalochana's grand-father Govinda composed one 'Samṛddhamādhava Nāṭakam' in imitation of the famous Gītagovinda. Rāmachandra Khaḍgarāya, perhaps the paternal uncle of our poet Kamalalochana wrote a Kāvya named 'Naraharicharitam.' It seeems that the influence of that age and examples set by his grand-father and uncle inspired poet Kamalalochana to compose three works depicting the Līla of Radhā-Kṛṣṇa, which could vie with the Gītagovinda, a brightest gem in the Sanskrit literature. As he was a follower of the Gouḍīya school of Vaishnavism like his grand-father Srīla Govinda he pays homage to Gourachandra or Sri Chaitanya in his works Sangītachintāmaṇi and Gītamukunda.

The reason of discovery of the manuscripts of the works of Kamalalochana in the collection of the Bhonsle Rājā of Nagapur may be as follows. The two sanads found in possession of Srī Ranganātha Deva Gosvāmi, the Mahanta of the Toṭā Gopīnātha Maṭha at Puri clearly indicate that the Bhonsle Rāj family was favourably disposed towards the Gouḍiya school of Vaishnavism. The first sanad was granted by Janoji Bhonsle of Nagpur[7] to Sri Vāsudeva Gosvāmi, a descendant of Nityananda and Mahanta of the Toṭā Gopīnāha Maṭha at Puri. This was an order issued by Janoji to Sri Vāsudeva Gosvāmi to collect taxes from the Gaḍajats and Mahals. The second sanad was granted by Rāghavji to Vrajadeva Gosvāmi, son of Sri Vāsudeva Gosvāmi in the Hijra year 1203 or 1788-89 A. D. It is also note-worthy that Sri Vāsudeva Gosvāmi and Vrajadeva Gosvāmi were respetcively the mantragurus of Virakishore Deva (1737-1792 A. D.) and Divyasimha Deva (1792-1796 A. D.) the rulers of Khurdā. The assumption of the title of Kavichandra by poet Kamalalochana tends to establish his connection with the royal court at Khurda, because the Rulers of Khurdā used to confer such titles on talented scholars for their poetic attainments. So it was quite possible for poet Kamalalochan to get the patronage of Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur with

the help of Divyasimha Deva, who owed allegiance to the Rājā of Nagpur. It is for this reason that the manuscripts of two of his works are still found in the collection of the Bhonsle Rājā of Nagpur. Kamalalochana must have gone to Nagpur before 1803 A. D. as in that year the political relation between ahe Rājās of Khurdā and the Bhonsle Rulers of Nagpur ceased due to the occupation of the coastal tracts of Orissa by the British as a result of the Treaty of Deogaun. It might be that the two works Sangītachintāmaṇi and Gītimukunda were composed during his stay at Nagpur as the manuscripts have not yet been found in Orissa while the manuscripts of his two other works are fonnd in Puri and the adjoining Brāhmaṇa villages. He might have written some other works besides the four already noticed which are still to be brought to light by intensive search of manuscripts.

Thus poet Kamalalochana was an Oriya Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja Gotra and flourised in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. He belonged to a famous family of poets and scholars. He was a follower of the Gouḍīya Vaishnavism like his celebrated grand-father Kavibhūshaṇa Govinda, and many other Orissa poets of his age. He was a court poet of the Raja of Khurda from whom he got the title of Kavichandra and with his help he was able to get the patronage of the Bhonsle Rājā of Nagapur sometime before 1803 A. D.

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SOME FORGOTTEN SMRTI-WRITERS OF ORISSA

SAMBHUKARA VĀJAPEYĪ & VIDYĀKARA VĀJAPEYĪ

Very little is yet known about the Smṛti writers of Orissa though a host of them flourished there since the beginning of the Imperial Gaṅga rule in the twelfth century A. D. and made distinct and substantial contribution towards the development of the Dharmaśāstra literature of India as a whole. The most notable of the Smṛti writers of Orissa were Sambhukara Vājapeyī and his son Vidyākara Vājapeyī, both of whom were held in high esteem and regard as authorities on Dharmaśastra by many contemporary and subsequent Smṛti writers not only of Orissa, but of other parts of India also. An humble attempt has first been made here to throw some light on these two eminent scholars of Orissa.

W. W. Hunter was the first historian to mention the names of these two scholars, under 'The literature of Orissa.'

He writes as follows in 1872 :—

"XVII—Bidyakar Bajapeyi; period unknown; wrote a Sanskrit work on Smriti, called the Bidyakara Paddhati.

"Samhbhukar Bajapeyi; lived 150 years ago; a Brahman who wrote a Sanskrit book on Hindu Social and Religious Law called after his name."[1]

Some twenty five years after Hunter M. M. Chakravarti, a pioneer scholar in the field of research on Orissa made the first attempt to give some authentic information about them in his paper on "The language and literature of Orissa."[2] He was disposed to putting Vidyākara in the first quarter of the 15th century or a

little earlier and his father Sambhukara towards the close of the 15th century. This anomaly in fixing the time of the son prior to that of his father was due to the fact that he could not get a chance to examine the works of Vidyākara wich discloses the relation existing beween them. So their time as fixed by the M. M. Chakravarti is not acceptable.

The Asiatic Society of Calcutta deserves thanks of the Orientalists for publishing the first volume of the Nityāchāra Paddhati afterwards known as Vidyākara Paddhati in 1901-1903. It was edited by Pandita Binoda Bihāri Bhattāchāryya, who remarked in the preface p.2 of the text that this work of Vidyākara, the son of Sambhukara was compiled between 1344 and 1560 A. D. and Sambhukara was the contemporary of king Nṛsiṃha Deva of Orissa, whose land-grants were issued in 1384 A. D. and 1395 A. D.[3] The time of Sambhukara as fixed by Pandit Bhattāchāryya is not also acceptaole.

The time of these two Smṛti-writers can be approximately fixed with the help of the internal evidence furnished by the text of the Nityāchāra Paddhati. The author Vidyākara has quoted verses from ancient Vedic works, many Purāṇas, Smṛtis compiled by Rishi etc, which needs not be referred to here as they do not help us in fixing the time. But the following Smṛti-writers and Smṛti works, quoted by Vidyākara deserve mention here as some of them furnish us with the clue to fixing his time.

(1) Anantabhaṭṭiye (quoted once). (2) Kalpataru (24 times) (3) Kalpatarukāra (3 times). (4) Kāmadhenu (once). (5) Kṛtyachintāmaṇi (once). (6) Chintāmaṇi (once). (7) Chintāmaṇi-Kāra (once). (8) Krama-dīpikā (once). (9) Tantra-ratna (3 times). (10) Dhūrtta Svāmī (once). (11) Bhaṭṭāchārya once). (12) Sāradā-Tilaka (10 times). (13) Śāstra-dīpikā (once) (14) Kālādarśa. (once) (1) Prāchīnāchāra Paddhati (once). (16) Prāchīna Paddhati (once). (17) Mantra-muktāvali (once). (18) Mantrāvali (once). (19) Moksha Parīkshā (once). (20) Śhaiva Mantrārtha-mālā (21) Shrāddha-Prakaraṇa (twice). (22) Śuddhi-Prakaraṇa (once). (23) Samucchaya (once). (24) Smṛti-ratnamālā (twice).

Out of the works and the authors referred to by Vidyākara, the dates of some are definitely known. Kāmadhenu (No. 4) was written by the famous Bhojarāja of the eleventh century. Tantra-ratna (No. 9), Shāstra-dīpikā (No. 13) and Kramadīpikā (No. 8) were the works of the famous Pārtha sārathi Mishra, who flourished in the 10th century[4]. Kalpataru (No. 2) from which the largest number of quotations has been made by our author was the Kritya Kalpataru of the celebrated Bhaṭṭa Lakshmidhar, the Kalpataru kāra, (No. 3) who adorned the Court of Govindachandra, the Ruler of Kanouj (1114 A. D.—1154 A. D.). Kālādarśa (No. 14) written by Ādityabhaṭṭa Kaviballabha was a work of the 13th century[5]. Ananta Bhaṭṭa (No. 1) flourished long before 1385 A. D. as a manuscript of his work ' Tithi-Nirṇaya' copied in Samvat 1441 or 1385 A. D. has been found[6]. Kṛtya Chintāmaṇi (No. 5) quoted by Vidyākara has been rightly taken by the editor of Nityāchāra paddhati to be the work of the famous Chaṇḍeśvar a Thākkura of Mithila, which was compiled between 1315-1330 A. D. So Chintāmaṇi (No. 6) may be taken as Kṛtyachintāmaṇi [7] and Chintāmaṇikāra may be indentified with Chaṇḍeśvara Thākkura. Moksha-parīkshā (No. 19) seems to be a work of the author himself, as will be shown later on. Samuchchaya may be Smṛti-Samuchchaya of Śaṅkhadhar, who was an earlier Smṛti writer of Orissa, and flourished most probably in the 13th century[8]. The date of the remaining eleven of the list is not definitely known. So the anterior limit of our author can be fixed after 1330 A. D. as the Kṛtyachintāmaṇi, quoted by Vidyākara was compiled by that time.

Raghunandana, the great Smṛti-writer of Bengal, who made a large number of quotations from the Vidyākara paddhati in his works states at one place in his Āhnika-tattva "इति मदनपारिजाते विद्याकरवाजपेयिधृत मरीचिवचनात् ", e g. the opinion of Marichi as quoted by Vidyākara Vājapeyi is accepted in the Madanapārijāta.[9] According to Dr. Kane, the famous Smṛti-work Madana-pārijāta was compiled between 1360-1390 A. D.[10] So the posterior limit of our author can be fixed at 1360 A. D. This limit can be pushed by a few years as the author does not quote any verse from the notable Smṛti-works of Mādhavāchāryya (1354-1368 A. D.) who greatly influenced

the Smṛti-kāras of all parts of India since the time of his advent. Even, Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa who was a younger contemporary of Mādhavāchāryya, and wrote the famous 'Madana-pārijāta' under the patronage of Madanapāla Deva, the ruler of of Kāsthā or Kacchā in the province of Delhi, (C. 1360-1380) A. D. made quotations from the works of Mādhavāchāryya e. g. 'मदन पारिजाते माधवाचार्य्यधृत-शातातपवचनाच्च'[11] So Vidyākara flourished before Mādhavāchāryya (1355 A. D.). In this connection it may be noted that the opinion of M. M. Chakravarti that the revival of Sanskrit culture in Orissa was due to the influence of Mādhavāchāryya and his brother Sāyanāchāryya is not acceptable as Vidyākara flourished before Mādhava and was preceded by a large number of famous Sanskrit scholars of Orissa. This posterior limit for our author fixed with the internal evidence furnished by the text of his work, and the compilations of Raghunandan can still by pushed back by a few years by the reliable information supplied be the Mm. H. P. Shastri, while fixing the time of Rāmachandra Somayāji, the disciple of Vidyākara. He wrote as follows :—

"Nāḍi-parīkshā is a well-known work. X X X X In the Durbar library, there is a copy of Nāḍi-parīkshā by Rāmachandra Somayāji, the son of Samrādagnicit Somayāji. The author lived in the Naimiṣaraṇya. The work was written in Samvat 1405 and was copied in Samvat 1773.[12] He elsewhere writes "Prāyaschitta-paddhati by the same Rāmachandra Somayāji, whose work entitled the Nāḍiparīkshā has already been noticed in these pages. He is the son of Sūryadāsa and wrote his work at the Naimiṣāraṇya in Samvat 1405 He calls Vidyākara his preceptor. This gives clue of Vidyākara's date. He is probably the same as the Author of the Nityāchāra-paddhati just noticed."[13] As the exact date of composition of Naḍī parīkshā by Rāmachandra Somayājī is Samvat 1405 or 1348-49 A. D., Vidyākara, the preceptor of Rāmachandra must have been pretty old and famous by 1348-49 A. D. From all these it appears that Vidyākara flourished in the first half of the 14th century and was a younger contemporary of Chaṇḍeśvara Thākura of Mithilā.

The editor of the Nityāchāra-Paddhati has quoted a verse from another unpublished work of Vidyākara namely 'Kramadīpikā,' which is quoted below as it gives some clue to determine the period of his father.

नाना शासनकृन्नृपात्परमान् श्रीमन्नृसिंहाभिधा
न्नैच्छच्छासनकं स्वधर्मनिरतो देशं जहौ तेन सः ।
काशीं प्राप ततः स्वसूनु सुधिय विद्याकरं सानुज
स्वेषा मुद्वहनार्थ मुत्कलभुवञ्चायातु मादिष्टवान् ।। १४

The purport of this is as follows :—(Sambhukara) the father of Vidyākara declined a grant of a Śāsana (Brāhmaṇa village) from Nṛsiṃha, king of Orissa, and left the kingdom of Utkala and settled at Kāśi. After some years he permitted his son Vidyākara, a learned scholar and his younger brother to return to Utkala for getting themselves married. The editor of the text has taken this Nṛsiṃha, ruler of Utkala, mentioned in the Kramá-dīpikā to be Nṛsiṃha IV, who ruled from 1378-1414 A. D. But this is not accetable in view of the fact that Vidyākara, the preceptor of Rāmachandra Somayājī, was pretty old by 1348 A. D. as proved before, when Nṛsiṃha III (1328-1353) was rulling over Orissa. So Nṛsiṃha the contempoary of Sambhukara, and the ruler of Orissa must be Nṛsiṃha II whose reign extended from 1279 to 1306 A. D. From the copper-plate grants of this Nṛsiṃha II so far published, it is known that he was a very powerful monarch and made a gift of one hundred Śāsanas to the Brāhmaṇas at the behest of his mother. The relevant verses from his C. P. charters are quoted below.

तस्या सूनुरभूद्वीरः श्रीनृसिंह महीपतिः
गङ्गवंशसमुद्रर्त्ता हर्त्तावैरि महीतल ॥१७
यथार्ज्जुन स्तथा शस्त्रे शास्त्रे वाचस्पतिर्यथा
दाने कर्णः बलेभीमः सौन्दर्य्ये कुसुमायुधः ॥१८
तेन दत्त द्विजातिभ्यः शासनं शतसंख्यकं ॥15
महादानानि दानानि श्रीमन्मातुरनुज्ञया॥ १९"

X X X X X

यः खड्गचण्ड चण्डमहसा रिपुराजकाना
माहृत्य सम्पदममर्त्यतरोः सामानां
भूदेवसात्कृत भूतलभूषणेन
दानम्भसा महीतल सत्करपल्लवेन ॥१००16

Sri Nṛsiṃha mahipati of the copper-plate grants who gave away one hundred villages "शासनं शतसंख्यकं" and other 'Mahādānas' to the Brāhmaṇas may be indentified with "King Nṛsiṃha who was the founder of many Śāsanas" नाना शासनकृत न्नृपालपरमान्श्रीमन्नृसिंहाभिधान् as described in the 'Krama-dīpikā' of Vidyākara. Thus Sambhukara was a contemporary of this Nṛsiṃha II who ruled over orissa from 1279-1306 A D. This period fixed for him also fully agrees with that of his son Vidyākara as stated above.

As regards the biography of these two eminent Smṛtikāras of Orissa the following scanty information is given. This famous Vājapeyī family as living in some old Brāhmaṇa Śāsana in the Sadar Subdivision of the Puri District, their gotra being Bhāradvāja, and surname being Mishra. The descendants of this family are still living in the village Dāṇḍa Mukundapur near Pipili on the Jagannath Road, which was founded by Telengā Mukunda Deva before 1568 A. D. A branch of this family migrated to Sambalpur where it received the patronage of the ruling Chauhan dynasty, as is known from historical kāvya "Kośalānanda" composed by Gangādhara Miśra of this family. The relevant verses are quoted below :[17]

पूर्वं सर्वसुपर्वनायक गुरुस्पर्द्धि समृद्धिरसा—
पृष्ठस्याखिल शास्त्रतत्त्व निगमज्ञानैकवारांनिधिः
जातः शम्भुकराभिधः कविवरो विद्याकरस्तत्सुताः
सम्भूताः कवितालतान्नतिकराः वर्षाः प्रकर्षान्विताः ॥ (६४)
तद्भवस्यकुले सुधां शुविमले रत्नाकरे धीमतां
गोपीनाथक एष पण्डितवरो हीराङ्क रोवर्त्तते ।
जातं जन्ममेति तत्र सहसा नैपाविधत्ते मुद
विद्याहृद्यातरान्य संसदिपरा गोत्राधिकः पूज्यते ॥६५

The traditional account which was collected by me from Pandit Mṛtyunjaya Ratha, Dharmaśāstrāchāryya, about these two scholars is as follows. Sambhukara Vājapeyī was held with high esteem in his days, for his vast learning, scholarship and saintly character. The then ruler of Orissa who had great admiration for the accomplishments and virtues of this saint-like scholar strongly desired to make him the Dānādhyaksha of one of the Brāhmaṇa Śāsanas, which he was founding. But Sambhukara refused to comply with this earnest request of the king saying :

"राजप्रतिग्रहं घोरं मध्वास्वादु विषोपमं
पुत्रमांस वरं भोक्तुं न तु राजाप्रतिग्रहः"

By his refusal, he incurred the displeasure of the king of Orissa and consequently he had to leave his hearth and home with his wife Satyavatī, and son Vidyākara and settled at Kāśī for the rest of his life. Satyavatī was a chaste and devoted wife and was well versed in the 'Pādukā-siddhi' mantra. By means of the supernatural powers obtained by it, she could easily walk on water and used to bring daily lotus, lily and other acquatic flowers for offering them at the time of worship of her house-hold deity Sri-Kṛshna. Under the strict guardianship of Sambhuhara, his son Vidyākara became a versatile scholar and earned great name and fame at Kāśī. After some years Vidyākara performed his Samāvartana ceremony and returned to his native village near Puri. On hearing the news of his arrival, the then king of Orissa, who is said to be Purushottama Deva invited him to his Durbar at Puri. On his way to Puri, he was accorded a hearty reception near the Atharanalā bridge, from which place he was taken in a grand procession by the royal party to the king's residence in Puri. Vidyākara stayed there for some time. Gradually he became so much over-whelmed with the hospitality and patronage shown to him by the king, that he forgot the solemn vow which he had made before his father and began to receive valuable presents from his royal patron. One day it so happened that Satyavatī while walking on water, as she used to do daily for fetching flowers, found to her

great dismay and surprise that her feet had sunk into water, which could drench the border and the hanging portion of her sāri (Oriya पणत, Sanskrit प्रान्त). She was astonished at this unusual incident and on returning home narrated it before her husband. At this Sambhukara sat in deep meditation to find out the cause of this strange incident. Meditaton over, he told his wife that this could occur as their beloved son Vidyākara, living at Puri, had accepted gifts from the ruler of Utkala,forgetting the vow made before them prior to his departure from Kāsī. He was sorry at this and for the atonement of the sin committed by his son he performed the austere Chāndrāyaṇa-vrata. Afte some months Sambhukara expired from this world while wrapt in deep meditation in the temple of Viśvanātha at Kāśī."

This traditional account about these two versatile scholars is corroborated to a large extent by the facts stated below. Vidyākara was feeling great pride and glory in calling himself the son of the illustrious Sambhukara as will be evident from the introductory verses No 1 and 4 of the Nityāchāra-Paddhati quoted below :

"यावन् तौ शशिभास्करौ प्रतपतो यावद्धरायांद्विजाः
श्रुत्युक्तं प्रचरन्ति यावदिहच क्षीरप्रदा धेनवः ।
यावन् ते निश्वसन्ति विप्रवदने वेदालयः साधव—
स्तावन् शम्भुकरात्मजस्य करणं भूयान् प्रमोदायवः ॥

(Verse 1)

"यदायदाहि धर्म्मस्येत्यङ्गीकृति वशीकृतः
मत्तातपादरूपेण जातो यस्तं हरिं भजे ।
तातपाद पदाम्भोज नत्वा वाजसनेयिनाम्
नित्यार्थाह्निक कृत्यानि लिख्यन्ते तन् प्रसादतः ॥"

(Verse 4)

He also speaks about his parents Śambhukara and Satyavatī in the first part of the third introductory verse.

"आहृर्त्तायः क्रतुनामयुत श्रुतिभृतां त्रीशतां सत्यवत्याः
पुत्रो विद्याकरोऽभूत सकलगुणिगणैरीड्यतेकृष्णवद् यः ॥

The verse from the 'Krama-Dīpikā' an unpublished work of Vidyākara quoted before, supports the traditional account of Śambhukara's leaving Utkala for Kāsī with his family, having incurred the displeasure of the-then king from whom he refused to accept the gift of a Śāsana. This verse also says that Vidyākara lived at Kāsī for many years and when he came of age and became very learned, Śambhukara permitted him to return to his birth-place, with his uncle, for getting himself married. From the second part of third introductory verse of the Nityāchāra-paddhati quoted below, we come to know that Vidyākara lived at Kāsī for a long period of thirty years where he perhaps compiled this monumental work on Dharmaśātra.

त्रिंशद्वर्षं स काश्यां कृतवसतिरभूद्धर्मशास्त्रस्यकर्त्ता
पद्धत्याख्यस्य खण्डं प्रथममिह वलोऽलीलिखन् यस्यकाणि ॥

According to tradition, the ruler of Utkala, who heartily received and offered his patronage to Vidyākara, was one Purushottama Deva. This Purushottama Deva should not be confused with the famous Gajapati Purushottama Deva of the Solar dynasty (1466-1497 A. D.). He must be some Purushottama Deva of the Imperial Ganga family. Viśvanātha Kavirāja, (C. 1320-1400 A. D.) eulogises one ruler Purushottama Deva, who was perhaps his contemporary :

अनन्य साधारणधी धृताखिलवसुन्धरा:
राजते कोऽपि जगति स राजा पुरुषोत्तम: ॥ 18

Bhānu Deva II (circa 1307-1327 A. D.) son and successor of Nṛsiṃha II, described before was also called Purushottama Deva as known from an inscription of his 9th Aṅka at Simhāchalam [19].

The dates of three Kendupatna grants of Nṛsiṃha II are Śaka years 1217 and 1218 or 1295 and 1296 A. D. By that time Nṛsiṃha II had become famous as the grantor of one hundred Śāsanas. Supposing Śambhukara refused to accept the grant of one of these Śāsanas, he must have left Orissa sometime near about 1296 A. D.

Bidyākara must have returned to Orissa before **1327** A. D., the last year of the reign of Purushottama Deva alias Bhānu Deva **II,** who offered him patronage. As he lived at Kāsī for a long period of thirty years, the date of his departure with his father might be 1327-30—*Circa* 1297 **A.** D. If it is presumed that Vidyākara was partonised by Purushottam Deva for at least 5 years, then the year of their departure becomes circa 1292 A. D. Taking this as a starting point, the main events of the biographies of these two scholars, may be tentatively dated as follows:

Circa 1260 A. D.—Birth of Śambhukara.
,, 1285 A. D.—Birth of Vidyākara.
,, 1292 A. D.—Departure of Śambhukara with his son Vidyākara.
,, 1294-1324 A. D.—Vidyākara's stay at Kāsī
,, 1330 A. D.—Death of Śambbukara.
,, 1350 A. D.—Death of Vidyākara.

The works of Śambhukara and Vidyākara.

The names of all the works of Śambhukara are not yet known. Only two of his works named ' Srāddha-Paddhati, Vivāha Paddhati have been printed and published in Oriya characters. One of his most important works on Smṛti was known as Śambhukara-Paddhati which was accepted as an authority by many later Smṛti-kāras of Orissa. Viśvanātha Misra, an Oriya Smṛti-writer of the 16th century in his work Smṛti-Sāra-Saṅgraha has referred to 'Śambhukara Paddhati' four times and Śambhu-Paḍḍhati' once as noted below.

a) एतदेव स्पष्टीकृतं शम्भुकर पद्धतौ P 114
b) शम्भुकर पद्धतौ P .45
c) इति शम्भुकर पद्धतौ
d) इति वचनान् शम्भुकर पद्धतौ अपि P 146
e) विधिश्च शम्भुपद्धतौ द्रष्टव्यः P 36 [20]

Vipra Miśra another Oriya Smṛti-writer of the 15th-16th century in his 'Śrāddha-Pradīpa' [21], and Divyasiṃha Mahāpātra (17th century) in his 'Śrāddha Dīpa' have also referred to Śambhukara-Paddhati[22]. From the survey notes of about ten thousand palmleaf manuscripts, found in different parts of Orissa, which are preserved in our Museum, the names of the following unpublished works of Śambhukara have been obtained by me. (1) Srotādhyāna Śloka Paddhati, (2) Agnihotra-homa Paddhati, (3) Agnihotra-homa Prāyaśchitta Paddhati, (4) Daśapaurnamāseshthi Paddhati, (5) Nirudha-Paśuvadha Paddhati, (6) Durvala Karma Paddhati and (7) Smārta-Ratnāvali.

But no definite statement in this matter can be made until the original manuscripts are examined.

About the works of Vidyākara it may be noted that only the first part of his work Nityāchāra-Paddhati consisting of eight parts has been published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, while the remaining seven parts are yet to be brough out. The editor of Nityāchāra-Paddhati has quoted a verse from another work of this scholar named ' Krama Dīpikā ' which still remains unpublished. A manuscript of his work namely दिनकृत्य दीपिका has been noticed in the house of Rāmachandra Panchānana of Barmba town. His reference to मोक्षपरीक्षा e. g. अत्र योगसिद्ध्यधिकरणे विरोधः परिहृतो ऽस्माभिर्मोक्षपरीक्षायां"[23] indicates that this was also compiled by him.

But of all his works, 'Nityāchāra Paddhati' which was in course of time called the 'Vidyākara Paddhati' obtained supreme hold in the field of Dharmaśāstra literature for about three centuries. It was quoted in the famous ' Madana-Pārijāta ' of Viśveśvar Bhaṭṭa (circa 1360 A. D.) e. g. "इति मदनपारिजाते विद्याकर वाजपेयिधृत मरीचि वचनात्"[24]

Viśvanāth Miśra in his Smṛti-Sāra-Sāṅgraha refers to Vidyākara seven times and Vidyākara Paddhati three times, which are quoted below.

1) नान्यस्य इति विद्याकरः (2) नान्यथा तन् सिद्धिरिति विद्याकरः (p 85)
3) स्वकृतं पित्रादि कृतं वेतिविद्याकरः (4) अनावृत देश इति विद्याकरः (p 86)
5) किन्तु प्रथमोत्पन्न इति विद्याकरः (p 125)
6) तन् विहितेतर विषय मेवेति विद्याकरः (p 161)
7) सर्वं केशवपनमिति विद्याकरः (p 161)
1) विद्याकर पद्धतौ, अनन्त भट्टीयेच (p 25)
2) एवं विद्याकरः पद्धतौ (p 60)
3) तदुक्तं विद्याकर पद्धतौ (p 116)

Narasiṃha Vājapeyī, one of the famous Smṛti-writers of Orissa of the early 16th century refers to Vidyākara Vājapeyī twice and Vidyākara Paddhati 9 times in the two published Volumes of his monumental work called the ' Nityāchāra Pradīpa ' which are quoted below.[25]

1) स्नात्वा स्पर्शनमिति विद्याकर वाजपेयिनः	(Vol I p 307)
2) निरग्नेरप्ये तदिति ,,	(Vol I p 489)
1&2) इति विद्याकर पद्धतौ	(Vol I pp 285 & 299)
3) शूद्रादीनां यथाक्रमं रागप्राप्तस्य, विद्याकर पद्धतौ	(Vol I p 324)
4) विद्याकर पद्धतौ आद्यं यत्वक्षरब्रह्म	(Vol II p 62)
5) मेदिनीदान मिति हेमाद्रिः विद्याकर पद्धतौ	(Vol II p 281)
6) अथ विप्रदर्शनं ,,	(Vol II p. 557)
7) ज्ञान निष्ठोऽध्यात्मरतः ,,	(Vol II p 566)
8) अथाश्वत्थ प्रदर्शनं ,,	(Vol II P 571)
9) ओँ आय गौ ,,	(Vol II p 651)

Raghunandan, the great Smṛti-writer of Bengal, (circa 1510-1565 A. D.) refers to Vidyākara and his Paddhati several times in his works, which are cited below.[26]

(1) Saṃskāra Tattva (twice). (2) Śuddhi Tattva (4 times.)
(3) Prāyaschitta Tattva (once). (4) Tithi Tattva (twice).
(5) Ekādasī Tattava (4 times). (6) Chhandoga-Vṛshotsarga-(once)
(7) Deva Pratishthā (once). (8) Jyotisha Tattva (once).
(9) Ānhika Tattva (7 times).

Divyasiṃha Mahāpatra in his Śrāddha-Dīpa also refers to Vidyākara Paddhtai.

But in course of time, this monumental work, which was supreme in the field of Dharmaśāstra in Orissa was pushed to the back-ground and the works of Gadādhara Rājaguru of Puri (c. 1700-1750 A. D.), which are eighteen in number , e. g. Kālasāra, Āchāra-sāra, Śuddhisāra, Vrata-sāra, Dānasāra etc. became popular and predominant in the country. But the name and fame of these two ancient Smṛti-writers of Orissa survived their obsolete works in shape of traditions which are still current in different parts of Orissa.

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11. *Raghunandana*, Malamasa tattva,
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14. Preface to Nityachara paddhati, *pp.* 2

15. Copper plate Inscription of Narasimha II of Orissa, dated 1217 Saka by N. N. Vasu, *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXV, 1896, *pp*. 253-54.

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17. Kosalananda Kavya, publishod in Oriya, Canto 21, verses 64 & 65.

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19. *S. I. I.*, Vol. No. 938.

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22. *J. A. S. B.* Vol. XLVI,No. 4, 1897, pp, 342

23. *Nityachara-Paddhati*, pp. 7.

24. *Anhika-Tattva* by Raghunandan.

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SOME FORGOTTEN SMRITI-WRITERS OF ORISSA

(2) Narasiṃha Vājapeyī

Of all the old Smṛti writers of Orissa, only Narasiṃha Vājapeyī could stand comparison with the famous Vidyākara Vājapeyī, whose short life-sketch has been given above[1] An humble attempt is made here to present the facts about this Narasiṃha that have been collected from all available source materials.

Genealogy : The genealogy of the family of this scholar can be prepared from the short but illuminating description of his renowned family given in seventeen verses after Maṅgalācharaṇa in the first part of his work called Nityāchāra Pradīpa[2]. These verses giving the genealogical account of his family are quoted below.

अमत्सरः सत्यमय प्रणेता
कौत्सस्य वंशो वसुधावतंसः ।
प्रासाद मीमांसक यज्ञयूपै—
र्येनोत्कलो भूषितएष देशः ॥५

प्रासादे स्वकृते हरिं परिचरन्नासीदमुष्मिन् कुले
मीमांसार्णव कर्णधारतरुणो मृत्युञ्जयः पण्डितः ।
विद्याभिः सकलाभिरुज्ज्वलमति र्यः शुद्धिमुक्तावली—
ग्रन्थनाखिल मेव पूतमकरोन् स्वीय कुलञ्चेज्यया ॥६

अमुष्य पुत्रः किल गोपीनाथ —
मिश्रो गुणैर्यस्य वशे वसन्तौ
जलेश नारायण नाम योगात्
पुत्रौ तु मित्रावरुणा वुपेतौ ॥७

अष्टाब्दे मुकविगते च नवमे तर्काब्धिपारङ्गमो
मीमांसाद्वय सन्प्रपञ्चरचना सम्पूर्त्तिकृन् द्वादशे ।
जल्पैरल्पदिनै र्विजित्य विदिशो यः षोडशेवत्सरे
योगाभ्यासरतः पुराणपुरुषं नारायणः प्राविशत् ॥८

सिद्धेश्वरी दत्तवरा स्वतन्त्रा
षड्दर्शनी यस्यकुलेऽचलासीन् ।
कापीवनेऽहीनमखेऽग्निचेता
जलेश्वरः कृष्णपरायणोऽभूत् । ६

नरसिंह धनञ्जयाभिधावथ गङ्गाधरतोऽन्वाखण्डलः
तनयाः किल वाजपेयिनोऽस्य च मृत्युञ्जयपञ्चमास्त्विमे ।
अद्वैतागम मुक्तलेऽवतरयन् संक्षेपशारीरके
कृत्यावार्त्तिक मध्वरेषु निरतः षण्मासदीक्षाव्रती ।
मीमांसा यतएव वृद्धिमगमन् काश्यां नृसिंहःसुर—
स्नातस्वत्युदकंक जीवनविधि योगेन सिद्धिंगतः ॥११
देवानन्दः सुतोऽस्याजनि कृतचयना यज्ञविद्याधुरीणो
वेदाभ्यासप्रयासी परिषदि विजये यः कृतः पण्डितेशः ॥
नानादेशादुपेताः सुनिपुणमतयः संघशो यस्यशिष्या
मीमांसा तर्कविद्या श्रुतिशिखरमतं प्रौढ मध्यापयन्ति ॥१२

अनुजोऽस्य च पौण्डरीकयज्वा
बलभद्रो विदितः श्रुतो नयेन ।
सदृशः श्रुतिमौलिभट्टतन्त्रे
किमु संवत्सरदीक्षया क्रतौ च ॥१३

अपरेऽपि नृसिंह सूनव इह चत्वार उदारचेतसः
स्वकुलोचित विद्ययोर्जिताः सततं कृष्णकथा परायणाः ।
आनन्दपुत्रा वसु तेजसोऽष्टौ वसूत्तमाः किं वसुधामुपेताः
यदीय शिष्यादनवाप्तविद्या ये केऽपि तल्लक्षणमज्ञतंव ॥१५
सर्वे च पुत्रा विगतारिमित्रास्ते वाजपेयादिमखैः पवित्राः
काले यथावद् विहिताग्निहोत्रा महद्भिराशासित सच्चरित्राः ॥

ते वामदेवाभिध वर्द्धमानौ
समाधवौ तौ भुवनेशवीरौ ।
धराधर स्यानु गदाधराह्वो
रविश्च तेषा मिह चाष्टमोऽभूत् ॥१७

धराधराख्या प्रथितस्य जैमिने जंगन्निवासैकजुषो दशात्मजाः
गरिष्ठ विघ्नेश्वर नामसंवृतो वशिष्ठ इव व्यजनिष्ठ पूर्व्वजः ।१८

मुरारिपीताम्बरवासुदेव नारायण श्रीपति केशवाख्याः ।
वक्रेश्वर श्रीजयदेव कृष्णाः साचार विद्यास्तनया नवान्ये ।१९

मुरारिपूजार्जित विद्ययोर्जितो मुरारिरासीत् श्रुतिमौलिपारगः ।
निरन्तरं श्री नरसिंह सेवयो* नृसिंहनामा जनितस्य चात्मजः ।२०

श्रीमद् विघ्नेश्वर गुरोः प्राप्तविद्येन तेन च
नित्याचार प्रदीपोऽयं नृसिंहेन प्रणीयते ।।२१

The purport of the above verses is as follows :—

In the Kautsa family, there was born a great Mīmāṃsaka, who worte a work on Time called 'Satsamaya' and performed sacrifices in different parts of Utkala. In this family was born Paṇḍita Mṛtyuñjaya the younger (taruṇa) who was a versatile scholar and also an authority on Mīmāṃsā. He installed the image of Hari (Vishnu) in the temple built by him, which he used to worship. He purified the world by the compilation of a work called 'Śuddhi-muktāvalī' and his family by the performance of many sacrifices. Gopīnātha the son of Mṛtyuñjaya had two sons named Nārāyaṇa and Jaleśvara. Nārāyaṇa became famous as a poet while he was only eight years old, well-versed in Tarka at the age of nine, and wrote commentaries on the two Mīmāṃsā at the age of twelve. This prodigy of learning who could easily vanquish his advetsaries in scholastic contests, passed away from this world wrapt in deep meditation at the age of sixteen only. Being favoured by a boon of goddess Siddheśvari Jaleśvar earned mastery over the Darśanas. This Agnichit Jaleśvara passed his life in Kāpīvana

* In the palm-leaf manuscripts of Nityachara Pradipa Part I preserved in the manuscripts Section of the Orissa State Museum, the word 'Saptama' is found in place of Astama in verse 17 and the phrase 'buddhah Sadanadam-anugrasevaya' in place of 'Nirantaram Sri Narasimhasevaya' of the printed text.

(Kāśi-vana according to some other texts) as a devout worshipper of Kṛshna. Jaleśvara Vājapeyī had five sons named Narasiṃha, Dhanañjaya, Gaṅgādhara, Ākhaṇḍala and Mṛtyuñjya. The eldest Narasiṃha or Nṛsiṃha propagated the non-dualistic doctrine of Śaṅkara in Utkal and wrote a Vārttika (commentary) on the work 'Saṃkshepaśārīraka'. He was always engaged in the performance of sacrifices observed Shaṇmāsa-dīkshā-vrata and propounded the doctrines of Mīmāṃsā. He passed the last part of his life at Kāśi, where he used to sustain his life by taking the holy water of the Gaṅgā only and obtained 'siddhi' in Yoga. He had six sons named Devānanda, Balabhadra and four others, whose names are not given. The eldest Devānanda, who was well-versed in the sacrificial lore, became Chayanī by the performance of the 'Chayana-yajña'. He was given the title of 'Paṇḍiteśa' as he could vanquish many scholars. Brilliant students from different parts of the country who flocked round him became masters in Mīmāṃsā, Tark and Śruti-śikhara-mata (Bhaṭṭa-Tantra). His younger brother Balabhadra who was eqully proficient in the Bhaṭṭa-Tantra, and the sacrificial lore became a 'Pauṇḍarīkayājī' or performer of the Pauṇḍarika-sacrifice. He observed 'Saṃvatsara-dīkshā-vrata'. Like the earth containing eight Vasus' Devānanda alias Ānanda was blessed with eight sons, namely Vāmadeva, Vardhamāna, Mādhava, Bhuvaneśvara Vīra, Dharādhara, Gadādhara, and Ravi who possessed good character, and where also Vājapeyī and 'Agnihotri'. Dharādhara who was as famous as the Jaimini Muni of yore, used to live at Jagannātha Kshetra or Puri (Jagannivāsaik-jusho.) He had ten sons, the eldest of whom Vighneśvara was like an incarnation of Vaśishṭha. The nine others were called Murāri, Pītāmvarā, Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa, Srīpati, Keśava, Vakreśvara, Jayadeva and Kṛshna. The second son Murāri acquired mastery in Bhaṭṭa Tantra through the grace of Murāri (Vishṇu) and due to his great devotion to the god Narasiṃha he was blessed with a son whom he named Narasiṃha. Narasiṃha received education from his uncle Vighneśvara and compiled this Nityāchāra Pradīpa. The genealogical table of the family of Narasiṃha is given as follows :

Unknown progenitor of the Kautsa family
author of 'Satsamaya'.
|
Taruṇa Mṛtyuñjaya I (author of Śuddhi Muktāvalī)
|
Gopīnātha Miśra.
|

Nārāyana I (wrote commentaries on two Mīmāṃsās) — Jaleśvar Miśra Agnichit.

Children of Nārāyana I:

Nṛsiṃha I Vājapeyi, author of 'Saṃkshepa-Sārīraka vārttika. — Dhananjaya — Gaṅgādhar — Ākhaṇḍala — MṛtyuñjayaII

Children of Nṛsiṃha I:

Paṇḍiteśa Devānanda Miśra Chayanī· — Balabhadra Miśra.

Children of Paṇḍiteśa Devānanda Miśra Chayanī:

Vāmadeva | Vardhamāna | Mādhava | Bhuvaneśvara | Vīra | Dharādhara | Gadādhara | Ravi

Children of Dharādhara:

Vighneśvara | Murāri | Pītāmvara | Vāsudeva | NārāyaṇaII | Sripati | Keśava | Vakresvara | Jayadeva | Kṛshna

Son of Murāri:

Agnichit Narasiṃha Miśra II Vājapeyi.

My friend and colleague Sir S. N. Rajaguru published a small Sanskrit Manuscript named 'Siṃha-Vājapeyī Vaṃśāvalī' some 20 years ago[3], which contains an historical account of the

family of Narasiṃha Vājapeyī popularly called Siṃha Vajāpeyī. This was obtained from Sri Chakradhara Miśra of Vīra Narasiṃhapura Śāsana near Sākhigopal in the District of Puri. It was writtten by one Vāmadeva Misra, a remote descendant of Narasiṃha in the last century. As it is deemed unnecessary to cite all the verses of this work here, the few important ones are quoted below while the purport of most of the verse are only given for comparative study. From this it is known that Mṛtyuñjaya, who was an ornament of the Kautsa family, became famous for his munificence and performance of a large number of sacrifices. He built a beautiful temple wherein he installed the image of Murāri, whom he devoutly worshipped. He was blessed with two sons named Nārāyaṇa and Jaleśvara. Both of them worshipped the goddess Siddheśvarī, in a certain forest, who being pleased at their great devotion offered them a boon by which both of them became versatile scholars and poets. Once Nārāyaṇa defeated one Yatīndra in scholastic contest, who being wild with rage cursed him, which brought about sudden and premature death of Nārāyaṇa. Jaleśvara wrote a big work on Smṛti named ' Jaleśvara-Paddhati ', which was highly appreciated by the 'Yājñikas'. Nṛsiṃha, the son of Jaleśvara was a profound scholar, immensely rich and very munificent. He was entrusted by the powerful emperor Kapileśvara Deva, with the judicial administration of the country. The verse runs thus :—

Tejasvinaḥ Sri Kapileśvarasya
Kshmāpālagoshṭhi-tilakasya tasya.
Nideśamāsādya vichāraṇajño
yaḥ pālayāmāsa mahimaheshāṃ 15.

Nṛsiṃha had two sons, the elder being Ānanda through his first wife and the younger being Balabhadra through his second wife. Ānanda gained the sympathy and good-will of ruler of the southern region (Dakshiṇadeśanātha) by defeating a group of Paṇḍitas and this king out of admiration for his learning presented him with a lot of pearls. Ānanda, who became Chayanī had eight sons named Vāmadeva, Dharādhara and others. Of them Dharādhara, who was a great Paṇḍita, acquired vast property through the grace

of god Śiva whom he used to worship with devotion. Murāri the son of Dharādhara was an 'Agnihotri' and an eminent scholar. His son Narasiṃha Vājapeyi became a brilliant scholar, whose name and fame spread through out the country. The relevant seven verses referring to Narasiṃha are quoted below as they give some new information about him which is not found in the Nityāchāra Pradīpa.

तनुजोऽस्य भूपवन्द्यो नरसिंहाभिध वाजपेययाजी
उदीतोष्णमरीचि तुल्य तेजा निखिलोर्वीतलविश्रुत प्रतिष्ठः ।२५

मुनिजन समुपास्यां कुन्दवृन्दावदाताम्
शतदलतलसंस्थां वाञ्छितार्थ प्रदां यः ।
शशिशकलधरामाराध्य सिद्धेश्वरीं ताम्
करवदर समानं शास्त्रषट्कं ददर्श ।२६

विजित्यवादेन सभान्तराले तं गौडदेशा गततार्किकेन्द्रं
मुकुन्द भूमिनृपते र्जगाम नानाविधानुग्रह पात्रतां यः ।२७

दृष्ट्वा स्फुटयो निजवंशजानां दारिद्रमुर्वीतलवृत्रशत्रोः
दानं गृहीत्वा द्विजशासनानि विधाय तेषां मुदमाततान ।२८

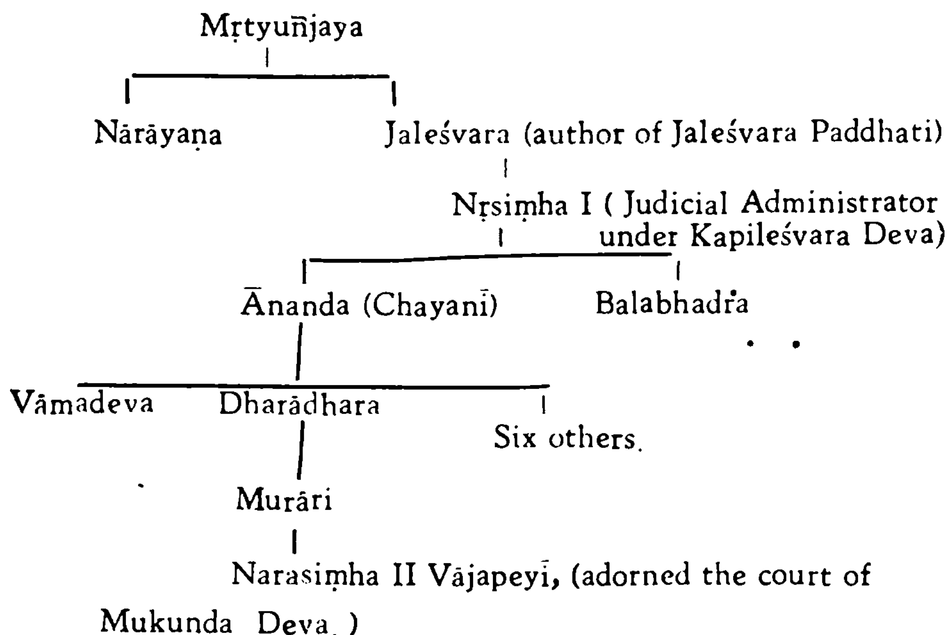
येन प्रणीतं समयप्रदीप मासाद्य सर्वागमपारगेन
तमस्तिरस्कृत्य तुधर्म मार्ग सुखं जानन्ति जनाः समस्ताः ।२६

मीमांसकानां भूरिकीर्त्तनीयो वेदान्तवेदी सुकविः स्मृतिज्ञः
त्रिदशासु योऽष्टा दशसु प्रदीपं निर्माय योगेन जगामसिद्धिं ।३०

दिल्लीश्वरं यः परिपोष्य वाग्भिः—
विद्याभिरष्टादशभिः प्रवीणः ।
मुकुन्ददेवस्य प्रशस्तवाचः
समानयत्सर्वजनस्य मध्ये ॥३१

It is known from these seven verses that Narasiṃha Vājapeyī, who was brilliant like the rising sun earned great name and fame for his scholarship and learning. Through the grace of

the goddess Siddheśvarī, whom he used to devoutly worship, he acquried mastery over the six Śāstras or Darśanas. By vanquishing famous logician of Gauda by his agruments in the royal court, he could please the King Mukunda, who showed him great favours. To remove the poverty of his kith and kin he accepted gift of land from the ruler of the realm (who was no doubt Mukunda Deva) and to their great joy, he got them settled in some Brāhmaṇa Śasanas established by him. He compiled a work called 'Samaya-Pradīpa' to remove the ignorance of and to show the righteous path of Dharma to the common people. He who was highly praised by the Mīmāṃsakas and was proficient in Vedānta, a good poet and master in Smṛti wrote eighteen works on eighteen branches of learning, each of which was called 'Pradīpa.' He obtained Siddhi by the practice of Yoga. He could please the 'Dilīśvara' (the king of Delhi) by his mastery over eighteen branches of learning and eloquence, whereby the fame and prestige of his patron Mukunda Deva were enhanced and made known all over the country. Thus the genealogy given in the Vaṃśāvalī is drawn as follows :



The genealogical table given by Narasiṃha in Nityāchāra Pradipa is more elaborate than that given in the Vaṃśāvali, the main difference being the omission of the name of Gopinātha, son of Mṛtyuñjaya I, the progentitor of this family in the latter. The latter also omits the names of the four younger brothers of Nṛsiṃha I, six sons of Devānanda, and nine sons of Dharādhara, where as it gives more information about Narasiṃha and his fore-fathers.

The above two accounts about Narasiṃha and his fore-fathers elicited from two different published works are further supplemented by the works both published and unpublished of Rājaguru Godāvara Miśra. * Valabhadra, the father of Godāvara can be identified with Balabhadra, son of Nṛsiṃha I. Balabhadra was the Rājaguru of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa (1497-1540 A. D) in the beginning of his reign, whereafter his son and successor Godāvara became the Rājaguru and Mantrivara, for about two decades. From the Yogachintāmaṇi of Godāvara, it is known that his father Balabhadra, wrote two works namely 'Advaita Chintāmaṇi' and 'Śarirakasāra-Puruṣottamastuti', and his grandfather wrote two works called 'Kāsi-mimāṃsā' and Saṅkshepa-Sārirakavārttika.[4] It is known from 'Hariharachaturaṅga'[5] that its author Godāvara had written ten works before he compiled Hariharachaturaṅga e. g (1) Tantra Chintāmaṇi, (2) Yoga Chintāmaṇi. (3) Advaita-Darpaṇa, (4) Adhikaraṇa Darpaṇa, 5) Nitichintāmaṇi, (6)Niti-Kalpalatā 7) Āchāra-chintāmaṇi, (8)Jayachintāmaṇi, (9) Sāmudrika Kāmadhenu and (10) Pātañjala Dipikā. He was also the author of 'Śāradāśaradarchchana Paddhati' a palmleaf manuscript of which has been recently acquired for the Orissa State Museum.

From the afore-said three accounts, the following facts about Narasiṃha and his fore-fathers are elicited : he came of a renowned Paṇḍita family living in some Brāhmaṇa village adjoining the sacred town of Puri, which was closely connected with the sovereign rulers of Orissa for more than a century, at least from the time of

famous Kapileśāvra Deva(1435-1466 A. D.)till the death of Mukunda Deva (1561 A. D.),all of whom patronised these Paṇḍitas, this family played a prominent part in the revival of the sacrificial rituals, development and propagation of the Dharmaśāstra literature and popularising the doctrine of Advaitavāda of Śri Śaṅkarāchāryya. Thus Narasiṃha was inspired by the brilliant example set by his renowned fore-fathers and excelled them all as well as his predecessors in the field of Dharmaśāstra like Śambhukara, Vidyākara and others in making the greatest contribution towards the development of the Dharmaśātra literature of Orissa.

Time of Narasimha :—The Vaṃśāvalī clearly states that Narasiṃha adorned the court of one Mukunda Deva, who sent him to the court of 'Dilīśvara' or King of Delhi, where through his vast learning and eloquence the name and fame of his patron were spread abroad. His patron Mukunda may be definitely identified with the Gajapati Teleṅgā Mukunda Deva (1556-1568 A. D.), the last independent and powerful King of Orissa, with whom the 'Dīlīśvara' Akbar enterned into an alliance against Sulaimān Karārāni of Bengal [6] It is known that one Mahārāttar, who was unrivalled in the arts of Indian poetry, and of music was sent to Orissa along with Hasan Khān Khazānci to the Rajah of Jagannāth[7] to carry on negotiation about this alliance in 1565 A. D. These two returned with success after three months to the Moghul court with Rai Paramananda, ambassador of Mukunda Deva.[8] The political relation thus established in 1565 between Mukunda Deva and Akbar came to an end in 1568 A. D. due to the death of the king of Orissa in the battle which was fought against Sulaimān. From the above, it appears that Narasiṃha Vājapeyī was sent to the Moghul Darabar with Rāi Paramānanda some time between 1565 and 1568 A D. In Āin-i-Akbari we find the names of Nara Sing (No 19) and Paramindar (No 20) in the list of learned men of Akbar's time. Prof. D. C. Bhaṭṭāchāryya who made an attempt to trace the identity of these scholars wrote as follows about Nar Sing.[9] "It is difficult to identify this familiar name without any distinguishing appellative.

Mentioned immediately after Rāma-Tīrtha, the name better refers the celebrated Vedāntist Nṛsiṃhāśrama, another disciple of Jagannāthāśrama, than to any body else." [10]

Among other possible names Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya has mentioned the names of Sesha Narasiṃha, Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭa, and Narasiṃha Yogī. But Nar Sing of the Āīn-i-Ākbarī may be identifid with Narasiṃha Vājapeyī, with a greater amount of certainty on the authority of his Vaṃṣāvalī which clearly states that he was honoured in the court of Dilīśvara (Akbar), but no such evidence is found about Nṛsiṃhāśrama and others mentioned above. Secondly Paramindar, mentioned just after Narsing in Āīn-i-Akbarī may be identified with Rāi Paramānanda, who was sent to Akabar's court as ambassador by Mukunda Deva, the king of Orissa.

Another important point to be considered in this connection is the mention of the names of 'Nārāyaṇā Āśram' (No 15) Rāmatīrtha (18). Madhu Sarasvatī (13) in the list with their distinguishing appelatives, (Āśram, Tīrtha, Saraswatī respectively), while Nar Sing is mentioned without any appelative. This indicates that Nar Sing of the list does not refer to Nṛsiṃhāśram, the preceptor of Nārāyan Āśram, who is given the appelative (Āśram) in the list of the Āīn. Thus Nar Sing of the Āin who was one of the learned men of the Ākbar, who became very famous in the second half of the sixteenth cetury, is to be identified with Nar asiṃha Vājapevī of Orissa.

It is known that Godāvara Miśra, who was the cousin of Dharādharda Miśra, the grand father of Narasiṃha lived from circa 1430-1435 A. D. Supposing that Narasiṃha was born when Godāvara was fifty years old, then *circa* 1510 A. D. may be fixed as his date of birth as such he must be about fifty when Mukunda's reign began. From all these available evidences, it can be said that Narasiṃha flourished in the sixteenth century and was an earlier contemporary of Raghunandana, the famous Smṛti-writer of Bengal.

Works of Narasimha :—From the verse No. 30 of the Vaṃśāvalī quoted above, it is known that he wrote eighteen works, each of which was called Pradīpa on eighteen branches of learning. The names of some of these are obtained from the following references quoted below from the two published volumes of his Nityāchāra, Pradīpa hereafter abbreviated as N. P.[11]

(a) Yadvā chāndramāse hotā × × chaitad VARSHAPRADĪPE prapañchitamasmābhih

(b) Tadasmābhih vistareṇa BHAKTI-PRDIPE prapañchitamitineha praṇīyate.

(c) Tathoktaṃ PRĀYAŚCHITA-PRADIPE asmābhih

(d) PRĀYASCHITA-PRDIPE asmat-kṛte anusandheya.

(e) Vyaktaṃ chaitadasmat-kṛte ŚRĀDDHA-PRADĪPE

(f) Pāñcharātrānusāreṇa pratiṣṭhā PRATISHTHĀ-PRADĪPE asmatkṛte vistarenokta.

(g) Sadāchāra × × prāmāṇyamiti SĀVARA (SĀNKARA according to some text) BHĀSHYA-PRADĪPE.

Thus Narasiṃha had compiled at least six works namely (i) Varsha Pradīpa, (ii) Bhakti-Pradīpa (ii) Prāyaschitta-pradīpa, (iv) Śrāddha-Pradīpa, (v) Pratishṭhā-Pradīpa, (vi) Śāvara-bhāshya-Pradīpa befre he wrote Nityāchāra Pradīpa all of which are still unpublished. The Vaṃśāvalī names only Samaya-Pradīpa,

Accoring to W. W. Hunter Narasiṃha was the author of five works named (1) Āchāra-Pradīpa, (2) Vyabasthā Pradīpa, (3) Prāyaschitta Pradīpa, (4) Vājapeyī Smṛti and (5) Dānasāgara.[12] Of these five Nos. 1 and 3 are found in the list given above with the only difference that Āchāra Pradīpa is called Nityāchāra Pradīpa while the remaining three are new ones. From the *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*[13] it is known that a work called 'Chayana Pradīpa' was also compiled by him as is evident from the verses at the beginning and the end of the work.

Beginning—Srī Nṛsiṃhaṃ namaskṛtya Kātyāyanamunīn-gurūn
Chayanasya pradīpoyaṃ Nṛsiṃhena praṇīyate

End —Ityagnichid Vājapeyī Narasiṃha-vinirmirtah
Chayanasya praddīpo-stu prītaye muravairiṇah

Colophon —Iti SrīMahāmahopādhyāyāgnichid Vājapeyī Narasiṃha Miśra-virachita Chayana-Pradīpah samāpta

The manuscript of this work written in Oriya characters which was noted at Śāsana Dāmodarapur near Puri contains 1000 ślokas. Thus the names of nine Pradīpas out of eighteen are known from different sources while the remaining nine are still to be traced.

From the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta [14] it is known that Narasiṃha wrote a Kārikā on the Śrāddha Paddhati compiled by Sambhukara Vājapeyī, as is evident from the verse in the beginning and the colophon e. g

Naṭvā pitṛn Kalpataroh pallavairvinivadhyate
Agnichinmiśṛa Śri Śambhukareṇa Śrāddha-Paddhatih

Last colophon—Ityagnichit Miśra Narasiṃha kṛta Pārvaṇa
Śrāddha-paddhati kārikā samāptā.

From the *Notices* of palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the Orissa Museum, it is known that Mahāmahopādhāya Agnichit Narasiṃha Vājapeyi wrote also some small works entitled Gaṇeśa mānasika Pūjā, Sāmavedīya Vratapaddhati and Śivarātri-Vrata bidhi. But of all his works Nityāchāra Pradīpa was accepted as an authority in Orissa and pushed Vidyākara Padhati to the background. Palm-leaf manuscripts of the 8 parts of this monumental work are still found all over Orissa. Vāsudeva Ratha Somayājī, an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Orissa of the mid-eighteenth century while writing about Rāmachandra Miśra, Guru of Pītāmvara Deva,

refers to Narasiṃha and his Nityāchāra Pradīpa in the following verse." [15]

Ṭaṣyāsit mallavidyāgururakhila kalā kovidah kovidendrah
Miśrah Śrī Rāmachandrah dvijakulataraṇih
Kautsavaṃsāvatmsah

Nityāchāra-pradipaṃ muniriva vidadhe dharmaśāstrapraṇetā
Turyoyat pūrvavaṃśesvapi nigamaguruh Vājapeyī Nṛsimha

An estimate of Narasimha :—It is not possible at this stage to present a clear picture about his vast learning as almost all his works except the first two volumes of Nityāchāra pradīpa are still unpublished and two others have only been noticed. But an examination of his published works clearly indicates that he was an erudite scholar and a thorough master over his subject. M. M. Chakravarty is right when he remarks that " In fact he brings considerable knowledge to bear upon each subject, and takes considerable pains in elucidating the disputed points by gathering the various authorities and by attempting to reconcile or explain the discrepancies found." [16]

Narasiṃha refers to the following works and authors in his Nityāchāra Pradīpa which are arranged below alphabetically. The figures within brackets indicate the number of references.

A. 1. Agnyādhānaṃ (1), 2. Agnimimāṃsā (1) written by the author's great grand father Narasiṃha Vājapeyī, N. P. Vol. I, p. 479, 3 Aṅgirā (2.), 4 Aṅgirasakalpa (1)5. Arti (1) ·6. ·Aśvamedha Prakaraṇa (1), 7. Ashṭākshara Kalpa (1),

Ā. 1. Āgama (1); 2. Āgneyapurāṇa (6); 3. Āchāra- pallava (2); 4. Ātavi (1); 5. Adi-purāṇa (2); 6. Āditya purāṇa (5); 7. Āpastambha (45) ; 8. Āpastambhīya Dharamasūtra (1) ; 9. Ātharvaṇīya Tāpanīya Sruti (1) 10. Āsvalāyana (1); 11. Āstheyāpavāda (1)

I. I. Iśāna (1) ; 2. Iśāna saṃhitā (2) ;

U. 1. Uttarasaura (1) ; 2. Uśanā (4) ;

R. 1. Rigvedabrāhmaṇa (1) ; 2. Rigbidhāna (2) ; 3. Rishya-śṛṅga (1).

O. 1. Oṃkārādhikāra (1).

Ka 1. Karka and Karkâchârya (5), 2. Kapila (1) ; 3. Karmavipāka (5) ; 4. Karmavipāka (Śātātapiya) (1) ; 5. Sātātapiya Karmavipāka paribhāshā (8) ; 6. Karmavipāka Saṃgraha (9) ; 7. Karmavṛpāka Sāra (3) ; 8 Karmavipāka (Mahārṇava) (2) ; 9. Karmavipāka-samuchchaya (11) ; 10. Kalpataru (8) ; 11. Kalpatarukāra (10) ; 12. Kalpasūtra (2) ; 13. Kālkipurāṇa (1) ; 14. Kātyāyana (1:); 15. Kātyāyanasūtra (1) ; 16. Kāmika (4) ; 17. Kālanirṇaya (1) ; (18). Kālādarśa (2) ; 19. Kālāgnirudropanishad (1) ; 20. Kālikāpurāṇa ( ) ; 21. Kālidāsachayani (1) N. P. Vol. I, p 106.22 Kāśyapa (1) 23 Kālottara (2) 24 Kānva-smṛti (1) 25 Kriyāsāra (2) 26 Kūrmapurāṇa (2) and 27 Kautsa (1)

Ga. 1. Garuḍapurāṇa (8) 2. Gajendra-mokshaṇa (1) 3. Gārgya (3) 4. Gāyatri-kalpa (1) 5. Gītā (9) 6. Gulmakushṭha (1) 7.Gṛhya-pariśishṭa (2) 8. Gobhila (5) 9. Godhilagṛhyasūtra (1) 10. Gopatha-brāhmaṇa (1) 11. Gopathabrāhmaṇa (1) 11. Gautama (31) 12. Gautamīya (1) 13. Grahajña Prakaraṇa (1)

Gha. 1. Ghatanāgama (1)

Cha 1. Chandrikā (1) 2. Chintāmaṇi and Chintāmaṇikāra (2)

Chha. 1. Chhandogabrāhmaṇa (1) 2. Chhandogānukramaṇī (1) 3 Ghhanndogapariśishṭa (30) 4. Chhāgaleya (5)

Ja. 1. Jābāla 5) 2 Jābālopanishad (1) 3. Jātukarnya (2) 4. Jaimini (5) 5. Jyotihśāstra (5) 6. Jyotihsiddhānta (1).

Ta. Tantrarāja 1, Tantraratna 1, Tattvasārasaṃhitā 5, Tattvasāgarasaṃhitā 2, Tāntrikapadhati 1, Tāpanīyavārttika 1, Tāpanīyaśruti 2, Tripurasāra 2, Tripurasāra-samuchchaya 2, Tulasīprakrama 1, Taitarīyaśruti 2.

Da. Daksha 14, Dakshasmṛti 2, Dānasāgara 1, Dānadharma 2, Dānaviveka 1, Dānaprakāśa 2, Dātavya 3, Dākshiṇātya-nibandha 1, Devala 60, Devendrāśrama 2, Devīpuraṇa 21, Devīmahātmya 15

Dha. 1.Dhaumya 1

Na. Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa 15, Nandī-purāṇa 4, Nārada 16, Nāradakalpa 1, Nāradīya 1, Nāradapaṇcharātra 1, Nāradasmṛti 1, Nārāyaṇopanishad 1, Nighanṭu 1, Nigama 2, Nigamapariśishṭa 1, Nīlasarasvatī 1, Nṛsiṃhamahātmya 1, Nṛsiṃhakalapa 1.

Pa. Pañcharātra 7, Pañcharatna I; Padmapurāṇa 14, Parāśara 6, Paśuvaktra 1, Pāraskara 9. Pāṇini 1, Pitāmaha 2, Piṅgalārama 1, Pingalāmata 1, Puraścharaṇa-chandrikā 1, Purusottama Mahātmya 2, Pulastya 1, Pūjādhikāra 1, Pūrvatapanīyopanishad 2, Paithinasī 24, Pratishṭhāsāra 1, Pratishṭhāgama 1, Pratishṭhā-Pradīpa (by the author himself) 1, Prachetā 2, Prajāpati 1, Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 2, Prapañchasāra 12, Prāchīna paddhati 1. Prayaśchitta Prakaraṇa 2, Prāyaśchitta-Pradīpa (by the author himself) 2.

Ba. Babhru 1, Bahṛchapariśishaṭa 1, Bahṛuchagṛhya 1, Baudhāyana 48, Brahmapurāna 27, Brahmavaivartta 2, Brahmopanishat 1, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 14, Brahma Siddhānta, 10, Brahmasūtra 1, Brāhmaṇa Saṃhitā (1)

Bha. Bhagavat-Gītā 1, Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭapāda 9, Bhaṭṭāchārya 13, Bhavishya Purāṇa 30, Bhavishyottara 4. Bhakti Pradipa (written by the autor himself) 1, Bharadvājasūtra 1, Bhārgavasa-

ṃhitā 3, Bhāradvājīyabhāshya 1; Bhāskarāchārya 1, Bhāshyakāra 1, Bhūpālanibandha 1, Bhoja Paddhati 1.

Ma, Manu 146, Mantrāgama 5, Mantrasaṃhitā 1, Mantrarāja 1, Mantradeva Prakāśikā 1, Maṇḍana Miśra 3, Matsya Purāṇa 26, Mahābharata 34, Mahārṇava and Mahārṇavakāra 2, Mahābhāshya 6, Maya 1, Maya-Saṃgraha 2, Mahāguru 1, Marīchi 8, Mahādānādhikāra 1, Mādhavāchārya 6, Mādhavīya 2, Mādhavasvāmī 1, Mādhyandīna Smṛti ., Mārkaṇḍeya 1. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 18, Mānava 3, Mīmaṃsa 1, Medhātithi 6. Maitrayaṇīya Pariśishṭa 2, Mohana-chūḍottara 1,

Ya. Yama (1) Yamaśaṅkhau (1) Yamavaśishṭhau (1) Yajñapārśva (1) Yajurvidhana (2) Yajnavalkya (71) Yajnavalkya-kalpa (1) Yogīśvara (1) YogīYajnavalkya (33) Yogaśibīya (5),

Ra. 1, Ratnākara (1) Rasāla-śikharinī (2) Ramayaṇa (5) Rājamartaṇḍa (1) Ramavājapeyī (1) N. p. Vol. 1, p. 151.

La. Lakshaṇa-Saṅgraha (1) Lakshmidhara (27) Lakshmī pratishṭhadhikāra (1) Laghu Vyāsa (5) Laghu Hārīta (3) Laghu Āpastambha (1) Lāta-Sūtra (1) Liṅgakhaṇḍa (1)Liṅgapuraṇa (3).

Va. Vaśishṭha (39) Vaśishṭha Yoga (1) Vaśishṭhasaṃhita (1) Vasishṭha-Kalpa (1) Vatsa (1) Varshapradīpa (by the author himself) (1), Valāvalādhikaraṇa (1) Vāmanapuraṇa (4) Varāha (10) Varahī Tantra (1) Vārtīka (2) Vārttika-kāra (4) Vayupuraṇa (15) Vayusaṃhitā (1) Vijñaneśvara (3) Vijñanalalita (4) Viśvakarmā (2) Visvāmitra (2)Visvāmitra kalpa (1) Visvāmitra Gāyatrīkalpa (2) Vidyākara Vajapeī (2) Vidyakara padbhati (9) Vishnu (46) Vishnudharma (7) Vishudharmottara (23) Vishnupuraṇa (40) Vishnurahasya (4)

Vishnu Nāradau (1) Vishnu-sahasranāma (1) Vishnugupta (1) Vṛhaspati (27) Vṛhatkālottara (2) Vṛddha Arti (1) Vṛddha-Manu (3) Vṛddha Gārgya (2) Vṛddha Parāśara (3) Vṛddha Vaśishṭha (2) Vṛddha-Yājnavalkya (1) Vṛddha Śatatapa (4) VṛddhaGautama (1) Vairañche (1) Vaidyaśāstra (1) Vaishnavārchā-Pratijñā by Chandra Śarmā, Vyāsa (17) Vyāghrapāda (2),

Śa. 1. Śatānanda (6) Śavarasvāmi (1) Śaṅkarāchārya (3) Śatapathaśruti (2) Śaṅkha (9) Śaṅkha Likhitau (29) Śātatapa (18) Sātātapīya karmavipāka (1) Sāvarabhāshya (20) Śāvarabhāshya Pradīpa (written by the author) (1) Śrāddha Pradīpa (1) (written by the author) (1) Śaṭhyāyana (1) Śaradā Tilaka (10) Śāradāyāṃ (5) Sivapurāṇa (18) Śivagitā (1) Śiva Dharma (2) Śivarahasya (1) Śīshṭ a has (24) Śridhara (1) Sunapuchhceṇa (1) Suddhiguchchha (1) Śuddhichandrikā (1) Śuddhi-Muktāvalī (written by the author's remote fore-father) (1) Śruti (1) Ślokagautama (1) Śaunaka (1),

Sa. Satsamaya (written by his fore-father) Saṃvarta (6) Skandapurāṇa (39) Sāhityaśāstra (1) Sankhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra (3) Snānādhikāra (1) Snānaprakaraṇa (1) Sumantu (6) Suvarṇadānādhikāra (1) Sureśvara Āchārya (1) Sureśvara Vārttika (1) Sūrya-Siddhānta (2) Sūpakāraśāstra (1) Smṛti (8) Smṛti-ratnamālā (1) Smṛtirantamālākāra (1) Smṛti-Mīmāṃsā (1) Smṛtisamuchchaya (2) Somasambhu Tantra (1) Saurakāṇḍa (3).

Sha, Shat-triṃśanmata (4)

Ha. Hayaśīrsha (10) Hārita (38) Hemādri (4) Holādhikaraṇa (1).

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A NOTE ON YOGI PRAHARAJA MAHAPATRA AND HIS WORKS

Sri P. K. Gode, M. A. has published a very interesting paper on Yogī Praharāja[1] wherein he has made an attempt to fix tentatively the date of this scholar. The following additional information obtained about him and his patron during the course of research on the Sanskrit poets and scholars of Orissa deserves publication as desired by Sri Gode.

Scholars are glad to know that the Curator, Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras has published 'Vaidya Hṛdayānanda' of Yogī Praharāja in the bulletin of that library Vol. IV, No. 1 pp. 1-46 for the year 1951 which has not yet come to my notice. But there is an undated palmleaf manuscript written in Oriya characters of the early 19th century in the Manuscript Section of Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, which I examined last year. Towards the close of this work in the last or fifth Prakāśa the following verse quoted by Sri Gode is also found.

यत्रातः प्रहराज ज्यौतिषरविः श्रीनीलकण्ठः सुधीः
श्रीमन्नन्दपुरेश विक्रमनृप श्रीपट्टराज्ञो गुरुः

At the end of each Prakāśa the poet speaks of himself and his work in the following manner.

इति श्री कविवर योगी प्रहराज महापात्र विरचिते
वैद्य हृदयानन्दे··············प्रकाशः ॥

The surname Praharāja Mahāpatra found in this quotation is still very common among the Brahmins of Orissa.

There are still hundreds of Brahmin families in Orissa belonging to the Vatsagotra who bear the surname Mahapatra. For generations the family of Kaviḍiṇḍima Jīvadeva Ācharya 1478-1550 having Vatsa Gotra, were the mantra-gurus of the successive ruling families of Orissa belonging to Somavaṃsa (C. 950-1112) Gaṅgavaṃsa (1112-1435 A. D.) and Sūrya Vaṃsa (1435-1540 A D.) The list of rulers and their Gurus is given in the published portion of the Bhakti-bhāgavata Mahakāvya of Jīvadeva.[2] So without any fear of contradiction it can be said that Yogī Praharāja Mahāpātra was an Oriya Brāhmin.

The verse quoted above is very important as it supplies the clue to fix time and place of activity of the author and also to identify his patron. The word 'Nandapureṇa' in its context clearly indicates that he flourished in the kingdom of Nandapura. The kingdom of Nandapura was so called after the name of its capital town Nandapura which is now found in ruins in the Koraput Dist. of Orissa. Subsequently it was known as Jeypore kingdom, when Jeypore became its capital. This kingdom which was very extensive in the 16th century was bounded by the kingdoms of Bastar in the west, Kalāhāndi in the North-east, and Khimidi in the east and included a major portion of the present Vizagapatam and some parts of the East Godāvarī Districts of the Āndhra State. This kingdom used to form a part of the Orissa Empire under the Imperial Gaṅgas (1135-1435) and the Suryyavaṃsī kings (1435-1540) and its rulers who owned allegiance to the Emperors of Orissa began to be styled as 'Nyūna Gajapatis' or 'Lesser Gajapatis' in a latter period. Towards the close of the 16th century Nandapura came under the subjugation of the Kutbshahi Sultans of Golkundā, which brought about its steady decline due to gradual loss of small estates in the coastal tracts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It acknowledged British supremacy in the last quarter of the 18th century and the remaining portion of the old Nandapura kingdom as it existed at the time of introduction of the Permanent Settle-

ment by the British in 1802 A. D, began to be callled the Jeypore zamindari. This Oriya zamindari which remained in the Madras Presidency was amalgamated with Orissa when it was created a separate province on the 1st April 1936 and was constituted as the District of Koraput[3]. This brief history of Nandapur will give a clear idea about its location and importance in the past.

Let us now see who this 'Vikrama Nṛpa' of the verse was. In the chronicle of Jeypore Rāj family we find four kings having the name Vikrama, who ruled over the kingdom of Nandapur.[4] The second Vikram who ruled from 1825-1860 can not be taken as a contemporary of our author as the palmleaf manuscripts of his works that I have examined are older than this period. So he must be the contemporary of the first Vikram Deva who ruled from c 1758-81, A. D. Thus he flourished in the middle of the 18th century A. D. This view is corroborated by other facts stated below,

Yogī Praharāja must have been the author of a large number of works as he says that he was well-versed in medicine, music, art and astrology. His other work on medicine called 'Vaidyālaṅkāra' has been noted by Sri Gode. But no manuscript of this work has yet been traced. His work on Smṛti called 'Saṃkshipta Smṛtidarpaṇa' has long been noticed. As the Archaeologist of the ex-State of Kalāhāndi, now a district of Orissa, I examined in 1941-45 a palm-leaf manuscript of this work written in old Oriya characters. In the last chapter of this work the author had given a short history of the Rāj family of Nandapura. But unfortunately I could not note down the relevant verses from the text at the time of its examination, for I could not then fully realise their importance.

During the last decade of the 19th century Mm. H. P. Śastri noticed a palmleaf manuscript of 'Smṛti Darpaṇa' while searching manuscripts in Orissa. He wrote about it as follows : "Smṛti Darpana has been found in Orissa written by Yogi Praharāj, a scion of an influential family of Brāhmins, who for many generations were the spiritual guides of the Rājās of Orissa. They wanted to have a

standard Smṛti of their own and got this work written. The writer does not seem to be old as he followed Gadādhara."[5]

Gadādhara was a famous Smṛti writer of Orissa. He wrote voluminous works on Smṛti collectively called Gadādhara Paddhati, during the reign of Harekṛshna Devā, Rājā of Khurdha (c 1715-20 A. D.). It was divided into 13 parts called Kālasāra, Āchārasāra, Śuddhisāra, Bratasāra, Dānasāra, etc. but the first two of his works have been published. They are still regarded and followed as standard works on Smṛti of Orissa. As Mm. Śhāstri says that Yogi Praharāja had quoted from the works of Gadādhara he must have flourished in the middle of the 18th century A. D.

Thus Yogi Praharāja Mahāpātra was an Oriya Brāhmin author, who came of an illustrious family of scholars having Vatsa Gotra and adorned the court of Vikram Deva (c 1758-81 A. D) the Rajā of the Nandapura kingdom in Orissa.

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PURUSHOTTAMADEVA, THE LEXICOGRAPHER

Purushottama Deva, the author of the lexicons called (1) Trikāṇḍaśesha, (2) Hārāvalī, (3) Ėkākshara Kosha and (4) Dvīrūpa-Kosha has generally been identified by the scholars[1] of Orissa with Purushottam Deva (1466-1497 A. D.) the famous Sūryavaṃsī Gajapati King of Orissa. The scholars of Bengal on the other hand have written from time to time to prove that Purushottam Deva, the lexicographer belonged to Bengal and was a contemporary of Lakshmaṇa Sena, the King of Bengal.[2] So there exists a long-standing controversy regarding the date and the place where this famous lexicographer flourished.

The theory generally accepted by the scholars of Orissa is not tenable in view of the fact that Purusottam Deva, to whom the authorship of the four lexicons noted above is attributed, flourished before Sarvānanda, who quotes from these above works in his 'Tīkāsarvasva' a commentary on the Amarakosha. The date of this commentary has been derivd from the text as 1159 A. D. quoted below :

"Idāniṃ saikāsīti-varshādhika-sahasreka paryantena sakābdakālena" (Saka year 1081 or 1169 A. D.)

and

"shashṭhivarshādhikā dvichatvāriṃśa chchhatāni

Kalisandhyayā bhūtāni" (4260 Kaliyuga year or 1169 A. D.)[3]
There are two palm-leaf manuscripts of this 'Tīkā-Sarvasva' commentary written in the Oriya characters of the 18th century in the Manuscripts collection of the Orissa Museum. Both of them contain the text quoted above, which gives the date of this work. Thus it can definitely be said that this lexicographer, whose works were well known by 1169 A. D., must have flourished some years before

1169 A. D. and as such he may tentatively be placed before 1130 A. D.

Secondly Medinīkara, son of Prāṇakara and author of the popular lexicon called Nānārtha Śabdakosha or Medinī-kosha, who was almost a contemporary of Sarvānanda, mentions the names of Hārāvalī and Trikāṇḍaśesha in his work while giving a list of nearly thirty other lexicons which were in circulation before his time.

"उत्पलिनी-शब्दार्णव - संसारावर्त्त-नाममाला ख्यान्

X X X X

हारावल्यभिधानं त्रिकाण्डशेषं च रत्नमालांच

अपिबहुदोष विश्वप्रकाशकोषं च सुविचार्य्य'[4]

In the same article late Pandit Sharmā wrote about Medinī-Kosha as follows "The Medinī Kosha by Medinīkara is almost nothing else than a new edition of the Viśvaprakāśa although it condemns Viśva as having many defects. Viśvaprakāśa by Maheśvar was written in 1111 A. D. So Medinī-Kosha which was a new edition or imitation of Viśva is tentatively to be placed in the middle of the 12th century.

The facts stated above, prove beyond doubt that Purushottam Deva the author of the lexicons T. S. (Trikāṇḍaśesha will here after be abbreviated as T. S.) and Hārāvalī etc. who lived before both Sarvānanda and Medinīkara belonging to the twelfth century cannot be identified with the Gajapati King Purushottama Deva, (1466-1497 A. D.) as there is an interval of more than three centuries between their dates.

The second theory that Purusottam was a contemporary of Lakshmaṇa Sena, the king of Bengal (1169-1205 A. D.) is also equally untenable as there is an interval of at least forty years according to the date discussed above.

But the time of this lexicographer tentatively fixed above before 1130 A. D. may be pushed back still further by the facts given below :—

Late Mm. H. P. Shastrī, while examining the manuscripts preserved in the Darbar library of Nepal during the last decade of the last century was able to discover four stray leaves of a very old manuscript of T. S. about which we worte as follows. "To the same century (12th century) before Muhammadan conquest or perhaps earlier belong on palaeographic grounds the four leaves namely (1-20-84 and 86) of the T. S. Abhidhāna, a supplement to the Amarakoska by Purusottam Deva, a Buddhist Paṇḍita, decorated with the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. He is the writer of a large number of works on Grammar, Lexicography and spelling."[5]

If a portion of the manuscript of T. S. written in the characters of the 12th century, or earlier is found in far off and inaccessible kingdom of Nepala, the compilation of this work may safely be assigned to the eleventh century as it must have taken at least fifty years in those days of very slow communications for the circulations of this work into Nepala.

Due to close resemblance between some paryāyas lists of synonyms) of T. S. and Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi by a greatest Jaina Paṇḍita Hemachandra, some scholars are inclined to place Hemachandra before Purushottama. But this view is not acceptable as Hemachandra wrote this work during the reign of his patron Kumār Pāla (1143-1174 A. D.) a king of Gujurat, when T. S. had already gained reputation as a standard lexicon. Comparison of the geographical descriptions given in both the lexicons clearly shows that Abhidhāna Chintāmṇi of Hemachandra was written many years after T. S. As for example it may be noted that Hemachandra mentions Kānyakubja and Mahodaya as the names of the same city i. e. 'Kānyakubjaṃ Mahodayaṃ' [6] and gives Harikela as a synonym of Vaṅga e. g. 'Vaṅgastu Harikelīya'[7] where as Vaṅga, Harikela and especially Mahodaya are not mentioned in T. S. Thus Purushottama

was a predecessor to the famous Jaina poet and author Hemachandra (1088-1172 A. D.) and as such he may safely be placed before 1100 A. D.

This date fixed for Purushottama Deva may still be pushed back by one century if the internal evidence furnished by the text of T. S. and Hārāvalī is taken into consideration. In the beginning of the T. S. only the famous lexicographer Amara and his Kosha are mentioned e. g.

अलौकिकत्वादमर स्वकोषे नयानि मामाति समुल्लिलेख ।
विलोक्य तैरप्यधुना प्रचार मयं प्रयत्नः पुरुषोत्तमस्य ॥
वर्गक्रमस्तथानामलिङ्गयो स्तूपदेशजा ।
परिभाषादिकं सर्व मत्राप्यमरकोषवत् ॥

From the above two verses it is quite clear that the author wanted to make his work a supplement to the famous Amarakosha which already gained great popularity before his days. He does not mention any other lexicon or lexicographer in any other verse of T. S.

In the closing verses (No. 275 and No. 276) of his other work Hārāvalī, he gives the names of three lexicons namely Śabdārṇava, Utpalinī, Saṃsārāvartta compiled respectively by Vāchaspati, Vyāḍi and Vikramāditya, e. g.

शब्दार्णव-उत्पलिनी-संसारम्वर्त्त इत्यपि
कोषाः वाचस्पति व्याडि विक्रमादित्य निर्मिताः ॥
आदाय सारमेतेषां अन्येषांच विशेषतः
हारावली निवद्धेयं मया द्वादशवत्सरैः ॥

These two verses do not prove helpful in fixing his time, as the three lexicographers mentioned by him were the predecessors of the famous Amarasiṃha accordidg to the opinion of Mm. H. P. Shāstrī.[9] In the verse 279 of the Hārāvalī Purushottama Deva

mentions the names of two scholars named Janamejaya and Dhṛtisiṃha, who helped him much in the compillation of Hārāvali.

सुधिया जनमेजयेन यत्नाद्धृतिसिंहने समं निरूपितेयं
विदितो वहुदृश्वभिः कवीन्द्रै र्भुविकोषानुमतः श्रमोमदीयो ।

But nothing is yet known about these two contemporary scholars to whom he was so much obliged. So, this information does not help us in any way in arriving at a definite conclusion regarding his time. On the contrary lack of information about the following famous lexicographers who flourished between circa 950-1150 A. D. is significant e. g.

(a) Sāśvata, Author of Anekārthasamuchchaya (Circa 10th century).

(b) Halāyudha, author of Abhidhāna Ratnamālā (10th century).

(c) Yādavaprakāśa, author of Vaijayantī (11th century).

(d) Maheśvara, author of Viśvaprakāśa (1111 A. D.)

Had Purushottama known them or their works, he might have referred to them in the same way as he has mentioned Amara, Vyāḍi, Vāchaspati, Vikramāditya, Janamejaya and Dhṛtisiṃha. His silence about the four great lexicographers stated above is perhaps due to the fact that they flourished after him. This suppositton is corroborated by the evidence given below. In the 'Abhidhāna Ratnamālā' of Halāyudha, and in the 'Vaijayantī' of Yādavaprakāśa 'Mahodaya" is given as another name of the ancient city of Kānyakubja.[10] This term 'Mahodaya' gained prominence by its use in the epigraphic records of Dharmapāla, a greatest Pāla king of Bengal and those of Mahendra Pāla and Mahīpāla (910-940 A. D.) the Pratihāra Emperors of Northern India, ruling from Kānyakubja. In his 'Kāvya Mīmāṃsā' Rājaśekhara has described the glories of Mahodaya in very glowing terms. But in the T. S. only 'Kuśasthalaṃ' a Puranic name is given as a synonym of Kānyakubja e. g. 'Kuśasthalaṃ Kānyakubjaṃ'. Had Purushottama known this new name of

Kānyakubja, which became very popular throughout northern India from the middle of the 9th century A. D., he would not have omitted it in the paryāya of Kānyakubja. Thus he may be taken as a Predecessor of Halāyudha and Yādava Prakāśa and even of Rājaśekhara who flourished in the beginning of the tenth century A. D. So, 9C0 A. D. may be tentatively taken as the posterior limit for Purushottama.

The anterior limit for this lexicographer may be fixed with the help of the internal evidence furnished by comparison of the text of the T. S. to that of the Amarakosha, of which it is a supplement. Amara gives seventeen names for Buddha and five for Śākyamuni, but Purushottama adds thirty seven new names for Buddha and three new names for Śākyamuni. In the Amarakosha after the synonyms of Buddha Śākyamuni, the names of the Brahmanical god Brahmā are given. But in the T. S. after the two paryāyas of Buddha and Śākyamuni, two names of the son of Śākyamuni, one name of the brother of Śākyamuni, two names of the Srāvakas, five names of Pratyeka Buddha, seven names of Mārīchī, twenty-two names of Lokanātha, twenty one names of the Buddhist goddess Tārā, four names of Yaksha, twenty-four names of Mañjuśrī, eight names of Heruka, three names of Maitreya, five names of the Buddhist Śramaṇa and five names of the Bhikshu-śishya are given. After all these new paryāyas, the names of Bramhā are given. These additional list of names given by Purushottama furnish the clue to fix the anterior limit of his date with some amount of certainty.

Only a few of these new names having historical significance are discussed below :

(a) VAJRADHARA as a name of Mañjuśrī :

Dr. B. C. Bhattacharya, writes about the significance of this term after examining the Mahāyāna literature in Sanskrit and the accounts of the Chinese travellers :— "From what follows we come to the conclusion that all Sanskrit works mentioning the five

Dhyānī Buddhas or Vajradhara or Vajrasattva or any of the later gods cannot belong to a period prior to the time of Indrabhūti (Circa 700-750 A. D.)"[11]

(b) MAHĀSUKHA as a name of Buddha :— About the significance of this term Dr, B. C Bhattachharyya writes thus "But in the eighth century people were not satisfied with Vijñanavāda. They imported in to it another element called the Mahāsukhavāda. X X X It is from Mahāsukha that Vajrayāna originated."[12] Else where the same learned scholar writes "The theory of Mahāsukha also appears for the first time in this work (Jñanasiddhi of Indrabhūti) with all its various ramifications."[13]

(c) "AKANISHTHAGA' as a name of Buddha :—This speaks of the Akanishṭha heaven where the five Dhyānī Buddhas are said to live in peaceful meditation, and the very first thing that Vajrayāna brought with it was the five Dhyānī Buddhas and their Śaktis.

(d) 'SĀMANTABHADRA' as a name of Buddha :— Sāmantabhadra is the Bodhisattva of Vairochana who is one of the five Dhyānī Buddhas.

(e) "VAJRĪ and KARUNĀ KURCHAH' as two names of Buddha are also the terms having their origin in the Vajrayāna. Similarly Vajrakālikā, Vajrakapālī and Sukhāvatīśvara are the names of purely Vajrayāna deities.

By a close study of T. S. I have found that most of the names of the Vajrayāna gods and goddesses, given in this work are not even found in the 'Sādhanamālā' which is an authorithy on Vajrayāna. Thus most of the words given currency to by the Vajrayāna system, have been included by Purushottama in his T. S. This clearly proves that T. S. was written at a time when Vajrayāna was weilding great influence on the minds of the people. It is now admitted by the scholars that Vajrayāna was introduced into the

Mahāyāna system by Indrabhūti (circa 700-750 A. D.) the king of Uḍiyāna, which can satisfactorily be identified with Orissa.* From what has been stated above, it can defininietly be concluded that Purushottama flourished after Indrabhūti and as such 750 A. D. may be fixed as the anterior limit for his date.

In this connection, the list of the great Brāhmanical God Vishnu as given in T. S. is also equally important. Indrabhūti, the founder of the Vajrayāna system began his famous work Jñanasidhi after offering his prayer to Jagannātha, a Buddhist deity, in the Mangalācharaṇa e. g.

प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं सर्वजिनवरार्चितं
सर्वबुद्धमयं सिद्धिव्यापिनं गगनोपमं (१४)

In four other verses e. g. verses 27 and 92 of the first chapter, verse 28 of the second chapter and verse 8 of the fifth chapter Jagannātha is praised as a great Buddhist God. But in the T. S. Jagannātha is not given as a synonym of Buddha or a Buddhist god but as another name of Vishu e. g.

हेमशङ्कः-शतावर्त्तो-मनु-शाश्वत-वारीशाः
वर्द्धमान-सतानन्दो जगन्नाथः-सुयामुनः ॥१५

Some years must have passed after Indrabhūti for the conversion of the Bhuddhist god Jagannātha to a Brāhmanical one. According to tradition during his stay at Puri, the great Śaṃkarāchāryya (788-820) A. D, defeated the Buddhist scholars by his irrefutable arguments and vast learning; converted most of them as his disciples and proclaimed the indentity of Jagannātha till then a Buddhist god with the Brāhmanical god Vishnu or Purushottam of the Gītā. This tradition seems to be based on historical truth and is corroborated by the evidence furnished by the 'Anargha Rāghava Nātakaṃ' which was written within half a century of Śaṃkara's visit to Puri. This famous drama was presented at

the time of a festival (Yātrā) of God Purushottama who was being worshipped on the shore of the eastern sea. e. g.

नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः --अलमतिविस्तरेण । लवणाद-वेला-
वनालीतमालतरुकन्दलस्य त्रिभुवनमौलिमण्डनमहानीलमणेः
कमलाकुचकलशकेलिकस्तुरिकापत्राङ्कुरस्य भगवतः
पुरुषोत्तमस्य यात्राया मुपस्थानीयाः सभासदः—

This world famous God Purushottama, the consort of Kamalā, worshipped near the sea shore,' in whose YĀTRĀ (perhaps car festival), this great drama was presented, is no other than the great God Jagannātha of Puri, to whom Indrbhūti offered his prayers as a Buddhist deity nearly a century before Murāri, the author of this drama has been assigned to the end of the ninth century A. D. "It would not be unjustifiable, therefore to place Murāri at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century.'[17] Thus when Murāri wrote this drama some time after circa 850 A.D. the Buddhist god Jagannātha at Puri, must have been well-known through out India as god Purushottama, the husband of Laxmī. As the Lexicographer Purushottama includes Jagannātha in the list of synonyms of the great Brahminical god Vishnu, instead that of Buddha he may tentatively be assigned to the period of Murāri who also flourished before Rājaśekhara. So 850 A. D. may be taken as the anterior limit for this lexicographer.

All these facts go to prove that Purushottama flourished in the ninth century A. D. before Rājaśekhara and as such he can not be taken as a contemporary of king Lakshmaṇa Sena of Bengal (1179-1205 A. D.), and on no account he can be indentified with Gajapati King Purushottama Deva of Orissa (1466-1497 A. D.).

The second question which still awaits solution is the birth place of Purushottama. No definite decision can be arrived at in this matter, for lack of any authentic evidence. But a close study of the text of the T. S. will enable us to throw some new light on this

matter. The geographical description given in the T. S. clearly shows that he did not possess much knowledge about the kingdoms of the Deccan, as he does not describe any kingdom, city or region of the southern India to the south of Avanti except Kāñchi. So it may be said that he did not belong to south India. In the 'Bhūmi-varga' he states that both Oḍra and Utkala were the names of the same region e. g. 'Oḍra Utkalanāmāno.' This statement is accurate as will be shown below. From the account of the Chinese traveller we know that the kingdom of WU-TU (OTA) or Oḍra lay between Karṇasuvarṇa and Koṅgudha or Koṅgada[18] (North Ganjam and a portion of Puri District). From the plate of Somadatta of the year 15, We know that Uttara-Tośali (roughly comprising the area between the Mahānadī and the Kapiśā river) was included in the Oḍra vishaya[19] e. g. 'Oḍravishaye Uttara-Tośalyāṃ'. In the Raghuvaṃśa of the great poet Kālidāsa, Utkala is stated to be lying between the river Kapiśā in the north and Kaliṅga in the south. From the Midnapur plate of Śaśānka, we know that Daṇḍa bhukti or Midnapur area was adjoining Utkala e. g. Sahitaṃ Utakaldeśen Daṇḍabhuktim praśāsati.[20] The most improtant thing in this Varga is the mention of Vartani and Purbadeśa as identical e. g. 'Vartanih Pūrvadeśo.' It is known to all students of Indian Epigraphy that Vartani which was a 'Vishaya' or district exised on the bank of the Rushikūlyā river in the Ganjam district of Orissa. The earliest mention of this Vishaya is made in the Puri plates of Dharmarāja[21] who ruled in the seventh century, It is again mentioned in the Phulsara copper-plate grant of Kīrtirāja Deva[22] and Polsara plates of Arkeśvara Deva issued in the year 1148 A. D.[23] This shows that Vartani retained its importance from the beginning of the 7th century at least upto the middle of the 12th century. Vartani was not famous like Hastināpur, Kānyakubja, Vārāṇasī, Kurukeshetra, Pushpapur, Tāmralipti, Dwārakā and Prayāga etc. so as to deserve mention along with these famous places, and other well-known regions in the Bhūmivarga of T. S. This only shows the attachment of the author, for this district of very little importance to which he wanted to give some prominence. In verse 23 of the Vārivarga of

T. S. Rshikūlyā* is given as synonym of Gaṅgā. This again shows the partiality of the author for this river of that name flowing in the northern part of the Ganjam district. In the Bhūmi-varga he gives the name of a town-called 'Ekachakraṃ' with its two synonyms 'Harigṛham' and Sambhupurī'. In a manuscript of T. S. written in Oriya characters, the reading is 'Ekāmrakaṃ' and not Ekachakraṃ, according to the opinion of Sri Lingaraja Misra. If it be so, which is very likely , it must refer to the famous Ekāmra-Ksheta, which is also known as Bhubaneswar. Even if it is taken as 'Ekachakraṃ' it can be identified with the 'Ekachakrapura' which has been described at several places of the Oriya Mahābhārata by Sāralā Dāsa, written in circa 1440 A. D. as standing some where near Jājapur. Be it Ekāmrakaṃ or Ekachakraṃ it was certainly a town situated in Orissa, with which the author was familiar. In the verse 4 of the Śaila varga, while giving the names of the Kulaparvatas he mentionst he name of Mahendra first e. g. महेन्द्रामलय............ कुलाचला:. But in another lexicon the name of Mahendra is not given at all in the list of Kulaparvatas e. g.

हिमवान् निपधो विन्ध्यो माल्यवान् पारिपात्रकः
गन्धमादन मन्ये च हेमकूटादयः नगाः ॥

The attempt madt by the author to include and give prominence to Mahendra, a celebrated hill of South Orissa, in the list of Kulāchalas and Rshikulyā as a synonym of Gaṅgā might be due to the love of his birth place where they existed. Again elsewhere he writes ' 'देशे कलिङ्गे'' (P. 3)

Thus in the T. S. he has given the names of Mahendra, Kaliṅga, Utkala, Oḍra, Rshikulyā, Varttani, Ekachakraṃ or Ekāmrakam, and Tāmralipti (which formed a part of Orissa for many centuries), whareas he mentions only one place ' Kotīvarsha ' of Bengal, while the names of Rāḍha, Suhma, Samatata, Vaṅga and Harikela are not found in it and Gauḍa is taken as a synonym of Puṇḍra and Vārendri. This shows that he was more familiar with the geography of Utkala than that of Gauḍa.

In the 'Vārivarga' he has used 'chāṃpilā' as a synonym of a river. In the Ganjam area a water-course is still called 'Tāmprā' of which Chāṃpilā seems to be a Sanskritised form. The origin of the word Chilkā which now denotes a famous lake of that name in Orissa may be traced to 'Chuluka' e. g. 'Chuluko ghanajambāle' which seems to be a Deśī word. Again in ihe same Varga he has given the different names of boats plying in the rivers, used in coastal navigation and by Pulindas, ships sailling over the sea, names of different kinds of fish and other acquatic animals etc. which speak of his familiarity with the sea. He gives a word Pādāraka' for a kind of boat used by the Pulindas, who may be identified with Nulias, who are still to be seen in the coast of Puri and Ganjam Districts; having fish-catching as their hereditary occupation.

All these will lead one to suppose that Purushottama, the lexicographer belonged to the southern Orissa near the sea-shore, which was adjoining the Varttani area in the Rshikulyā valley not far from the Mahendra mountain. This suppposition is corroborated by the fact that a lot of words used in the T. S. are still being used in the Oriya language either in their original or slightly modified forms. A list of some such words is given in the next pages.

Page	Oriya word	Sanskrit word in T. S	Remarks
19	जागर	कोजागर	Śivarātri is still called Jāgara Yātrā in Orissa.
,,	दीपाली	दीपाली	
,,	भल	भल्ल (शुभ)	
20	काहाली	काहाल	A musical instrument.
22	केला	केलक (खड्गधारी नर्त्तक)	A class of people is called Kelā in Orissa, who are expert in dancing, music and display of physical feats.
23	हलाहल	हलाहल (सर्प)	There is a story of Halāhala Kumār in old Oriya literature.
25	वाङ्क	वाङ्क (समुद्र)	There is a place called Vānki Muhāṇa in Puri.
25	परङ्ग	परङ्ग (समुद्र)	The coastal region of the Puri District was known as 'Paraṅga Daṇḍapāṭa'.
26	भेला	भेलक (नौका)	
26	पोलुअ	प्लव, पल्व	Used in catching fish.
28	विल	विल्ल	
33	बाट	वाट (पथ)	A colloquial Oriya word.
33	शासन	शासन	All Brahmana villages in Orissa are called Śāsana.
33			
34			
34	करवाड	कर्वट (बृहत् ग्राम)	Karabāḍa is used for a big Brahmaṇa village.
34	पीढा	पीट Thatched	
35	चाल	चाल roof	
	मञ्चा	मञ्चक	
35	कवाट	कवाट	
36	कान्थवाड	कन्थावाट (प्राकार)	
36	पाट	पाट (Stone)	
	खड़ि	खटी	A stick of soft white stone used in writing.
36	गछ	गच्छ (tree)	
37	मञ्जि	मञ्जि (seed)	
37	कोलि	कोली (plum)	

Page	Oriya word	Sanskrit word in T.S.	Remarks
38	काइश्च	कार्कचिश्चा	Used as a unit in weight.
38	ओउ	उडु (क्षुद्राम्लपनस)	A kind of fruit.
42	चलगा	चेलान	,,
43	हिन्ताल	हिन्ताल	A kind of palm tree grown in the swampy coastal region.
45	पाति	गलेगण्ड	This kind of money is found in large numbers in the Puri area.
45	कङ्कि	कङ्क	
46	चिल	चिल्ल (kite)	
49	झर्झरा	झर्झरा (वेश्या)	Used still in the Puri District.
50	खोंड	खोर (खञ्ज)	
50	काला	कल (deaf)	
51	गोंदर	गण्डोर	Swelling of the leg and foot caused by elephantiasis.
51	सिघाणि	सिंघान (नासामल)	
52	कुलि	कुलुकं (जिह्वामल)	
53	वाहा	वाहा (वाहु)	
54	झापड	जागुड (कुङ्कुम)	
56	वडु	वटु	Used in the sense of upanayana.
58	कच्छा	कच्छा	
60	हुलहुली	हुलहुली	
60	टाकरा	टात्कर	A peculiar sound made by the mouth.
67	शिङ्कला	शृङ्खला	An iron chain used to lock up the door.
67	भिञ्जिर	हिञ्जिर	
70	आखडा	अक्षवाट	Gymnasium
70	मडक	मरक	Pestilence
72	माठिआ	मार्त्तिक	Earthern jar.
72	करचुली	खरसोल्ल	Iron laddle.
73	काञ्जि	काञ्जिक	A kind of liquid food generally taken by the common people.

Page	Oriya word	Sanskrit word in T.S.	Remarks
73	पुलि	पोलि (खाद्य)	It is offered as a Bhoga in Puri and Sakhigopal.
73	आलिपणा	आलिम्पना (तृप्ति)	
73	खई	खदिका	Parched rice.
73	तुम्बा	तुम्बा	A kind of pot or measure.
73	हम्बा	हम्बा	
74	वुक्का	वुक्क छागल	Both the words are still in use in the Sambalpur Tract.
75	वकर	वर्कर	
75	माली	मालिक	A class of Sevakas of the Siva temples in Orissa.
77	पाञ्जिकार, पाञ्जिआ	पञ्जीकर	
78	सुडङ्ग	सुरङ्ग (पाठभेद सुरङ्ग)	Tunnel, hole,
79	तकडि	तर्कु	Weighing scale.
78	हुल	तुल	The two ends of a bow.
78	वारसि	वासी (तक्षणी)	
91	किलिकिला	किलकिला (हर्षध्वनि)	
97	खोलपा	खोलक (पूगकोष)	
119	गञ्ज	गञ्ज	A kind of brass-pot.
124	चटेइ	चट्ट	A kind of Āsana, made of palm leave.
127	कोठि, कोठ	कोष्ठ (धान्यागार)	
129	खण्ड	खण्ड	Prepared from molasses and used in Bhoga in Puri & Bhubaneswar.
133	करण	करण (जाति विशेष)	
207	अण्डिरा	अण्डिरा (पुरुष ओ शक्त)	Used in both the senses in Oriya.
212	खरा	खरा (तिग्म स्पर्श)	
227	कलकल	कलकल (कोलाहल)	Used in the sense in Oriya.
230	झाल	झला (आतपोर्मि)	Used in the sense of sweat.
231	तुलि	तुला (गृहस्तम्भ)	
248	चांग्रा	चांक्ष (मनोज्ञ)	Used still in colloquial language.

Some Examples are given from the Hārāvalī

Oriya word	Sanskrit word	Verse	Remark
च्छुछुन्द्रा	च्छुच्छु (गन्धाखु)	83	
फरुआ	फरुवकं (पूगपात्रं)	138	
धाडि	धारी (धारि पथिकसंहृतिः)	139	Still used in the sense of multitude
टुकुलि	दिक्करा (नवयौवना)	155	Used in the Sambalpur tract.
हान्दोला	हिन्दोला (स्याद्दोलिका तु हिन्दोला)	182	
वादुडि	वादुलि (वादुलिस्तरुकूलिका)	186	
कानगुहा	कर्णगुथ (कर्णगुथं कर्णमलं)	196	
खिडिकि	खड़क्किका (पक्षद्वारं खडक्किका)	197	Window
चांच	चञ्चा(तृणपूलीतु चञ्चास्यात्)	200	
झाम	झामकं (दग्धेष्टकं)	215	Still used in this sense.
दण्डयात्रा	दण्डयात्रा(दिकजये वरयात्रायां दण्डयात्रां विदुर्बुधा)	211	Daṇḍa yātrā is a great popular fesival of Orissa.
छेक	छेक (छेकपट्पदवक्रयो)	253	Still means a cross mark in Oriya.
फेणि	फाणि (फाणिगुड)	258	A kind of sweat meat.

In his Dvirūpa-Kosha he has given the double froms of words some of which are still used in Oriya, as is shown below.

Oriya word	Sanskrit word	Verse	Remark
कषा	कषा (कशायां कथिताकषा)	1	
च्छार	च्छार (च्छारः सारोऽपि संमतः)	3	Used in the Sambalpur tract.
वालि	वालिका (वालुका वालिका तथा)	8	
काङ्गु	कङ्गु (कङ्गुः कङ्गुः)	14	Cultivated in the hilly tracts of Orissa.
शारी	शारि (शारिः सारोऽपि-कथ्यते)	19	A kind of bird.
लज्जा	लज्जा (लज्जया लज्ज्यापुनः प्रोक्ता)	23	
ज्येष्ठ	ज्येष्ठ (मासि ज्जैष्ठे तथा ज्येष्ठः)	29	
पर्वाणा	पर्वणी (पर्वस्यान् पर्गणी)	39	
कीला	कोला (कीलः कीलापि-कीर्त्तिता)	41	
फटा	फटा (स्फटा फटाच)	44	Crack, rift
चिकण चिक्कण	चिकणं चिक्कण चिकण चिक्कणौ	51	
कुम्भा	कुम्भा (कुम्भी चापि तथा कुम्भा)	57	
पघा	प्रग्राह (प्रग्राहः प्रग्रहोद्दष्टः)	61	Used in tying cattle.
तुली	तुली (तुली तुला मतं सतां)	63	
काकुडी	कक्कुटी (कर्कटी कर्कुटी)	67	A kind of fruit
लाउ	लावूड (लावूरलावू)	68	
पोतक	पोतक (पोतिका पोतकाख्याता	70	A kind of insect.
मकुट	मकुट (मुकुटं मकुटं तथा)	70	

Some examples from the Ekāksharakosha :—In this Kosha अं and अः are taken as two vowels. It was still the custom in Orissa to teach these two vowels along with the other vowels from अ to औ in the village Pāṭhaśālās. As Purushottama has included these two letters e. g. असयाच्च परमं ब्रह्म अः स्याद्वेो महेश्वरेा ।" following the Orissan custom he may be taken to be man of Orissa.

From the internal evidence furnished by the texts of the four lexicons, discussed above, it may be presumed that the famous lexicographer Purushottama Deva belonged to Orissa as he was fully familiar with the Oriya language. These works were very popular in Orissa and Hārāvalī Ekākshara Kosha and Dvirūpa Kosha were included in the course of study in all the Pāṭhaśālās in Orissa, till the introduction of the Western system of education in this state.

●

-Reference-

1. (a) Article entitled "Trikandasesha abam Purushottama Deva by late Pandita Mrityunjaya Rath published in the now defunct Oriya monthly "The Mukura" , Vol, VII, 1913, No. 2, pp. 31-44
   (b) Utkala Itihasa by late Pandita Krupasindhu Misra, p. 138.
   (c) Orissa Itihasa by Dr. H. K. Mahatab, p. 169.
2. (a) *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, by H. P. Shastri, p. 294,
   (b) The Bengali Commentators of the Amarakosha by N. N. Das Gupta, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 262-263.
3. On the date of Tika-Sarvasva by Sarvananda published by S. C. Banerjee. *J. R. A. S.*, 1928, pp. 900-901.
4. '*Sanskrit Lexicography*' by late Pandit Ramavatara Sharma. J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. IX, part IX part 1, pp. 44-45.
5. *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscrpits* (1895-1900) by M. H. P. Shastri. pp. 7-8.
6. Verse 173. *Abhidhana Chintamani*
7. Verse 157. -do-

8. T. S. First Kanda verses 2 & 3.
9. *Des. Cat. of Sanskrit Manuscripts* Vol. VI, Vyakarana Manuscripts, pp. CXXI to CXXIV.
10. History of Kanouj by Dr. R. S. Tripathy, pp. 4 & 6.
11 Buddhist Iconography, Foreword, p. XXIV.
12. *Ibid* p. XI.
13. *Ibid* p. XXVII,

* A separate paper will be published on this subject by me in a subsequent issue of this journal.

14. First vese of 'Jnanasiddhi' published by the Oriental Rasearch Institute, Baroda.
15. T. S. Svargavarga, Verse 32.
16. Anargha Raghava, Prathama Anka.
17. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De, p. 449.
18. On Ynua Chwang. Vol. II by Thomas Watters. pp, 193-198
19. 'Four copper plates from Sore' by N. G. Mazumdar, plate B, E, I, Vol. XXIII, p. 202,
20. *J. R. A. S*, of Bengal letters, Vol, XI, 1945, No. 1, pp. 1 to 10.
21. *J. B. & O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p 181.
23. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Voi. III, pp. 30-34
24. *E. I.* Vol. XXVIII, No. II. pp. 63-67,

* Among the small rivers of Ganjam District in Orissa all the three namely Rishikulya, Langulini, and Vamsadhara find mention by ALBERUNI who flourshed during the first quarter of the 11th century, vide *Alberuni's India* Sachu, p. 257.



POET MARKANDEYA MISHRA AND HIS WORKS

There are two paper manuscripts containing the copy of an unpublished Sanskrit work called 'Daśagrīvabhadha Mahākāvyaṃ' in the Manuscript collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubabaneswar. This Mahākāvya was composed by one Mārkaṇḍeya Kavichakravartī whose memory is now practicably lost into oblivion. So an humble attempt is made hear to bring this once-famous poet within the range of knowledge of the scholarly world.

The poet gives some information about himself, his family, and date of this work in the last three verses (57, 58 and 59) of the Ist Sarga or canto and the colophon at the end of D. B. M.[1], which are quoted below.

भास्वन् वंशमणेर्वभुवकपिलक्षौणीपते नंन्दनो ।
वीरश्रीपुरुषोत्तमो गजपति र्भाग्य भवोमूर्त्तिमत् ।
आकौमारदिनान्महाप्रियसुहृत्तस्याभवन् काश्यपः—
श्रीमान्मंगलदेव इत्यत्तीमतो गोष्ठीषुविद्यावताम् ॥५७
श्रीरुद्रे पुरुषोत्तमेन्द्रतनये प्रोद्दामदोर्मण्डली—
क्रीडा खण्डित-शात्रवे वसुमती मासागरं शासति
श्रीमान मङ्गलदेव सूनुरमनागाराध्य वाग्वादिनी
मार्कण्डेय कवि स्तदेतदतनोत् काव्यं हरेः प्रीतये ॥५८
भोगाभोग मुरीकरोति धरणी यावद्भुजङ्गे शितु
र्लोकालोकगिरिं प्रदक्षिणयते यावत्त्विषामीश्वरः
श्रीरामस्य गुणाम्बुधे र्गुणलवेनारब्धमेतन्नवं
काव्यं मे विदधातु तावदसकृत् प्रीतिं प्रसन्नात्मनां ॥५९

इति श्रीकाश्यपगोत्रसमुद्भव श्रीमन्मंगलदेव-देहसम्भव मार्कण्डेयाभिध कविराज-चक्र-चक्रवर्त्ती विरचिते दशग्रीववधे महाकाव्ये श्रीरामस्वपुराभिषेको नाम विंशतितमः सर्गः । शम् समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥

The meaning of the three verses quoted above is as follows. The famous Gajapati Purushottama, the son of Kapileśwar Deva, the crestjewel of the Sūryavaṃśa or Solar dynasty, was a great hero and was, as it were the Fortune-incarnate of the realm. Maṅgal Deva born in the Kāśyapa gotra or lineage, and well known among scholars was an intimate friend and constant companion of Purushotama Deva, from his early days. Poet Mārkaṇḍeya, son of Maṅgala Deva, composed this work by virtue of his constant devotion to goddess Sarasvatī, when Pratāparudra Deva, son of Purushottama, the destroyer of enemies was ruling over the earth girdled by the ocean, for the satisfaction of Hari. The poet fondly hoped that his work describing the achivements of god Rāmachandra will render constant satisfaction to the learned scholars, as long as Vāsuki the lord of the serpents would be holding the earth over his fangs, and the Su would be rising in the Udayāchala.

From the colophon, quoted above it is known that he was the son of Maṅgala Deva of the Kāśyapa lineage and was the greatest poet of the age, for which he bears the title 'कविराज चक्र-चक्रवर्त्ती' great among the greatest poets and his work D. B. M. contained twenty Sargas or cantos. In the colophons given at the end of the five cantos e. g. second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth he calls himself Mārkaṇḍeya Miśra, while in those given at the end of fourteen out of the remaining fifteen Sargas he calls himself Mārkaṇḍeya Deva, and in the colophon given at the end of this work after the twentieth or last Sarga, he simply calls himself Mārkaṇḍeya. From this it may be concluded that the surname of his family was Miśra. Brāhmaṇas having Kāśyapagotra and the surname of Miśra are still found in many parts of Orissa.

From the verses quoted above, it is quite clear that Mārkaṇḍeya and his father were contemporaneous with Gajapati Purushottama Deva (.466-1497) and his son Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva (1497-1540) the then Sūryavaṃsi Emperors of Orissa. In his 'Abhinava Beṇīsaṃhāraṃ Nāṭakaṃ, which is still unpublished, Gajapati

Purushottama Deva, claims the authorship of four other works e. g. Ānanda-Vılāsa, Daśagriva-badha, Jānakī-Pramoda and Kuvalayāśva e.g

गजपति श्री पुरुषोत्तमदेवेन महाराजेनविरचित आनन्दविलास-दशग्रीववधजानकी-प्रमोद-कुवलयाश्व प्रभृति विविध-रूप-रूपक सहोदर मभिनव वेणिसंहरण नाम नाटकं'

Daśagriva-badha, the authorship of which is attributed to Gajapati Purushottama Deva in the text quoted above, is perhaps identical with the Daśagrivabadha Mahākāvym, which was actually composed by Mārkaṇḍeya. Similar cases of attribution of authorship by the poets to their patrons are also found in the Sūryavaṃsi period. It is known from the Bhāratāmṛta Mahākāvyaṃ' , an unpublished work, two palm leaf manuscripts of which are preserved in collection of the O. S. Museum, that its author Kavichandra Rāya Divākara Miśra, was also the author of a work named Abhinava Gīta-govinda e. g.

यं प्रासूत पतिव्रता गुणवती मुक्ताविमुक्तात्मनः
श्री वैदेश्वरतो विभूषित भरद्वाजान्वयादात्मजं
काव्ये तस्य सहोदरादभिनव श्री गीतगोविन्दतो
ऽप्योजः शालिनि सप्तविंशतितमः सर्गः समाप्तोऽभवत् ॥

(Last verse of 27th Sarga)

It is quite clear from the above verse tnat Kavichandra Rāya Divākara Miśra, the son of Vaideśvara of the Bharadvāja gotra and his wife Muktā Devi composed Abhinava Gītagobinda. Inspite of this, the authorship of this work is claimed by Gajapati Purushottama Deva which will be evident from the quotations given below.

(a) राधामुरारि रमणीय रहस्यलीला-
समेत सुन्दर ममन्द पुराभिरामम् ।
साहित्य-सारं समुदाय बुधः प्रबन्ध-
मेतं करोति पुरुषोत्तमभूमिभर्त्ता ॥

(Fifth verse at the beginning of the work.)

(b) Colophon— इति श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेव गजपति महाराज कृते अभिनव गीतगोविन्दे महाकाव्ये स्वाधीनभर्त्तृ-कावर्णने सानन्दमुकुन्दोनामो दशमोः सर्गः ।[4]

Similarly the authorship of 'Sarsvatī Vilāsa' and 'Pratāpa Mārtaṇḍa' two famous works on Dharmaśāsta', which were compiled by Lolla Lakshmidhar Bhaṭṭa and Rāmakṛshna Bhaṭṭa respectively is claimed by Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva. So it can safely be concluded that D. B. Mahākāvya, which is claimed as a work by Gajapati Purushottama Deva was actully composed by Mārkaṇḍeya, towords the close of his reign, as Gajapati Pratāparudra was ruling when this work was finished. So 1500 A. D. may be approximately taken as the date of this work.

This was the age when the stories of the two great Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and the stories of the great Bhāgabata Purāṇa, were written in shape of Mahākāvya by the great Sanskrit Poets of Orissa. Kavichandrarāya Divākara Miśra, and Kavi-ḍiṇḍima Jīvadeva Āchāryya, who adorned the courts of Gajapati Purushottama and his son Gajapati Pratāparudra wrote Bhāratāmṛta Mahākāvya and Bhakti Bhāgabata Mahākāvya respectively. (5) & (6) Similarly the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa became the subject matter of D. B. Mahākāvya, as will be evident from the names of the twenty Sargas, which are quoted below.

(1) Bhagabatvijñāpana; (2) Kumārodya; (3) Viśvāmitra Samāgama; (4) Sri Rāma Samarpaṇa (5) Ahalyānugraha, (6) Pinākabhaṅga (7) Daśaratha Āgamana, (8) Jānakī-pariṇaya, (9) Ayodhyāpraveśa, (10) Sri Rāma Vanavāsa, (11) Pañchavaṭinivāsa, (12) Sūrpaṇakhā-nigraha, (13) Kharādibadha, (14) Sitāharaṇa, (15) Sītā-sandarśana, (16) Laṅkā Dahana, (17) Samudrabilodana, (18) Laṅkābeṣṭana, (19) Indrajitabadha, (20) Sri Rāmasvapurāvisheka. But it can not be definitely said in the present state of our knowledge which of these three contemporary Orissan poets was the pioneer in the

field of composing this type of Kāvya. But Jīvadeva who was the eledest of the three, being a rival of the father of Divākara, might have taken the lead in this matter,

About the merit and importance of this unpublished Mahākāvya in the Sanskrit literature, I am not in a position to make any comment due to my want of deep knowledge in Sanskrit. But to me, the style of composition of this work seems to be simple, lucid and expressive.

As regards other works, written by this poet, no information is to be found from the D. B. Mahākāvya, noticed above. But in this connection another point which deserves consideration here, is the existence of another famous contemporary Sanskrit scholar named Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra who was the author of a reputed work called 'Prākṛta Sarvasva', which has already been printed and published.[7] This Mārkaṇḍey calls himself 'Kavīndra' in the introductory verse after Maṅgalācharaṇam and also in the colophon at the end of each Pāda or section e. g.

शाकल्य-भरत कोहृल वररुचि भामहवसन्तराजाद्यै:
प्रोक्तान् ग्रन्थन्नानालक्ष्याणिच निपुणमालोक्य ॥
आव्याकीर्ण्णं विशदं सारं स्वल्पाक्षरग्रथितपद्यम् ।
मार्कण्डेयकवीन्द्रः प्राकृतसर्वस्वमारभते ॥

Colophon at the end of each pāda—इति श्री मार्कण्डेयकवीन्द्रकृतौ प्राकृतसर्वस्वे

From the verse at the end of the viṃśatitama pāda or last section it is known that Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra finished this work in the village Vīrapratāpapura, where he lived, when the great hero Mukunda Deva, the destroyer of enemies was ruling over Utkala like Raghupati or Rāmachandra over Ayodhyā e. g.

श्रीमद् मुकुन्ददेवनृपतौ दोःस्तम्भकुम्भीनस—
क्रीडा ग्रस्त-समस्त शात्रवकुल-प्राणानिले धर्मतः ।
शासत्युत्कलमेदिनीं रघुपतौ साक्षादयोध्यामिव
ग्रामे वीरवर प्रताप नृपतेः पूर्णो निबन्धो नवः ॥

This great Mukunda Deva praised by Kavīndra has been satisfactorily indentified with Gajapati Mukunda Deva (1559-1568), the last powerful independent Hindu ruler of Utkala by Sri Paramananda Achāryya, an eminent Historian of Orissa.[8] The village Vīrapratāpapura, where the poet lived is a Brahamaṇa Śāsana or village, founded by Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva which still exists not far from Sakshigopal Rly. Station in the District of Puri.

I am tempted to indentify Mārkaṇḍeya, author of D. B. Mahākāvya with his name sake; who wrote Prākṛtasarvsva for the reasons given below. Both bore the same name and were Brāhamaṇa by caste. Both were famous poets, one calling himself कविराज चक्रचक्रवर्त्ती and the other 'कवीन्द्र'. Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra lived in Vīra-Pratāpapura Śasana not far from Puri. Though the place of residence of the other is not mentioned in his work, he may be taken as a man of the Puri-side, as his father Maṅgala Deva, was a constant companion of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, who mainly resided at Puri. Moreover, the close resemblance in the language and mode of expression the two verses describing expressions the might and herosim of Gajapati Pratāparudra and Mukunda Deva, in D. B. Mahākāvya and Prākṛta Sarvasva respectively is significant e. g.

(a) प्रोद्दाम-दोर्मण्डली-क्रीड़ाखण्ड़ितशात्रवे वसुमती—
मासागरं शासति श्रीरुद्रे (D. B. Mahākāvya)

(b) दोः-स्तम्भ-कुम्भीनस-क्रीडा-ग्रस्त समस्तशात्रवकुल—
प्रणानिले उत्कलमेदिनीं शासति श्रीमद्वीरमुकुन्द
देव नृपतौ (Prākṛta Sarvasva)

This close resemblance is not certainly accidental. On the contrary, it may lead one to conclude that both the verses might have been composed by one and the same person. In case, two are taken to be different persons, then we are to assume that, two great poets bearing the same name, born of the same caste flourished in the same puri area in the same age. But such coincidence though not

impossible, seems improbable. So until the contrary is proved to be true, both of them may be taken as indentical. In that case Mārkaṇḍeya must have lived for a pretty long time say, 90 years from circa 1475-1565 A. D.

From the history of Oriya literature, it is known that there lived a famous Oriya poet named Mārkaṇḍeya, who composed a pathetic poem named *Keshava Koili* alias *Yashoda Koili.* It is a monologue, in which mother Yośodā discloses her thoughts before a Koili or a cuckoo bird by addressing the bird as O' koili, and the address portion forms the theme of the poem. This is the earliest known Dūta-kavitā in the Oriya literature and was written in imitation of the Meghadūta by Kālidāsa.

Jagannātha Dāsa, the greatest Oriya devotee poet of this age composed '*Artha Koili*' in circa 1530 A. D. to give a spiritual interpretation to the text of the *Keshava Koili*, which had attained great popularity in his time. *Keshava Koili* which was written some years before *Artha Koili* may tentatively be placed in circa 1500 A. D. So Mārkaṇḍeya, the author of this famous Oriya lyric becomes a a comtemporary of the two Sanskrit poets of the same name, and like them also he was the resident of some Brāhmaṇa village near about Puri.

Thus it can be concluded that the three great poets bearing the same name and flourishing in same Brāhamaṇa village near about Puri in the same century may be taken as identical. This identification suggested above may be taken as tentative, till it is conclusively proved by the discovery of fresh evidence.

In this connection it may be noted that Sir George A. Grierson who made critical examination of Prākṛta Sarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya in his different papers[9] on Prākṛta & Paiśāchi, wrote about his date as follows "Rāma Śarman and Mārkaṇḍeya probably both belonged to the 17th century."[10] This date of Mārkaṇḍeya, fixed by this

eminent scholar has been accepted by subsequent writers. But in view of the facts stated above, Mārkaṇḍeya, the author of Prākṛta Sarvasva can not be placed in the seventeenth century, as patron Mukunda Deva, who was no other than the last independent Hindu Ruler of Orissa of that name ruled from 1559 to 1568 A. D.

-Reference-

1. *Dasagribabadha Mahakavyam* is hence-forward abbreviated as D. B. M.
2. *The Prachi* 1931 Vol. I p. 6.
3. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* No. 1. *VII* Kavya manuscripts in the collection of A. S. B. No. 5181, p, 150.
4. do Vol, 5180 p. 145
5. *Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the collection of A. S. Bengal Vol. VII Kavya Manuscripts*, No. 5181, p. 150.
6. *Shastri Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuskripts.* 1901-1905 pp. 14, 16.
7. Edited by Vaidyaratnam Sri V. Bhattanatha Swami and published by the Asha Company, Vizagapatam, 1927.
8. *Oriya Sahityara Aitihya'* or History of Oriya Literature. *The Sahaka* ra (Oriya monthly) Vol. 23, part. 10, p. 402.
9. (a) *J. R. A. S.* 1913 pp. 875-883,
   (b) *J. R. H. A. S.* 1918 pp. 489, 517
   (c) *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.*
   (d) *Memory of the A. S. Bengal* Vol. *VII* pp. 77 120.
10. *Sir Asutosha Mukharjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol *III*, pt. II, p. 122.



DATE OF VAIJALA DEVA, AUTHOR OF PRABODHA CHANDRIKA

Prabodha Chandrikā, a work on Sanskrit grammar by Vaijala Deva, a ruler of the kingdom of Patana was till recently very popular in Orissa, and was also known in other parts of India. So an attempt has been made in this paper to fix the date and ascertain the domicile of its author, with the materials that have been available.

This work was perhaps first noticed by H. P. Shastri who wrote in his report as follows :

'Vaijala Bhupati was a Chauhān Zamindar of four parganas in the district of Patana in the first half of the 17th century He employed a Pandita named Jagamohan to prepare a topographical account of India entitled Deśāvali-vivṛti, six volumes of which are to be found in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta. He wrote a short treatise on Grammar entitled Prabodha Chandrikā, which has been collected in these years. [1] In another article entitled 'Gazetteer Literature in Sanskrit' [2] the same scholar quoted a verse from which it is known that this Vaijala Deva, died in Śaka year 1572, and Kaliyuga years 4750 or 1650 A.D. Elsewhere[3] he has discussed the geneology of this VaijalaDeva as given by his court- poet Jagamohana, which will be examined latter. His final conclusion about Vaijala Deva, the author of Prabodha Chandikā has been embodied in the preface of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Vyākaraṇa manuscripts, which is quoted below for ready reference and careful

examination. "During the reigns of Jehāngir and Shāh, Jahān, there was a Chauhān Raja at Patna, whose name was Vijjala or Vaijala, and he had four parganas as his Jaigir. Following the example of Vidyāpati and of Vijjala's ancestor Vikramāditya, he got one of his pandits Jagamohan to write a Sanskrit Gazetteer of Eastern India. entitled Deśāvali-Vivṛti. He had a son named Hirādhara. For the education of Hirādhar in Sanskrit, he wrote a short grammar, entitled Prabodha Chadrikā throughout in anuṣṭup metre. His object was to preach the glory of Rāma. It has the following sections :—

Vibhakti-chandrikā, Tyādi-, Kāraka-, Samāsa-, Taddhita-, and Sandhi-[4]".

With due respect to this late-lamented learned scholar it can now be said that his conclusion regarding the date and domicile of Vaijala Deva, author of P. C. * is untenable in view of recent findings detailed below.

For the purpose of this article, the following have been critically examined-

(a) The palm-leaf manuscript containing upto the 7th *Prakaraṇa* of P. C. preserved in the Orissa State Museum.

(b) & (c)The palm-leaf manuscript containing the complete text of the P. C. preserved in the Orissa State Museum. The same manuscript also contains upto the 4th Prakaraṇa elsewhere.

(d) Copy of P. C. collected by late P. C. Rath from the Mahākośala Historical Research Society in 1942.

(e) Copy of P. C. collected by late P. C. Rath from the Tanjore Maharaja Serfogi's Saraswati Mahal library in 1943.

(f) Copy of P. C. collected by me as the Archeologist, Ex-State of Kalahandi, from Rani Saheba, Thuamul in 1944.

(g) Copy of P. C. printed and published by late Pandita Govinda Rath in Oriya script.

The first two verses of P. C. which give some information about its author, are found in all the seven copies referred to above. They are as follows :

हरिहर-गुरुभक्तः सर्वलोकानुरक्तः
त्रिभुवन-गतकीर्त्तिः कान्ति कन्दर्प मूर्त्तिः ।
रण रिपुगणकालो वैजलक्षौणिपालो
जयति जगतिदाता सर्वकर्माविधाता

(Verse 1)

चन्द्रावती वदनचन्द्र-चकोर धीरः
श्रीविक्रमार्कतनयो नयतन्त्रवेत्ता
चौहानवंश तिलको पटनाधिनाथो
राजा परं जयति वैजलदेवो नामा ॥

(Verse 2)

It is stated in the above two verses that Vaijala Deva was a devotee of both Hara (Śiva) and Hari (Vishṇu). As well as his preceptor, he was very powerful, beautiful, munificent and well versed in Naya and Tantra. He was a famous ruler of the Chauhān family of the Patna kingdom, and the consort of Chandrāvatī and the son of Vikramārka or Vikramāditya

Late Mr. Shastri arrived at this wrong conclusion by identyfing the kingdom of Patna ruled over by Vaijala Deva which existed in the Sambalpur region of Orissa, with a Jaigir in the district of Patna in the State of Bihar. But the exact location of the kingdom Patana has been described in the first chapter of P. C. called विभक्तिचन्द्रिका which is quoted below.

दिग्देश कालयोगेच ग्रामात् पूर्वं स्थितिर्मम
उत्कलात् पश्चिमं ज्ञेयं पटना राज्यमद्भुतं ।

This verse is found in all the seven copies of P. C. refered to above. In five copies the word उज्ज्वलं is substituted for अद्भुतं but it does not affect the sense of the verse in any way. It is clear from the verse that the kingdom of Patna, of which Vaijala Deva was the ruler, lay to the west of Uikala or Orissa. Had he been a Jaigirdar of the District of Patna in the State of Bihar, he would never have located Patna to the west of Utkala or Orissa as found in the Text. This kingdom of Panta was so named after its capital Patna (present Patnagarh) where a lotof remains of the early period were first noticed by Mr. Beglar in 1875-76 5, most of which are still to be found there. The name of 'Patna' is found in an Oriya inscription belonging to the 13th century, discovered in the Patnagarh, but this is not yet published. The term पाटनानगर is found in the Narasiṃhanātha stone inscription of Vaijala Deva, which has been edited and published by Pandit Vinayaka Misra [6] Thus it can be said with centainty that Vaijala Deva, author of P. C. was a ruler of the Patna kingdom in Orissa, and was quite different from his namesake, who was a Jagirdar in the Patna District of Bihar, and the patron of Pandita Jagamohana, the author of *Desāvalī-vivṛti.*

This conclusion is strengthened by the examination of the genealogies of both the Vaijalas. The author of Prabodha-Chandrikā was the son of Vikramārka or Vikramāditya and the father of Hirādhra, for whom this gtammatical work was composed :

चिन्तयन्नरि निर्यातः क्रीडन्तं श्रीहीराधरं
श्रीमान् वैजलभूपालो विलोक्य सुतमब्रवीत् ॥

But the genealogy of Vaijala Deva, a Jaigirdar of Patna in Bihar as given by his court poet Jagamohana is quite differnt from that given in the P. C. as shown below :

Vikramāditya (who settled in Tirhoot)

|

Nāthasena alias Parāśara

|

Vaijal, author of a Prakriyā Vyākaraṇa and settled at Paṭṭana. In his family was born Vanavāri in the Kalijuga year 4500 or 1400 A.D.

|

Vanavāri

|

Bhudala

|

Ratula

|

Vaijala (Patron of Jagamohana)[7]

A glance at the above genealogy shows there were two Vaijalas in this family, but none of them was the son of Vikramāditya. There was of course one Vikramāditya. But he was the grand father of the first Vaijala, who wrote on Prakriyā Vyākarṇa and the remote forefather of the second Vaijala, the patron of Jagamohan. But, there is no Hirādhara in the above genealogy for whom the grammar was written.

Vaijala, the ruler of the Patna kingdom and author of P. C. was followed by a long line of kings, who ruled in the States of Patna, Sonepur. Sambalpur, Khariar till their occupation by the British in the middle of the 19th century, whereas nothing is known about the successors of the Jaigirdar Vaijala, whose death was followed by chaos and disorder, for which Deśāvali vivṛti, compiled under his patronage remained incomplete. So Vaijala, the author of P. C. was not indentical with the Jaigirdar Vaijala.

It may further be noted that the exact year of death of Vaijala, the Jaigirdar, is recorded by his court *pandita* Jagamohana,

to be Saka year 1572 or 1650 A. D. But Vaijala, the ruler of the Patna kingdom and author of P. C. lived at least a century before, as will be shown below. For the reasons stated above, Vaijala, a Jaigirdar of Patna, cannot he taken as the author of prabodha Chandrikā, as he had no son named Hirādhara, and his courtpoet does not say anything about the composition of a grammar by him. Of course one of his forefathers named Vaijala composed a grammar named Prakriyā Vyākaraṇa, but it was quite defferent from P. C. Thus, Vaijala Deva, author of P. C. was a king of the Patna kingdom in Orissa for whose son Hirādhara, this work was composed.

Date of Vaijala Deva :

Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sharma in his paper named " The Chauhān king Baijala II of Patna State" published in the Proccedings and Transactions of the sixth All-India Oriental Conference has correctly indentified him with the author of P. C. But he has assigned Baijala II to the last quarter of the 14th centnry, by taking him to be contemporary of Virasingha Haihaya of Ratnapur. On this point he writes as follows :-

It is stated in the Hindi History of Ratnapur in (Mss) that the Haihaya Prince Virasingha Deva married the daughter of the Chauhān king of Patna. This Chauhan king is, to all probabillty, the author of Prabobha Chandrikā-Raja Vaijala Deva II. Virasingh the Haihaya prrince, as given in the history book referred to above, ruled from Vikrama Samvat 1428 to 1464. [8]"

Virasiṃha might have ruled from V. S. 1428 to 1464 or 1371 to 1407 A.D. but this date for Vaijala II is earlier by at least one century as will be shown hereafter. In the same paper, Sri Pandeya has quoted a verse from P. C. as given below, for fixing its date.

दधीचि र्दानवीरोऽभून् दयावीरः शिविर्नवः
हम्मीरो युद्धवीरोऽभूत् निदर्शनममीत्रयः ॥

He takes this 'Hammira' of the above verse as no other than the famous king of Ranathambhor who was a great hero and writes thus : Hammira's death took place about Hiziri era 700 (1301 A. D.)

or Vikrama Samvat 1358. The mention of ' हम्मीर ' goes to show that the poem was composed sometime after 1301 A. D.

But the word 'हम्मीर' is foud only in the copies of two manuscripts, (d) and (e), whereas in the texts of five others namely (a), (b). (c), (f) & (g) the world हनुमान् is found in place of Hammīra. The use of the word ' Hanuman ' a great Epic hero, instead of Hammīra ' fits it well with the two other names of the verse, e. g. Śivi and Dadhichi, who also belong to the age of Epics. So nothing definite can be said regarding the date of this work on the strength of this doubtful intenal evidence.

The same scholar in his paper named 'Chauhan Maharajas of Patna State (Mahakosala)' has given the list of kings of this royal family, as found in 'Kośalānanda Mahākāvya' in Sanskrit by poet Gangādhara Misra of Sambalpur and aloso in an old Hindi Kavya Jayachandrikā by Prahlad Dube of Sarangarh [9]. The two lists are as follows.

Jayachahdrikā list

1 Ramai.
2 Mahālinga
3 Baijala Deva I
4 Bhojarāj Deva
5 Vikrama Deva
6 Pratāpamalla Deva
7 Bhūpala Deva
8 Vikramajit Deva
9 Bajiala Deva II
10 Hirādhara Deva

11 Rama Deva alis Narasingh Deva   12 Balaram Deva

Kośalānanda list

1 Ramai or Rama Deva
2 Mahālinga Deva
3 Baijala Deva I
4 Vatsarāja Deva
5 Bhojarāja Deva
6 Viramalla Deva
7 Pratāpamalla Deva
8 Bhūpāla Deva
9 Vikramāditya Deva
10 Bajiala Deva II
11 Hirādhara Deva

12 Narasingh Deva   13 Balaram Deva

In this paper Sri Pandeya has identified Vaijala Deva, whose stone inscription is found in the Narasiṃhanāth Temple of Sambalpur district with Vaijala Deva, author of P. C. by taking Vachchharāja of the record as identical with Vikramāditya of the list. He writes on this point. "If Bairājadevarāja (as Bhandarkar deciphers it and which Mr. Beglar reads as Bachha Rāja) stands for Vikramāditya, then it is certain that Baijal Deva of the inscription is no other than Baijal Deva II of the list, and he must have been reigning about Vikrama Samvat 1470 or 1413 A.D. [10]

But this conclusion of Sri Paṇḍeya regarding the identification of Vaijala Deva of the inscription is worng. The word वच्छराजदेव suggested by Mr. Beglar is quite clear in the facsimile of the Narasiṃhanath stone inscription edited by Pandit Vinayaka Misra. [11] The word cannot be read as 'Bairājadevarāja,' which Sri Pandeya has accepted for identifyiug him with Vikramāditya. So from the correct reading of the line of the record, given by Pandit Misra, which is पाटणानगर स्तिति वच्छाराजदेव राजांकर पुत्र श्री वैजाल देव it can be concluded without any fear of contradiction that Sri Vaijala Deva, son of Vachharāja•Deva, of the inscription was different from Vaijala Deva, son of Vikramaditya Deva, who wrote P. C. So Vaijala of the record can be taken as the first king of both the lists given above. Vaijala, author of P. C. was undoubetedly the second king of that name of both the lists where the name of his father and son are correctly found to be Vikramāditya and Hirādhara respectively.

It may be noted in this connection that the name of Bachchharāja is not found in 'Jayachandrikā' which was composed in V. S. 1838 or 1781 A. D., whereas the name of one Vatsarāja is found in the list given in the 'Kośalānanda' which was written in Kaliyuga year 4716 or 1616 A. D. So Kośalānanda which was written 165 years before Jayachandrikā may be taken as more reliable. But in the Kośalānanda list, Vatsarāja is shown as the son of Vaijala, instead of his father, which was a mistake of the author, who wrote some 200 years after Vaijala I. Thus Vaijala of the inscription may be identified with Vaijala I of both the lists.

The date of Vaijala II, author of P. C. can be fixed tentatively with the help of the Vaijala I of the Narasiṃhanātha temple inscription. This record is not dated in any era. But the date of this record ascertained by Sri Pāṇḍeya to be 17 March, 1413 A, D. by working out the details of 'विकारि नाम सम्बत्सरे चैत्र पौर्णमी शुक्रवारे हस्तानक्षत्रे given in the record is found to be perfectly correct.[12] The year was Vikārin according to northen cycle which is in vogue in Orissa. It was also Friday and full moon day (.93) of the lunar month Chaitra with Hastā nakshatra (13. 92) As there is complete agreement on all points the date 17. 3. 1413, Friday, arrived at by astronomical calculation can be taken as correct.

In consideration of the language and paleography of this record it may safely be placed in the 1st quarter of the 15th century A. D. This form of Oriya language is found in the inscriptions of the later Imperial Gaṅga king of Orissa beginning from Narasiṃha II (1278-1307) A. D. The somewhat roundish top of the Oriya scripts found in this record is also noticed in the Kapalimatha inscription of Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva edited by Dr, K. C. Pānigrāhī, M. A,[13]

According to Kośalananda the intervening period between Vaijala I and Vaijala II was covered by the reigns of six kings. If Vatsarāja is omitted as he was the really the father of Vaijala I as pointed out before, there remain five kings of whom a century may be alloted. So, Vaijala II author for P. C. may be placed in 1520 or in the first quarter of the 16th century.

The date of Vaijala II may be calculated with the help of another event described in the Kośālānanda which states that Balarāma Deva, the first ruler of Sambalpur and grand son of Vaijala II, helped one Rāmachandra Deva of Utkala to gain power at the time of the first Muslim conquest of Orissa. This Rāmachandra was undoubtedly Rāmachandra I of the Bhoi dynasty (1568-1603 A. D.), who appeared in the political arena, at the time of its first Muslim invasion in 1568 A.D.

As Balarāma was well established on the Sambalpur throne by 1568 A. D. his reign may be assigned to 1560-1580 A. D. and his grand father Vaijala may be placed before 1530 A D. *On the strenth of the facts stated above, Vaijala II author of P. C. may tentatively be placed in the first quarter of the sixteenth century*

Probodda Chandrika— A Rama-Vyakarana :—

There are some grammatical works io Sanskrit which are sectarian in character. The earliest of them is Mugdhabodha, by famous Bopadeva of the 13th century who gave a sectarian turn to his work by taking all examples from the names of Vishnu and Śiva in whose identity he belived. This example set by Bopadeva was followed by Vaijala Deva, who gave most of the examples in P. C. in the name of Rāma, being a fervent devotee of god Rāmachandra as is indicated by the first few verses of the first Chapter. This work was intended by its author to be a Rāma-Vyākaraṇa as will be indicated by the two verses quoted below.

संसाराम्भोधितरणं राम नामानुकीर्त्तनं
राम नामान्विता तस्मात् प्रक्रिया क्रियते मया ।

X X X X (Verse 9 of 1st Chapter)

"प्रबोध चन्द्रिका" नाम रामनाम समाश्रिता
अज्ञान तिमिर ध्वंसकारिणी चित्तहारिणी ।।

X X X X (Verse 35 of 1st Chapter)

Viṭṭhalāchārya, who wrote a commentary on Prakriyā Kaumudī refers to one Rāma Vyākaraṇa, as noted by Sri Chintāharana Chakravarti. "Sectaria grammars also seem to have been known even when Jīva wrote as Viṭṭhalāchārya (1st half of the 16th century) in his commentary on Prakriyā-Kaumudī is said to have often referred to a Rāma-Vyākarṇa, which from its name seems to have been sectarian.[14]

The Rāma Vyākaraṇa referred to by Viṭṭalāchārya might be P. C. of Vaijala Deva, which was writren in the 1st quater of the 16th century as proved before and had circulation throughout India.

There was of course another Rāma-Vyākaraṇa, named Bhāvasiṃha Prakriyā, written by Bhaṭṭa Viṇāyaka, for the education of Bhāvasṃha the eledest son of Medinirat, the object of which was the glorification of Rāma.[15] If this Medinirat is taken to be indentical with the famous Rājaput chief Medini Rāi or Medinī Rāo of Chanderi, who was defeated by Babur in 1528 A. D. the date of this grammar may tentatively placed sometime after that date. At the present state of our knowledge, it can not be definitely said to which Rāma Vyākaraṇa Viṭṭhalāchārya has referred to in his Prakriyā Prasāda. But P. C. which had larger circulation than the Bhāvasiṃha Prakriyā had greater probability of being alluded to by Viṭṭhala.

This work was once very popular among Sanskrit scholars of Orissa and known by the name of Vaijala Kārikā or Vaijala Kāvya and the manuscripts of this work are discovered through out Orissa. It had also circulation outside Orissa as it testified to by the discovery of the manuscripts of P. C. noticed in different catalogues of Sanskrit manscripts noted below.[16]

1. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manscripts* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI *Vyakarana Manuscripts* Nos. 4570 to 4572 and 4572 A.

2. *Catlogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss in the C. P. & Berar* Nos. 3103-3105.

3. Buhler, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (found in Guzrat) Vol. III, No. 69.

4. Keilhorn, C. P, Catalogue, No. 41.

5. Aufrecht, Catalogue Codium Sanskriticorum No. 370

6. Benares Sanskrit College Catalogue No. 15.

7. North-western Provinces Catalogue Pt. I, 42.

8. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts found in Oudh, Pt. IV. No. 8.

This grammatical Kāvya, which was very popular throughout India, and had wide circulation in Orissa and Bengal, deserves publication in an authentic manner in the Devangari script, for the proper assessment of its value and importance.

-Reference-

1 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1906-1911, p. 9.
2 The *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol, IV, 1918, p. 14
3 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the A. S. Bengal,* Vol. IV, History & Geography, 41-42.
4 Ibid, Vol. VI, *Vyakarna Manuscripts, 1931,* Preface, p, CXIII
* Prabodha Chandrika is hereafter abbreviated as P. C.
5 *A ch. Survey of India.* Vol. XIII, pp- 126-128
6 *I. H.*, Vol. XII, p, 486
7 *Sastri-Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts,* Vol. IV, pp. 41-42
8 Broceedings and Transactions of the sixth A. I. O. Conforence, Patna, December 1930, p. 48.
9 *I. H. O.* Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 612-622.
10 Idid p. 622.
11 *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, 1936, Facsimile enclosed after p. 486 Sri omitted by Pt. Misra appears in the fscaimile.
12 Swamikannu pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris* Vol. V. p. 28
13 *O. H. R. J*, Vol, 1, No. 2, P. 105.
14 *Annals of the B. O. R.* I, Poona, Vol X, p. 124.
15 Shastri, *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. Vol.* VI, Vyakarana Manuscripts, Preface p. CXIV
16 The catalogues from No, 3 to 8 are found in Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss, First part grammar by R, L, Mitra Appendix, p, XXXI.



NOTICES OF PALM-LEAF MANUSCRIPTS 'GOVINDA LILAMRITA' WITH ITS COMMENTARY

In the Manuscripts Section of the Orissa State Museum, there is a palm-leaf manuscript containing the Sanskrit Kāvya, 'Govinda Līlāmṛta' with a commentary in Sanskrit named Vaishṇavahlādinī by Harisevaka Kaviratna, an unknown Sanskrit poet of Orissa. This manuscript consist of 200 Folia ($10\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$) with six lines of writing on each side, written in old Oriya characters. The copy and the name of the copist are not found in the manuscript as it abruptly ends in the beginning of the ninth Sarga. But by an examination of the scripts used in writing, it can be placed in the first half of the last century.

Though incomplete, the manuscript is important as it gives a lot of information not only about the commentator and his famiy but also about their royal patrons, in the twelve introductory verses after Maṅgalācharaṇa, and in the colophons, most of which are quoted below for ready reference and further research.

श्री राधाकृष्णौ जयतः, श्री सरस्वत्यै नमः ।

मन्दारामन्द निन्दा करतल विलसत् वर्य्यसौन्दर्य्य वृन्द
प्रोन्मीलच्चन्दनालीविमलनखरुचिस्वान्दिताक्रन्दकुन्दं
मारामन्दाकार मन्दाकिनी मुनिमनसा वन्दितं साधुशब्दं
वन्दे वृन्दावनेन्दो श्चरण सरसिजवृन्दमानन्दकन्दं ।१

परमपदमपूर्वं पूर्वतोऽपीश्वरो यो
व्रजति तदभिधेयो नाम सामन्तरायः
परमपद गतानां सज्जनानां सदक्षो
जयति मम पिताय पुण्यपुञ्जस्वरूपः ।२

भट्टाचार्य्यजनार्ग्य्यं विविधमतविदं नाम गोविन्दरामं
जित्वा युक्त्यावलीभि र्विजयनगरतो भैमदेव्यां सभायां
प्रत्यक्षं पण्डितानामपि सपदिपुरः प्राप्त सामन्तराया
भिख्यां व्युत्पन्नपूर्वा प्रमुदित हृदया भ्भूप पीताम्बराद् यः । ३

यस्मिन् भागवतीं कथां कथयति व्याख्यां सभामध्यतो
धृत्वा वैष्णवतोपर्णी प्रतिपदं सप्रेमरोमोद्‌गमः ।
पाषाण्डा अपितत्क्षणं प्रविलसत् रोमाञ्चक साश्रुभिः ।
व्याप्ताः प्रेमसुखाम्बुधौ सुजनवत् मज्जन्ति भावाकुलाः । ४

साक्षात् योऽमरकोष पुस्तक महोऽध्यकं लिलेख स्वयं
श्रीपीताम्बर भीमदेव विलसत् भूमीश्वरस्याज्ञया
यश्चक्रे मथुराप्रयाण विदितं सत्खण्डकाव्यं हरेः
राधायाश्च कथाभिरद्‌भुततरं प्रश्नोत्तराभिर्युतं । ५

चतुर्भुजपदाश्रय श्चतुरसतमचातुरी
चमत्कृत् जगज्जन चरित दत्तचित्तः सतां
चिरन्तनमुनेः कथाकथन कोविदानां चिरं
चचार भुवि यः शुचिः सुकृतसञ्चयं दुश्चरं ।६

शुम्भत् शम्भु जटा तटोत्तटनटत् गङ्गातरङ्गोज्ज्वलां
कर्त्ता यः कवितां वितानविलसत् काव्यादरां सादरां
वक्ता यश्च सभासु भासुरपदप्रेङ्खत् विवाद ग्रह-
ग्रस्त त्रस्त विवादीवाक्यविहसत् सभ्यार्च्चितां भारतीं ।७

भ्राजत् राजकदम्ब लम्बित महापूजादरोऽउदिरं ?
तुष्टः शत्रुगणै प्रसन्नवदनैर्मित्रैर्मुदा लोकितः ।
श्रीदामोदर पण्डितः प्रकटिताशेषश्रुतार्थक्रियः
षट्‌ज्योतिष वेदि शाटिकतयाऽऽख्यातो यदीयाग्रतः । ८

नो वाला न च कालिका न सरमा नो भारती चण्डिका
पूज्यायस्य नवाभवन् कुलगुरुः श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रः परं ।
यत् पादाम्बुजरेणु भूषिततनुत्वेनास्य वादेभवेत्
गीर्वाणेशगुरोः पुरोऽपि मुखरो जैत्रप्रतिज्ञानकः । ९

नानालङ्कारवद्‌भिर्मृदुमधुरतर श्लिष्टसम्यक् पदौघैः
प्रोद्यत पुण्य प्रसङ्गैः प्रवलरसकुलै राशु ऋतैः कवित्वैः
मादृक् कुत्रापि कश्चिन् कविरपि सपदि स्फुर्त्तिमानस्तिनैवं
गर्वं कुर्वन्नखविसदृति ? किल कविक्ष्मापति यन जिग्ये । १०

यः श्रीमन् पुरुषोत्तमाभिधमहाराजाधिराजाज्ञया
श्रीमन् भक्तिरसामृताम्बुधिगत श्लोकावली टिप्पणीं
कृत्वा कीर्त्तिकदम्वकं प्रकटयन्नानन्दयन् वैष्णवान्
पाषाण्डानपि भर्त्सयन्न् पगतानध्यापयन्ना वभौ । ११

व्युत्पन्नानां कवीनां विविधमतविदां वन्द्य पादारविन्दात्
काव्य गोविन्दलीलामृत मिद ममलस्वान्त सामन्तरायात्
सोऽहं तस्मान् पठित्वा निजपितुरधिकात्भ्यासपूर्वं विदित्वा
किं चित्तस्य प्रसादात् पिपठिपुरुचये टिप्पणीमारभेऽस्य । १२

गोविन्द लीलामृत काव्य टीका
सत् वैष्णव ह्लादकरी मनोज्ञा
भावार्थ मात्रं प्रतिपादनीया
सतां सदा कण्ठगता विराजताम् ।१३

अथ सकल कविकुलमुकुटालङ्कारहीरोपलः परम वैष्णवः श्रीमान् कृष्णदासः X X
केवल भगवल्लीलावर्णनाप्रधानं गोविन्दलीलामृताख्यं महाकाव्यं चिकीर्षुः X X X ।

Colophon of the fourth Sarga :—

इति श्रीमत् परम पवित्र भारद्वाजगोत्रावतंस
वैयाकरण भूषण व्युत्पन्न कुञ्जर पञ्चाननायमान
श्रीमन्नन्दनन्दनपदारविन्द द्वन्द्व स्वच्छंदामन्द निस्यन्दमानमकरन्द

सन्दोह स्वादन परमेश्वर सामन्तराय पुत्र हरिसेवक
कविरत्न विरचितायां वैष्णवह्लादिनीसमाख्यायां
गोविन्दलीलामृत व्याख्यायां चतुर्थःसर्गः समाप्तः ॥

Last verse of fifth Sarga :—

भारद्वाज कुलाम्बुधौ महतियः संपूर्ण शुभ्रांशुवत्
विप्रश्री परमेश्वराख्य उदितः सामन्तरायः सुधी
तन् पुत्रेण यथाश्रुतार्थरचिते गोविन्द लीलामृत—
व्याख्याने विमलार्थ संस्कृतमये सर्गो गतः पञ्चमः ॥

The purport of the text quoted above is given below.

After offering his prayer to Lord Krshna in the Maṅgalā-charaṇa (1st verse) the poet says that his father Parameśvara Sāmantarāya was not only a man of piety and devotion (verse 2) but also a great scholar and defeated a famous Paṇḍita named Govinda-rāma Bhaṭṭāchāryya by his agruments in an assembly of learned men in the court of Pitāmbar Bhīmadeva of Vijayanagar, who being immensely pleased by his scholaship, conferrred on him the title of Sāmantarāya (verse 3). His father used to explain Bhāgabata with its 'Vaishnavatoshinī'1 commentary, in such impressive manner, that it could even melt the hearts of the nonbelivers, who were inspired with joy and emotion (verse 4). At the behest of king Pitāmbara Bhīma Deva he compiled a lexicon like the celebrated 'Amarakosha' and composed a Khaṇḍa-Kāvya namad 'Mathurā Prāyaṇa' describing the līlā of Sri Rādhā Kāshṇa (verses 5). He was a great devotee of

Nārāyaṇa, a Parama Bhāgabata, a famous poet, and an eloquent speaker (verse 6 & 7).

Damodara Paṇḍita the elder borther of Parameśvara Sāmantarāya, got the title of 'Paṭṭajyotisha' for his vast learning. He was honoured by the kings, admired by his friends and coaxed by his adversaries (verse 8). He (Damodara) was a great devotee of Srikṛshṇa through whose mercy, he became a versatile scholar, like god Bṛhaspati(verse 9). He could compose elegant, nicely worded, sweet and melodious verse extemporaneously and was able to defeat a great poet who thought himself unrivalled in poetic skill and attainments (verse 10). By the order of Mahārājādhirāja Purushottama Deva he comoposed a commentary on 'Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [2] which made him famous, gladdened the Vaishṇavas, and criticised the non-belivers (verse 11). Being instructed, inspired and assisted by his uncle (Damodar), who was a celebrated poet, he (Harisevaka Kaviratna) wrote a commentary on the famous Kāvya 'Govinda Līlāmṛta' named 'Vaishṇavāhlādinī', which was a source of joy and inspiration to the true Vaishṇavas (verses 12 & 13).

After describing the achievements of his accomplished father and uncle (father's elder brother) the poet begins the Tīka and at the outset pays reverential tribute to the great Vaishṇava poet Kṛshṇadāsa, who was the author of 'Govidalīlāmṛta'.

From the colophonic statements quoted above, it is known that the commentator Harisevaka Kaviratna, was the son of the notable poet Parameśvara Sāmantarāya of the Bhāradvāja Gotra, and was well-versed in grammar and a great devotee of Nandanandana or Sri Kṛshṇa.

Let us first of all ascertain, who this Mahārājādhirāja, Purushottama the patron of the commentator was. He cannot be identified with the famous Sūryyavaṃsī Gajapati Purushottama Deva (1466-1497) of Cuttack, or the Purushottama Deva of the Bhoi

dynasty (1621-1622) ruling at Khurda, as none of them was the successor of Pītāmbara Bhīma Deva, at Vijayanagar. He can satisfactorily be identified with Purushottama Deva, of the Gaṅga dynasty, who was ruling in the town of Vijayanagar, in the kingdom of Kuimuṇḍi, under whose patronage, his other court poet Vāsudeva Ratha Somayājī wrote the well-known historical Champu Kāvya called 'Gaṅgavaṃsānucharitaṃ.' In this Champu Kāvya, Purushottam is mentioned in the following manner as quoted below.

संप्रति गङ्गावंशरत्नाकरः X X X सकलसिद्धान्त—निष्ठाधिष्ठानता - प्रतिष्ठित- ज्ञानविज्ञानपरिनिष्ठित - निखिल धरणीमडण्ल मण्डनायमान-पण्डितमण्ड़ली पुण्डरीक पण्डप्रमोद क्रिया—

प्रचण्डमार्त्तण्डमण्डलः X X X पुरुषोत्तम—नामधेयः क्षितिपतिः खिमुण्डिनामके जनपदे विजयनगरी नाम राजधानीमध्यास्य धर्मेण पालयति (३)

A lot of information about this Purushottama Bhīma Deva are to be found from the contempory British records, as he was a powerful chiftain of the Gañjam District in Orissa at the time of occupation of the Northern Sircars by the British in 1765 A. D. He put up a tough fight against the British for long seven years to check the expansion of their supremacy over his kingdom, but ultimately he was defeated in 1772 A. D. and was forced to acknowledge their suzerainty.[4] He died in 1776 A. D. at an old age.

The exact year of accession of Purushottama Bhīma Deva is not known. But it can be tentatively fixed with the help of a copper plate grant issued by him in Samasta 37, Karkaṭaka, Āshāḍha Śuddha 15, Thursday on which date there was an eclipse of the moon.[5] A total eclipse of the moon is recorded by Robert Sewell on the 20th July, 1758 A. D. Thursday which was also the full-moon day of Āshāḍha.[6] The details of this date completely agree to those given by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai[7] excepting that it is calculated as Karkataka 8 by Pillai where as in the copper plate grant it is re-

corded Karkaṭaka 9. This minor discrepancy was perhaps due to the ignorance of the scribe or the draftsman. This Samasta year 37 was undoubtedly Aṅka year, which was in vogue throughout Orissa. If 1758 A.D. fell in his Aṅka year 37 or reignal year 10, the date of his accession to the throne may be fixed in the year 1728 A. D. Thus Purushottama Anaṅgabhima Deva or Bhīma Deva ruled as a chieftain from 1728 A. D. to 1776.

Again this town of Vijaynagar, the capital of this Gaṅga chieftain was quite different and a little older than the town of Vizianagaram in the Visakhapatanam District of the Āndhra State. It was in the Khimudi kingdom in South Orissa as proved before by a quotation from the Champu Kāvya. A detailed description of this town which is called Vijayanagarī by the poet is to be found in the 8th and tenth Parichhedas of the Champu which need not be quoted here. The ruins of this town are to be found in the ex-Badakhemudi Zamindari of the Gañjām District.

An account of this town is also given by Mr. Maltby, a few lines from which are quoted below for ready reference.

"In 1768 when Mr. Cotsford took possession of the Ichhāpur province he found the united estate in the hands of Bheema Deo the most troublesome Zamindar in the district. At his death in 1776 A. D. one of his sons Mani Deo, kept Vijayanagar or Pedda-Kimedi and the other Jagannātha Deo succeeded to Pratāpagiri or Chinna Kimedi."

The Rāja's gaḍa or fort was formerly at Vijayanagari. The present residence of the Zamindar is at Digupudi".9

Poet Harisevaka :—From the fore going discussion, it is clear that the poet Harisevaka adorned the court of Purushottama Anaṅgabhīma Deva (1728-1776 A.D.), who had his capital at Vijayanagara in the ex-estate of Badakhemedi in the Gañjam district of Orissa. He perhaps got the title of 'Kaviratna' from this Gaṅga Chieftain :

We find one Harisevaka Sāmantarāya of the Bhāradvājagotra and Ṛgveda, who received the grant of a village named Muktāpur from Muktāmālā Śri Pātamahādevī, in the reign of one Mukunda Deva[9]. This Mukunda Deva may be indentified with the first king of that name of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurda, who ruled from circa 1657-1689 A' D. The donee Harisevaka Sāmantarāya may be identified with the poet Harisevaka Kaviṛatna, who was also of the Bhāradvāja gotra, and had the surname Sāmantarāya, before he got the title of Kaviratna. If that be the case, his date of birth may tentatively be fixed at 1670 A. D. and he was 58 years old when Purushottama Deva began his reign. Assuming that he finished this commentary in the beginning of the reign of his patron, this may be assigned to a period between 1728-1740 A. D.

Importance of this commentary:—

Our manuscripts contains the commentary on only eight out of twenty-three, *S*argaf of the original Kāvya and as such its value and importance cannot be properly assessed at the present state. But this much can be said that it is the first commentary so far known, written by an Oriya scholar, on this most popular Vaishṇava Kāvya of Bengal, which had circulation in a large part of India.

Secondly it clears the doubt about the authorship of the 'Govinda Līlāmṛta Kāvya' as the commentator definitely states at the beginning of his Tīkā after the introductory verses, that it was composed by Kṛshṇa Dāsa Kavirāja e. g.

परमवैष्णवः श्रीमान् कृष्णदासः X X X गोविन्द-लीलामृताख्यं महाकाव्यं चिकीर्षुः

Late H. P Shastri has given the credit of its authorship to Raghunātha Dāsa.[10] But the authorship of this famous Kāvya has been rightly attributed to Kṛshṇadāsa Kavirāja by Sri Chintāharana Chakravarti,[11] which is corroborated by the quotation made above .

In this connection it may be noted that the main trend of the literature of Orissa both Sanskrit and Oriya shows that the Vaishṇava literature of Bengal was steadily gaining popularity among the poets and scholars of Orissa, from the middle of the seventeenth century and most of the works were either commented or imitated. So, we find Dāmodara the paternal uncle of the poet writing a commentary on 'Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu' of Rūpa and another famous poet Kavibhūshaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya, writing 'Samṛddha Mādhava Nāṭaka' in imitation of 'Bidagdhamādhava Nāṭaka " of Rūpa Gosvāmī. The discovery of the complete text of this commentary for which search is still being made, is expected to throw more light on this unknown poet and his works.

Reference

1. A commentary on the tenth Book of the Bhagabata, believed to be a work of Sanatana, is also ascribed to Jiva and Rupa.
2. It was composed by Rupa Gosvami, the sole object of which was the fuller exposition of the sentiment of Bhakti.
3. *Gangavamsanucharitam.* 7th Parichcheda.
4. The account of his struggle with the British is found in Maltby's *Ganjam District Mannual*, pp. 92-93, 95, 97, 98, 102, 104, & 105.
5. V. Rangacharya's *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* Vol. I, p. 671, No 20. But the learned Editor has read Karttika instead of Karkataka, which is not acceptable.
6. *Eclipses of the Moon in India*--p XLVI, Table E
7. *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 319.
8. *Ganjam District Mannual* pp. 20, 21 Pedda-kimmedi, Chinna-kimedi and Digupudi are respectively called Bada-khemdi, Sana-khemdi and Digpahandi in Oriya.
9. V. Rangacharya-*Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol, I, p. 697.
10. Shastri Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. VII, Kavya Manuscripts, Nos, 5195 and 5196.
11. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol L VII 1928, pp. 208 209



NOTICES OF PALMLEAF MANUSCRIPTS.

ŚĀRADĀŚARADARCHANA PADDHATI
OF
MANTRIVARA GODĀVARA MAHĀPĀTRA

There are two palm-leaf manuscripts of the unpublished and as yet unnoticed work named Śāradāśaradarchana Paddhati (1) * by Mantivara Godāvara Mahāpātra in the manuscript collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Of these two,one was procured from Sri Brundabana Tripathy of the old Bhubaneswar town, while the other was acquired by the Museum recently from Sri Narasimgha Misra of Gaḍa Manatri under P. S. Begunia in the district of Puri. The first manuscript called A contains 117 folios (13" × 1.3") out of which in 93 folios the complete work of S. S. P. has been written, while the remaining folios contain Vishnusahasranāma and other topics. The mss. A is in a good state of preservation and has on the average four lines of writing in old Oriya characters on each side of each folio, written clearly and legibly.

The second manuscript called B contains 44 folios (16" × 1.2") and the complete text of S. S. P. is written on 43 folios, while on both sides of the last or the 44th folio, Sūryārghyabidhi has been written. It was not properly preserved for which some portion of it has been worm-eaten and a few leaves have been broken. It is also written in old Oriya characters, the type being some-what smaller and has got on the average five lines of writing on both sides of each folio.

Both the manuscripts do not contain the names of the copyist and the date of copying in the Aṅka years of the rulers of Orissa, as is usually found in the manuscripts discovered throughout Orissa, because the last few leaves in both are missing.

But the dates of their copying may be ascertained tentatively with the help of the year in the Kaliyuga era mentioned in the Saṅkalpa Vākya in the body of the text of S. S. P.

Manuscript (A) :—

कलेः भयत्रयधिकाष्टशतोत्तर चतुःसहस्र परिमितेऽब्दे X X (Folio 6)

Manuscript (B) :—

कलेः षष्ठयधिक सप्तशतोत्तरचतुःसहस्रे परिमितेऽब्दे वर्तमानव्यावहारिक सम्वत्सरे X X X (Folio 4)

From the above two quotations it may be concluded that Manuscript A was copied some time in the Kaliyuga year bhaya (7), tri (3), increased by 4800 or 4837 which is 1736 A D. and the manuscript B was copied in Kaliyuga year 4760 or 1659 A. D. But the conclusion can not be taken as definite as these two might be true copies of some other manuscripts written in the above two Kaliyuga years.

The Author of S. S. P. :—

Some information about the author of S. S. P. is obtained from the three verses after the Maṅgalācharaṇa, which are quoted below.

गुरुं गणपतिं नत्वा संहिताद्युक्त सन् क्रमात्
क्रियते शारदायाश्च शरदर्च्चनपद्धतिः । १
देवालिमौलिनीलाश्मरश्मिभृङ्गकुलाकुले
देवि त्वच्चरणाम्भोजे रमतां मामकं मनः ॥ २
राजकौत्ससवंशभूषणमणिं नानागुणिग्रामणीं
कुज्ञानार्णवतारणैकतरणिं शिष्यौघचिन्तामणिं
सद्विद्याविपणिं सुबोधसरणिं विप्राग्रणीं नौम्यहं
तातं श्री बलभद्रसञ्ज ममलां तां अन्नपूर्णां प्रसूं । ३
आलोच्य वाक्यानि सदादृतानि तत्तत् पुराणप्रतिपादितानि
गोदावरः मन्त्रिवरस्तनोति क्रमं शिवायाः शरदर्च्चनस्य ॥ ४

In the manuscript 'B' the fitst verse is not found but the absence of this verse does not affect the sense or significance of the other three verses in any way.

The work is not divided into different sections or chapters but is a continuous whole, the last verse and colophon of which run as follows.

नानापुराण वचनानि मिथो विरुद्धा
न्यानीय तानि गुणमुख्यतया विचार्य्य
निर्माय शिष्टमतसंस्कृपद्धतिं तु
गोदावरोऽर्पयति पादतले शिवायाः ॥

इति श्री गोदावर महापात्र विरचिता दुर्गाशरदुत्सवपूजाक्रमसंस्कृतपद्धतिः समाप्ता ।

From the verses quoted above it is clear that Godāvara Mahāpātra, the author of S. S. P. was the son of a great schlar named Balabhadra who was born in the famous Kautsa family, and his mother's name was Annapūrnā. He was a great devotee of Ambikā or Durgā and the prime minister of a certain king.

Identification of Godavara

Mantrivara Godāvara Mahāpātra, the author of S. S. P. can be safely identified with the 'कविपुङ्गव पण्डितराज' Godāvara Miśra, the Rājagura of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa (1497—1530 A.D.) whose work 'Yogachintāmaṇi' was first brought to the notice of the learned society by the eminent schlar Sri P.K. Gode.[2] In the Yogachintāmaṇi Godāvara pays his respects to his father Balabhadra at the commencement of the work as he does in his S. S. P.

शेषावतारं वलभद्र सञ्ज्ञं
विद्यागुरुं तं जनकं नमामि

He also calls himself the son of Balabhadra in the last verse of his work Yogachintāmaṇi.

गोदावरेण परमा X रेण योग
चिन्तामणिर्विरचितो वलभद्रजेन ।

Godāvara, author of S. S. P. can also be identified with Godāvara, the author of Harihara Chaturaṅga[3], who also calls himself 'Kavipuṅg va' Paṇḍita Rāja 'Rājaguru' and 'Mantrivara' of Gajapati Pratāprudra Deva in the colophon at the end of each Parichchheda

or section. The only discrepancy which deserves discussion here is that the family surname of Godāvara, author Yogachintāmaṇi and Harihara Chaturaṅga is Miśra, while that of Godāvara, author of S. S. P. is Mahāpātra. But his family surname Miśra was given up by the author when the title of Mahāpātra was conferred upon him by his patron, Pratāparudra Deva, and his descendants bore the title of Mahāyātra which is known from a deed of partition executed in the 3rd Aṅka of Gajapati Mukunda Deva in 1561 A.D. by his five sons named below.

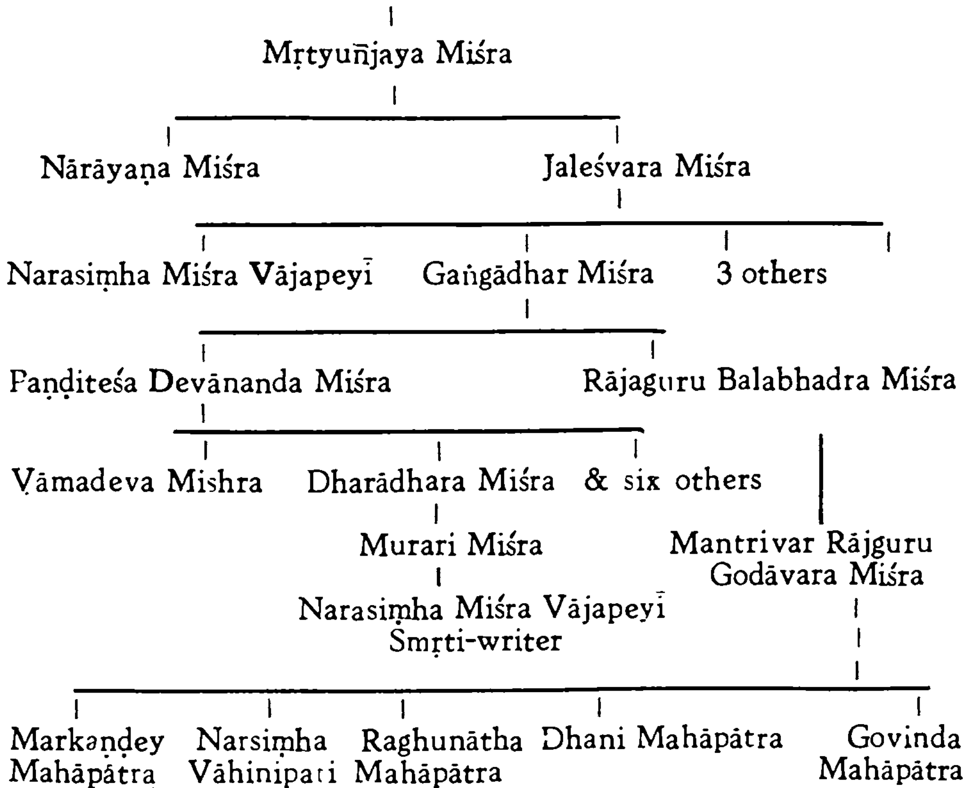
(1) Mārkandeya Mahāpātra. (2) Raghunātha Mahāpātra. (3) Narasingha Mahāpātra. (4) Dhani Mahāpātra. (5) Govinda Mahāpātra.

Another work named Jayachitāmani by Godāvari Miśra has been noticed py Prof. Shridhar Das[4] of the Christ College, Cuttack. In this we find the same colophon, at the end of the twenty Kiraṇas as is found in Harihara Chaturaṅga, but with an additional epithet e. g 'गोदावरी वर्द्धन' before his name, not found in his other works, the significance of which is discussed later on. Thus Godāvara Mahāpātra author of S. S. P. is no other than Godāvara Misra, author of Yogachintāmaṇi, Harihara Chaturaṅga and Jayachintāmaṇi.

The family of Godavara :—

A lot of information about the family of Godāvara is obtained from the first volume of Nityāchāra Pradīpa[5] by Narasiṃha Misra Vājapeyī, a gretest Smṛti writer of Orissa, who was the grandson of the cousion brother of Godāvara and adorned the court of Gajapati Mukunda Deva (1558-1568) the last independent Hindu Emperor of Orissa.

The genealogical table of the family of Godāvara so far known is given below.



The following remark made by Sri Gode about Gadāvara and his family, viz. "Judging, however, by the names of the above works we are justified in supposing that the family of this royal preceptor or राजगुरु of गजपति प्रतापरुद्रदेव was a very learned one and hence must have been respected and honoured at the court of Pratāparudra Deva some generations earlier than our author, who was himself a highly honoured राजगुरु as his titles कवि पुङ्गव, पण्डित राज and वाजपेय-याजी amply indicate in the colophons before us[7]" will be proved to be quite appropriate and correct by the facts stated below.

(1) An unknown ancestor of Mṛtyuñjaya wrote सत् समय a work on Dharmaśāstra.

(2) Mṛtyuñjaya Miśra of the Kausta family, who was Mīmāṃsārṇava-Karṇadhāra' wrote 'Śuddhi Muktāvalī' a work on Dharmśatra.

(3) Nārāyaṇa Miśra, who was a prodigy of learning wrote two commentaries on the two Mīmāṃsās the names of which are not yet known before he died at the age of sixteen.

(4) Agnichit Jaleśvara Miśra Vājapeyī was a master of six darśanas (षडदर्शनी यस्यकुलेऽचलासीत्) and wrote a Smṛti work named 'Jaleśvara Paddhati' which was very popular in Orissa and has been referred to by W. W. Hunter.[8]

(5) Narasiṃha Miśra Vājapeyī, who was a profound scholar, revived the 'Advaitavāda' of Sri Śaṅkara in Utkal by his efforts and wrote 'संक्षेप शारीरक वार्तिक' a commentary on Saṃkshepa Śārīraka of Śaṅkarāchāryya, which is referred to by his grandson Godāvara Miśra in his Yoga Chintāmaṇi e. g. पितामह चरणैः संक्षेप शारीरिक वार्त्तिके (fol. 131). He spent some part of his life at Kāsi, where he practised austerities and obtained siddhi in Yoga. He wrote Kāsi Mimāṃsā most probably while he was living at Kāsi, which is also alluded to by Godāvara in the same Yogachintāmaṇi. e. g. काशीमीमांसायां पितामह-चरणा: (fol. 49). From another work named 'Siṃha Vājapeyī Vaṃśāvalī[9] it is konwn that he was appointed as a justice by the celebrated Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva of Orissa (1435-1466). This incident brought this family of scholars into prominence in the field of administration of the state of Orissa which lasted for more than a century. It is not known from any other source, what other works besides the two stated above were written by him.

(6) Gaṅgādhara Misra—He was a younger brother of Narasimha Miśra He wrote a work on smṛti, a few folios of which have been discovered by me.

(7) Rajaguru Balabhadra Mishra :— He was the son of Narasimha by his second wife and became the Rājaguru of Pratāparudra and most probably his father Purushottama Deva (1466-1496 A. D.) as his elder step-brother Devānānda Miśra Chayanī, migrated to the south Gañjam, where he probably got the patronage of the Gaṅga chieftains of the Khemandi Kingdom. Balabhadra was proficient in the 'Bhaṭṭatantra' sacrificial lore and performed

paundarika sacrifice(पौण्डरिक याजी). In Yogachintāmaṇi Godāvara refers to two works of his father Balabhadra, namely 'Advaitachintāmaṇi' and 'Śārīrakasāra Purushottama Stuti' e.g. पितृचरणः अद्वैत चिन्तामणौ (Fol. 131) and शारीरकसार-पुरुषोत्तमस्तुतौ पितृचरणैः (Fol, 50). It is not known what other works he wrote. But there is a work on Smṛti named 'Balabhadra Saṃgraha', which might have been written by him.

He is mentioned in a verse quoted below of the 'Tīrtha Ratnākara' compiled by Rāmakṛshṇa Bhaṭṭa, a famous paṇḍita of Kāsī. who lived in the court of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa.

गजपति सदसि X सा पदवी वलभद्र राजगुरोः
पण्डितशिरोमणिरिति प्रतापमार्त्तण्डनिर्माणात्
सोऽयं निवन्धानालोच्य पुराणानि च यत्नतः
रामप्रसादात् कुरुते कृती तीर्थनिरूपणं । १०

Rāmakṛshaṇa compiled 'Pratāpamāratanḍa' a work on Dharmaśāstra under the patronage of Pratāparudra Deva, and attributed its authorship to his patron, for which he was honoured with the title of पण्डित शिरोमणि by Balabhadra, the Rājaguru of the Gajapati, who was perhaps entrusted with the work of assessing the merit of this treatise.

From an Oriya book named Vedāntasāra Guptagītā written by the Vaishṇava poet Balarāma Dāsa it is known that Balabhadra Rājaguru examined the poet in Vedanta in the 17th *anka* of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva in the Muktimaṇḍapa sabhā at Puri.[12] The 17th Aṅka of Pratāparudra fell in 1510 A. D. By this dated work it is proved that Balabhadra continued to be the Rājaguru of the Emperor till that date.

Mantrivara Rajaguru Godavara Misra :—

From the account of the family of Godāvara given above, it is clear that his forefathers were renowned for their vast learning and scholarship for which they were respected and honoured in the

Gajapati court at least from the time of Kapileśvara Deva, the Sūryavaṃsī monarch of Orissa (1435-1466). His family played an important part in the development of the Dhrmaśastra literature, revival of the sacrificial rituals and popularisrng the ductrine of Advaitavāda of Srī Sankara in Utkala.

Godāvara who was a versatile scholar not only maintained the glorious tradition of his family, but contributed more than his forefathers to the field of Sanskrit literature. It is not known when he was born. But according ro tradition current among his descendants he accompanied Gajapati Purushottama Deva in his expedition to Kanchi and the soldiers of the ruler of Kanchi who pursued the victorious army of the Gajapati, became unable to cross the Godāvarī river as a heavy flood was caused in that by the miraculous power of Godāvara who sat in deep meditation on its bank. Consequently the army of Kanchi had to teturn in disappointment and the Gajapati being immensely pleased at this conferred on him the title of 'गोदावरी वर्द्धन'. This title has actually been used by Godāvara in the colophon at the end of each *kirana* of his work '*Jayachintamani*' referred to before. If this family tradition is taken to be true, he might have been thirty-five to forty years old when Pratāparudra ascended the throne at Cuttack in 1497 A. D.

It is known from '*Tirtha Ratnakara*' ānd '*Vedantasara Guptagita*' noted above that Balabhadra continued to be the Rājaguru of Pratāparudra till 1510 A. D. In that case Godāvara succeeded his father as the Rājaguru of the king some time after that date. By dint of his vast learning, uncommon talent, and miraculous power as a Tantric, he rose to the position of a minister of Pratāparudra, but the exact date of his promotion to this much-coveted post of dignity and power can not be ascertained in the present state of our knowledge His designation 'मन्त्रीवर' is not found in the colophon of '*Yogachintamani*' but is found in that of other works like '*Harihara Chaturanga*', '*Jayachintamani*', and S. S. P., whereas the title of 'Rājaguru' is found in the first three works, which corroborates the

fact that he remained simply '*Rajaguru*' for some years before he became 'मन्त्रीवर'.

It has been stated before that his family played an important part in reviving the Vedic sacrifices in Orissa. Devānanda the uncle of Godâvara performed *Chayana* sacrifice, whereas his father Balabhadra has been called ,पौण्डरीक यज्वा' or performer of the *Paundarika* sacrifice, Godâvara has called himself वाजपेययाजी in his '*Harihara-chaturanga*' and '*Yogachintamani*' but in the colophon of 'Jayachintāmaṇi', the following epithets, viz. वाजपेययाजी, शरत्पुण्डरीकयाजी, सर्वतोमुखयाजी, साम्वत्सरिकयाजी, are found before his name, which prove that he was the performer of *Vājapeya*, *Saratpundarika* and *Sarbatomukha* sacrifices. In spite of this Godâvara and some of his ancestors were followers of Tantric faith and he excelled them all in this respect.

The works of Godavara

Information about some of the works of Godâvara is obtained as they have been referred to at different verses of the text of Harihar Ceaturaṅga which are quoted below.

I. Tantra Chintāmaṇi.

(a) तन्त्रचिन्तामणौ तच्च प्रोक्तं शालादिलक्षणं
अस्मत्कृते वेदितव्यं तस्मादत्र न कथ्यते (१३)

(b) तन्त्रचिन्तामणौ यन्त्र मणिमन्त्रौषधादिकं
अस्मत्कृते तु द्रष्टव्य मभियुक्तेन तत्र च (१४)

II. Yoga Chintāmaṇi :—

योगचिन्तामणावुक्तं विशेषेण तु लक्षणं
अस्माभिः पूरकादीनां तस्मादत्र न कथ्यते (१५)

III. Advaita Darpaṇa :—

(a) यस्तर्केणानुसन्धत्ते विचारे कुशलो हि सः
अस्मत्कृते तत् कर्त्तव्यः श्रमोवैऽद्वैतदर्पणे (१६)

(b) ब्रह्मविद्याधिकारित्वं राज्ञा मद्वैतदर्पणे
प्रतिपादितमूस्माभि स्तस्मान्नेह प्रशस्यते ॥ (१७)

IV. Adhikaraṇa Darpaṇa :—

अस्मत्कृतेऽधिकरणदर्पणे समुदाहृतः
अङ्गाङ्गिनो विचारोऽयं नेहतस्मात् प्रतन्यते ॥ (१८)

V. Nīti Chintāmaṇi :—

नीतिचिन्तामणावुक्तं भानुमण्डलभेदिनः
फलसमग्रतोऽस्माभिः ज्ञातव्यं तत्र पण्डितैः ॥ (१९)

VI. Nīti Kalpalatā —

अवशिष्टं तु यन्नोक्तं नीतिशास्त्रोक्तमन्त्रतः
अस्मत्कृते तु ज्ञातव्यं नीतिकल्पलताभिधे ॥ (२०)

VII Āchāra Chintāmaṇi —

आचार चिन्तामणिना चारोऽस्माभिः प्रपञ्चितः
नृपतीनां यतस्तस्मादत्र ग्रन्थेन कथ्यते ॥ (२१)

VIII Jayachintāmaṇi —

ययाज्जयाय नृपतिः ज्ञात्वैतानि विशेषतः
जयचिन्तामणौ सर्वं सप्रपञ्च मुदीरितं ॥ (२२)

From the verses quoted above it can definitely be said that Godāvara had compiled 8 works like Tantra Chintamaṇi and others before he wrote Harihara Chaturaṅga. In this work he has referred to two other works e. g. सामुद्रिक कामधेनु & पातञ्जलि दीपिका in such a manner which indicates that they might also have been written by him,

IX Sāmudrika Kāmadhenu —

सामुद्रिकं तद् विज्ञेय मन्यसाधारणं च तत्
सामुद्रिक कामधेनावुक्त मित्यत्र नोच्यते ॥ (२३)

X Pātañjali Dīpikā —

प्रकृत्यधिष्ठितो भोक्ता भोक्ता भवति पुरुषः
पातञ्जलिदीपिकायां वहुधा स्फारितं तुतन् ॥ (२३—A)

Of course neither of the two terms अस्मत्कृते nor अस्माभिः has been used in the above two verses, which may cause some doubt about his authorship of the two works. But in this connection it may be noted that in the verse regarding Jayachintāmaṇi quoted above neither of the two terms occur. But it is definitely known that Jayachintāmaṇi was written by him. Likewise the authorship of these two works may be ascribed to Godāvara, untill the contrary is proved. Thus he dad written the following ten works before he finished his Harihara Chaturaṅga.

1. Tantra Chintāmaṇi.
2. Yoga Chintāmaṇi.
3. Advaita Darpaṇa.
4. Adhikaraṇa Darpaṇa.
5. Nīti Chintāmaṇi.
6. Nītikalpalatā.
7. Āchāra Chintāmaṇi.
8. Sāmudrika Kāmadhenu.
9. Jaya Chintāmaṇi.
10. Pātañjali Dīpikā.

His S. S. P. posterior to *Harihara Chaturanga* as in it we find the new surname Mahāpātra, instead of his hereditary family surname Miśra used in his *Harihara Chaturanga* and other works written prior to it. Thus Godāvara was the author of at least twelve works He might have written some others, but it is not possible to say anything about them at the present state of our knowledge.

Of these twelve works only one namely *Patanjali Dipika* is a commentary on the Yogaśāstra of Patañjali. while others were independent compilations on different subjects like, *Tantra, Yoga, Achara, Niti* (2 works), *Advaitavada* of Śri Śankara, *Durgapuja*, science of palmistry, rules for warfare and array of troops, and methods of gaining victory in war. Mastery in these diverse branches of study bear ample evidence to his versatile scholarship and vast learning which won for him the titles of कविपुङ्गव and पण्डितराज from his royal patron. Only two of his works namely Yogachintāmaṇi and Jayachintāmaṇi have been noticed by Sri P.K. Gode and Professor Sridhara Das respectively. In his article on Yogachintāmaṇi Sri Gode gave some useful information about *HraiharaChaturanga* which

is now available for study by scholars, having been printed and published by the Government of Madras. *Jayachintamani* noticed in the Oriya monthly '*The Jhankar*' (24) is divided into twenty kiraṇas or chapters and the colophon at the end of each kiraṇa has got these additional epithets viz. शरन् पुण्ड़रीकयाज्ञो, सर्वतोमुखयाजो, साम्वत्सरिक याजी, and गोदावरीविद्धंन before the name of Godâvara over and above those found in that at the end of each parichheda of the published Hariharachaturaṅga, the significance of which has been discussed before. The *Mangalacharana* of this work does not contain any new information. As I have not got a chance to examine its manuscript, it is not possible to state, to which previous authors or works Godâvara has referred in this work.

Notice of S.S.P.:—

The first thing which deserves mention here is the absence of the long colophonइति श्रीमन् महाराजाधिराज''गोदावरमिश्र found in Yoga-chintâmani, Jaya chintâmani and Hariharachaturaṅga in this S.S.P. This might indicate that the author who wrote this work at his old age did not like to blow his own trumpet out of humlity born of age and the spirit of dedication to the will of Durgâ, the Goddess of his devotion.

The second point worth mentioning here is that Godâvara became more a Sâkta than a Smârta with the advance of age. In the first benedictory verse of Yogachintâmaṇi written in his younger days the author pays his respects to Nilâdrinâtha or Jagannâtha at Puri,

चक्रायुधं सिद्धमुनीन्द्रवन्द्यं
नीलाद्रिनाथं करुणा समुद्रं
पीताम्बरं पद्मविशालनेत्रं
श्री शारदानाथमहं नमामि ।

In his Hariharachaturaṇga written when he was grown up in age, the author after offering his prayer in the first two benedictory verses to Gaṇeśa and Harihara in the conventional manner

states in the third verse that this work was written through the grace of Goddess Durgā.

श्री दुर्गाचरणाम्भोज द्वन्द्व चन्दनविन्दुना
कृति गोदावरेणेयं तत्प्रसादात् विरच्यते ।

The last verse of this work quoted below breathes the same spirit of dedication of author at the feet of Durgā.

यत्प्रसादादिमां चक्रे धीरगोदावरः कृति
श्रीदुर्गाचरणाम्भोजे तस्मिन्नेनां समर्पये ।

It is known from 16 verses of the first section of the Nityāchāra Pradipa [25] of Narasiṃha Vājapeyī, that the fore-fathers of Godāvara beginning from his remote ancestor Mṛtyuñjaya, were devotees of either Kṛshna or Narasiṃha. Godāvara was also a devotee of Jagannātha in his younger days as shown before, but gradually became a Śākta or devotee of Durgā in the latter part of his life.

The cause of this change of faith of Godāvara might be due to the popularity of Durgāpūjā which had been steadily gaining prominence as the greatest festival of Orissa during the time of the later imperial Gaṅgas. In an inscription in the Śikhareśvara temple on the Kapilāsa mountain in the Dheṅkānāl district, Gaṅga king Pratāpa Narasiṃha Deva calls himself दुर्गापुत्र अपि पुरुषोत्तम पुत्रः (26). Śāralā Das the famous Oriya poet of the time of Gajapati Kapileśwar Deva (1435-1466 A. D.) who was a great Śākta has sung the praise of Durgā, Śāralā Chaṇḍī and other Śākta deities in glowing terms in his Mahābhārata, the Chaṇḍīpurāṇa and the Vilaṅkā Rāmāyaṇa. The writings of Śāralā Dāsa, which were and are very popular in Orissa even to-day contributed a lot towards the revival of Śakti-worship in Orissa,

Gajapati Purushottama Deva, (1466-1496) is known to have Śākta leanings and wrote a work on Durgāpūjā ; namely Durgotsava which has been referred to by H. P. Shastri.[27] The copper plate

grant of Purushottama Deva to Poteswara Bhaṭṭa dated 1471 A. D begins with salutation to Jayadurgā viz. श्रीजयदुर्गायै नमः (28). In another inscription of the same ruler, found at Bezwad it is stated that he was blessed with the son named Pratāparudra through the grace of Durgā, दुर्गावरपुत्र (29). The steadily increasing popularity of the worship Durgā in this age, who could vie with Jagannātha, the supreme deity of Orissa, made deep impression on the mind of Godāvara, who became a Śākta.

works referred to in S. S. P:—

Godāvara wrote his S. S. P, in order to rectify the defects that had crept in to the procedure of worship of Durgā, before his days (निर्माय शिष्टमतः संस्कृतपद्धतिषु गोदावरोऽर्पयति पादतले शिवायाः) He has referred to the following works at different places of the text of S.S.P.

1. Iśānasaṃhitā (Folios.2.4.)
2. Bhabishyottara (-do- 5.6,62)
3. Durgā kalpa (-do- 55)
4. Kālikā purāna (-do 58)
5. Gūhya (-do- 59)
6. Śāśvata Saṃhitā.(Folio. 75)
7. One Paddhati (कोचित्तु पद्धतौ) (Folio. 55)

But the largest number of quotations are made from a work named 'Durgotsava' (Folios 29. 31. 42. 48. 54.79) which indicates that this was being regarded as a standard work on Durgāpūjā in his days. Though the name of the author of 'Durgotsava' is not anywhere mentioned in S S.P. it may safely be conjectured that is was the work of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, as he is reputed to have written a work bearing that name.

Godāvara who could quote from 47 works in his Yogachintāmaṇi, reffered to only eight works in S.S P, from which it may be concluded that the number of works on Durgāpūjā was not much before his days. As such the importance of S.S.P, an authority on Durgāpūjā, the greatest national festival of Orissa can be easily established. The world of scholars will be much benefited if this work is published by any learned society or Government like the Hariharachaturaṅga of the same author.

Reference

(1)* Saradasaradarchana Paddhati is abbreviated as S. S. P.
(2) The Poona Orientalist, Vol. IX Nos. 1 & 2 pages 11-19; 1944.
(3) This book has been published as Madras Government Oriental SeriesVol. XVII. in 1950.
(4) The Chaturanga:- Oriya monthly magazine Vol. I. No. 7. pp. 604-606,
(5) Published by the Asiatic Sceiety of Bengal in 1930.
(6) Some forgotten Smriti writers of Orissa.
(2) Narasingha vajapeyi, O. H. R. J. Vol. II No. 1 pp 1-16, 1953.
7) The Poona Orientalist Vol. IX, pp. 11-19.
8) Hunter's Orissa Vol. II. Appendix IX p. 210.
9) Published dy Pandit Sri ... N. Rajaguru in the now-defunct Oriya monthly magazine 'The Sahakara' Vol. 15 pt. 7 pages 615-625.
10) Des Cat of Sans Mss, Vol. III, Smriti Manuscripts by H. P. Shasatri, page 491-492.
11) Des Cat of Sans Mss, Vol. III. Smriti Manuscripts by H. P. Shastri page 720 Nos. 2688 & 2689.
12) Oriya Sahityar parichaya:—by Pandit Sri S. N. Das. Vol. I, p. 219.

13)	Harihara Chaturanga.	Page	156	Verse	179.
14)	Ibid	do	221	do	59
15)	Ibid	do	169	do	303
16)	Ibid	do	178	do	22
17)	Ibid	do	216	do	502
18)	Ibid	do	196	do	243
19)	Ibid	do	219	do	27
20)	Harihara Chaturanga.	page	216	Verce	500
21)	Ibid	do	216	do	502
22)	Ibid	do	219	do	407
23	Ibid	do	143	do	183
23-A	Ibid	do	195	do	231

24.) An Oriya Monthly Magazine.
25) Vide my article on Narasimha Vajapeyi published in O. H. R. J. vol. II No. I. pp 1-16
(26) This unpublished inscription has been referred to by Pandit N. N. Mohapatra in his article on Sahitya Darpaua; Utkala Sahitya Vol. 44 No. 4.1338 Sal.
(27) Des Cat of Sans Manuscripts by H. P. Shastri Vol. III. Smriti Manuscripts Preface LXIII.
(28) J. B. O. R. S. Vol. Page 353.
(29) Mahatab History of Orissa (Oriya)



MANIMALA NATIKA OF ANADI KAVI

Recently a palmleaf manuscript of an unpublished Sanskrit drama named 'Maṇimālā Nāṭikā by an unknown poet Anādi has been acquired by the Orissa State Museum from a village of Begunia P. S. of the district of Puri. This drama which is a notable acquisition of last year is not known to have been noticed by any scholar before. It is written in Oriya characters clearly and legibly on 102 folios (14" × 1.4"), each side of which contains three lines of writing on the average. It is in a good state of preservation.

The date of the manuscript is known from the post-colophon verse quoted below.

"श्रीहस्तीश्वर वीरकेशरी नृपस्याङ्के महोपञ्चके
संख्ये बाहुल कृष्ण पञ्चमीतिथौ वाचस्पते र्वासरे
धीर श्री मदनादि नाम कविना या नाटिका रचिता
तच्छिष्येण सदाशिवेन विरलाऽलेखिस्वयं श्रद्धया" ॥ ५१ अङ्करे

From the above verse, it is clear that the copying of this work was finished on Thursday, the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika in the 51st Aṅka year of 'Hastīśvara' or (Gajapati) Vīrakeśarī Deva by one Sadāśiva, a disciple of poet Anādi. Of the two kings of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurda (Puri) bearing this name, the first Virakeśarī Deva alone ruled for a period of 51 Aṅka years, with whom the king mentioned in the above verse can be definitely identified.

But as scholars differ regarding the year of accession of Vīrakeśarī Deva I, I have tried 1 to ascertain it with the help of two unpublished Oriya works named 'Vaishṇavāmṛtasāroddhāra' and 'Suchitra Rāmāyaṇa which were composed during the reign of this king. The

manuscripts of these two works are preserved in the Orissa State Museum.

The first work by Dayālu Dāsa gives the date as quoted below.

"षोलश छपठि सम्वत, शकाब्द होन्ते उपगत ।
श्री वीरकेश्वरी देवङ्क, हुअन्ते एकादश अङ्क ।
पुष्य शुकल द्वादशीरे, मृगशिरा स नक्षत्ररे ।
मिथुन चन्द्र शुक्रवारे, ब्रह्मानामधेय ज्योतिरे ।।"

The quotation given above states that Vaishṇvāmṛtasāroddhāra was finished on *Friday* with *Mithuna chandra* and *Mrigasira Nakshatra*. which was the *dvadasi* or the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the lunar month *Pausha* in Śaka year 1666 and in the 11th Aṅka year of Vīrakeśarī Deva. The corresponding day according to Christian era was the 4th, *January, Friday 1745 A. D.* having the same tithi and nakshatra as stated in the quotation. The eleventh Aṅka or the 9th reignal year of the king being 1745 A. D. the year of his accession may be fixed in 1736 A. D.

The other work 'Suchitra Rāmāyaṇa' by poet Banamālī gives the date of its comosition in the following manner.

"श्री वीरकेशरी देव अवनी दयित
ताङ्क त्रयोविंश अङ्के पूर्ण हेला गीत ।
रस ऋषि ऋतु शशी शकाब्दरे जाण
ए चरित पूर्ण हेला शुण विचक्षण हे ।।"

The lines quoted above state that the work was finished in the 23rd Aṅka of Virakeśarī Deva which fell in Śaka year Rasa (6) Risi (7) Ritu (6) and Śaśi (1) or 1676 which is equal to 1755 A. D. The 23rd Aṅka or the 19th reignal year of Vīrakeśvarī Deva falling in 1755 A. D., gives the year of his accession as 1736 A. D. So according to both the works the year of accession of Vīrakeśarī Deva I can be fixed with some amount of certainty in 1736 A. D.

The date of the manuscript of Maṇimālā which was copied in the 51st Aṅka or the 41st reignal year of Virakeśarī Deva I may

be arrived at 1736 A. D,+51=1777 A. D. From the details of the week, day, tithi and month given in the verse quoted above, it can definitely be fixed on the 19th, October, 1776 A. D. which was Thursday, the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika.[3] It was also the 51st Aṅka of the king as, Aṅka years start from the 'Bhādra Śukla Dvādaśī'.

Date of the Poet Anadi

From the Sanskrit verse quoted above it is known that Sadāsiva, who finished the copying of the manuscripts of 'Maṇimālā under discussion on 19. 10. 1776 A. D' was a disciple of the poet Anādi, the author of this drama. If an interval of about 30 years is given between the time of composition and time of copying of this work, the date of the work may be calculated as circa 1746 A. D. and as such its author poet Anādi may be assigned to the first half of the 18th century A. D.

This conclusion is corroborated by a sentence of this drama which says that the poet Anādi wrote this work under the patronage of Nārāyaṇa Maṅgarāja, who was a vassal chiftain under the king of Utkala. Some information about this Nārāyaṇa Maṅarāja who was a patron of learning is obtained from the last verse, colophon and a post colophcn verse of an unpublished Khaṇḍa Kāvya named 'Abda dūta' palmleaf manscript of which was acquired by the Orissa State Museum last year. They are quoted below, as they have historical importance.

"मन्त्री श्रीरामचन्द्रः खिमुण्डि नृपमणेर्मङ्गराजो यशोदा
देवी यं मङ्गराजन्तनय मजनयद्राय नारायण च ।
पद्मा राधाख्य देव्याः प्रथित तनुभुवा तस्य नाम्नाब्ददूतं
कृष्ण श्रीचन्दनेन प्रियमिति रचितं खण्डकाव्यं समाप्तं ।।"

(Last verse. No. 150)

Colophon

इति श्री नारायणमङ्गराजकृतं अब्ददूताख्यं खण्डकाव्यं समाप्तं ।

A post colophon verse

" X X X X श्री जात भास्वत् विवस्वान् ।
वीर श्री पद्मनाभो नृपकुलतिलको धर्मदेवश्चजीयात् ।
तत्साचिव्यात् प्रशस्तः कवितिलक सुहृद् मङ्गराजः कविर्य ।
स्तज्ज श्रीचन्दनस्य प्रचरतु भुवने खण्डकाव्यं सदैतत् ॥"

From quotations made from 'Abdadūtaṃ' it is known that Rāmachandra Maṅgarāja the minister of the ruler of the Khimuṇḍi kingdom and Yaśodā Devi were the parents of Rāya Nārāyaṇa Maṅgarāja. Kṛshṇa Śrichandana, the son of Nārāyaṇa Maṅgarāja through his wife Rādhā was the real author of 'Abdadūtam' which is a Khaṇḍa Kāvya. But its authorship has been attributed to his father in the colophon.

Nārāyaṇa Maṅgarāja, the father of poet Śrichandana, author of 'Abdadūta' was himself a poet and also a patron of poets. He was famous as the minister of Padmanābha Deva, who was no doubt the the Rājā of Khimuṇḍi as the post colophon verses give the history of the Khimuṇḍi Rāj family.

From the Champū Kāvya 'Gaṅgavaṃśānucharitaṃ' composed by Vāsudeva Ratha Somayājī some time between 1761-1770 A. D., it is known that his patron Purushottama Anaṅgabhīma Deva, (1728-1776 A. D.) Raja of the Khimuṇḍi kingdom was the grandson of Padmanāva Deva the last year of whose reign fell in 1713 A. D. and he was a powerful and enlightened chieftain of the Gañjam district. Nārāyaṇa Maṅgarāja, the minister of Padmanābha Deva belongs definitely to the 1st quarter of the 18th century and as such poet Anādi patronised by him may be assigned to the same period.

Family of the poet Anadi —

A lot of information about the family of the poet is obtained from the introductory portion of the first Act of the Maṇimālā Nāṭikā, the relevant passages from which are quoted below.

सूत्रधारः— न खलुज्ञातं, अस्तिकिल सकल मेदिनीमूर्द्धन्य श्रीमदुत्कलदेश वतंसशिखा निखिलनिगमस्थानं नन्वयं भरद्वाजावन्यः ।

अत्र च—श्रीमन् मुकुन्दाभिध भाग्यसिन्धोः
जातः शतं जीवः नवीनचन्द्रः
तस्यावदातस्य शरीरजन्मा
विराजते कश्चिदनादि नामा ।

अपि च—श्री निम्बदेवी दिविपङ्कतायाः
श्रेयः फलं साधुपु साधुनम्रः ।
वचोविलासैः सकविः करोति
सृक्तं नक्तं पायस-पारणाय

X X X

परिपार्श्विकः (स्मरण मभिनीय) आं ज्ञातं यज्जनकस्य—

श्री शतं जीव कवे मुदित माधवाभिध गीतकाव्य-गानामृतोर्मिणा समाजिकजनहृदयं वयं पुरा न्यमज्जयाम ।

सूत्र—अथ किं ?

नटः—(मुहूर्त्तं विमृष्य) आं स्मृतं तर्हि यदूर्ध्ववंशोयो विद्यानगर विद्यागरिम प्रावटङ्क स्तत्र भवान् श्रीदिवाकर कविचन्द्ररायो गद्यपद्यविरचनैरद्यापि विजयते ।

सूत्र—अथ किं ?

नटः—(सहर्ष) तदेद तन् प्रतिभा प्रभव प्रभावती नाम नाटक रसोर्मि भूमग्नाः पुरावयमभूम । तच्छङ्के तदन्वयानुकीर्त्तनादसमन् प्रीतिपक्षपातद्दोक्षाऽद्य तवादमीन्द्रचन्द्रेण भवता किमपि रूपकं निरूप्य संमोदसंपदासपदी भविष्यामः । तथाहि

"वाचाम्बु दुर्द्दिनमनादि कवेरमुष्य युज्यात्तदन्वयवनान्वयिताऽस्य हेतुः ।
स्वाभाविको भवति वारिधिराज जाते, शीतद्युतावमृत पुर परंपराहि ।"

सूत्र —वत्स, रङ्गमङ्गलाधिरोहिणी भूयाः किं भविष्यामः इति यतः स च कविः श्रीमदुत्कलेश्वरपादपङ्कजोपजीवि राज समाज मौलिमाल्लयन श्रीनारायणमङ्गराजेनप्रयुज्य-मानेन मया मणिमाला नाम नाटिका कृता सा भरतर्षभेण भवता नाटयितव्येति सौहार्द्द रसासार परंपराद्रिहृदयतया ता मस्माकं कण्ठे समर्पितवान् ॥"

From the portion of the drama quoted above, it is known that poet Anādi was born in the Bharadvāja family, which was renowned in Utkal, 'Mukunda' and 'Śatamjiva' were the grand father and the father of the poet respectively, and Nimba Devi was the mother of the poet. His father 'Śatamjiva was the author of a Gita-Kāvya named Muditamādhava. One of his ancestors named

'Dibâkara Kavichandraräy who wrote many works in pro·e and poetry was greately honoured in the court of the king of Vidyā-nagara, for his vast learning and scholarship. He composed a drama named Pravābatī which was one of his best products. Poet Anādi was greately inspired by the example set by his famous ancestor Divākara. He wrote the Maṇimālā Nātikā under the kind patronage of Nārāyaṇa Maṅgaraja, who was famous among the chieftains, that ruled under the king of Utkal.

Divākara Kavichandraräy the ancestor of the poet Anādi, can safely be indentified with the famous Sanskrit poet bearing the same name and title, whose notable work Bhāratmṛtāa Mahākāvya was first noticed by Dr. Raghavan [4].

From two verses of this unpublished work two palmleaf manus-cripts of which are preserved in the Orissa State Museum, it is known that the title of Kavichandrarāya was conferred on Divākara by his patron Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva, (1496—1540 A. D.), the emperor of Orissa e. g.

(a) यस्य श्री कविचन्द्रराय पदवी भाजो रसाम्भोनिधौ

(last verse of canto 2)

(b) यश्चापत् कविचन्द्रराय पदवीं श्री रुद्रभूमिभुजो

(last verse of canto 29)

It is stated in the last verse of canto 6 of this work that the poet Divākara was honoured in the court of the famous Kṛshṇadeva Rāya (1509-1529 A. D.), the emperor of Karnāta for his vast learning.

"कर्णाटाधिपकृष्णराय सदसि ख्यातस्य विद्वत्तया

Vidyānagara was the name of the capital of the Vijayanagara empire. So Divākara has rightly been described as विद्यानगरविद्यागरिमग्रावटङ्कः in the Maṇimālā Nātikā of his descendant Anādi.

Moreover like Anādi, author of Bhāratāmṛta, also belonged to the Bharadvāja gotra, which is stated in the last verse of the first canto.

यं प्रासूत पतिव्रता गुणवती मुक्ता विमुक्तात्मनः
श्री वैद्येश्वरतो विभूषित भरद्वाजान्वया दात्मजं

So Divākara, the ancestor of Anādi may be taken as identical with Divākara, the author of Bhāratāmṛta and the genealogy of the poet Anādi may be drawn as follows. This family had the surname Miśra,

Vaidyeśvara Miśra
|
Kavichandrarāya Divākara Miśra
(C. 1470—1560 A. D)
In his family was born—Mukunda Miśra
|
Satamjīva Miśra
(author of Mudita Mādhava)
|
Anādi Miśra
(C 1700-1760 A. D.) author of Maṇimālā.

Divākara and his fore fathers lived in some Brāhmaṇa Śasan near Puri. But Anādi, who lived under Nārayaṇa Maṅgarāja, in the Khimuṇḍi kingdom existing in the southern fringe of the Gañjām District, probably belonged to that area. This conjecture can be made as many noted Brahmaṇa families of the Puri area are known to have migrated to different parts of Gañjām and Korāput, (former Nandapur kingdom) districts, due to repeated invasions of Puri by the Muslims from 1588 onwards.

The Story of Manimala

This drama is divided in to four Acts :—

भवानी भवनं नाम प्रथमोऽङ्कः । कनकनौकानाम द्वितीयोऽङ्कः ।
वरणमलानाम तृतीयोऽङ्कः । कनकरथ नाम चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ।।

The story of this drama which is fictitious runs as follows :

'Śṛṅgāraśṛṅga' , the prince of Ujjayinī, who fell in love with Maṇimālā the daughter of the king of the Pushkara island, after enjoying her in a dream, at last got her as his wife with the help of a Tantric Yogī. The Yogī whose name was 'Adbhutabhūti' chanced to meet the king 'Śṛṅgāraśṛṅga' when he was offering his prayers in the temple of Durgā the presiding deity of the city of Ujjayinī, in the time of the spring festival of the goddess. The king gradually became a devotee of the Yogi, who possessed supernatural powers. The Yogī who could know the mind of the king told him the ways and means of getting the princess Maṇimālā for whom he was pining. According to his advice, the king sent his dear friend Chitracharitra, to the Puskara island. He started for that place in the disguise of a merchant with a life-like picture of the king, drawn by the king himself on a bark of the 'bhūrja' tree.

2nd Act—Being directed by the Yogī, a Yoginī or female mendicant named Susiddhasādhinī carried him to this far off island in a magic boat in a few hours.

As instructdd by the Yogi, who had gone to that island in the mean time Chitracharitra used to go into the palace every day in the disguise of a śilpinī or female artisan for selling various attractive commodities in the harem. In this way gradually he could make friendshlp with Vichitrāchaturī. the daughter of the minister of the king of Pushkara island and then through her, with her friend, the princess 'Maṇimālā. When the fridndship with the princess became intimate, he one day secretly presented to her, the picture of the prince of Ujjayinī, which he had brought with him. She was overwhelmed with joy to see the exact pictorial representation of the prince, whose company she had likewise enjoyed in a dream a few days ago and for whom she was pining since then.

Vijyavikrama, the king of the Pushkara island who was unware of the love affairs of the princess, had made up his mind

to give his daughter Maṇimālā in marriage to 'Kalākara' the king of the Gandharvas. There were great rejoicings in the palace as the date of the nuptial ceremony drew near.

But as planned before Maṇimālā, her friend Vichitrachāturī and the disguised silpinī met together and left the palace on the night prior to the day of marriage for the city of Ujjayinī. In this long voyage they were carried in the magic boat driven by the Yoginī Susiddhasādhinī.

3rd Act—On their way to Ujjayinī they were helped by another Yoginī, named 'Ghargharaghaṇṭā' a friend of Susiddhasādhinī. She was flying in the sky in an airplane, in which Maṇimālā and her party were taken and landed on the terrace of the king Sṛṅgāraśṛṅga The joy of the king knew no bounds when he saw the princess Maṇimālā in front of him all on a sudden. The betrothal ceremony was performed after she had garlanded the king.

Some days after this event, 'Pracaṇḍā' the sister of the द्वन्द्वदंष्ट्रा the demon king of the Krauñchaśaila carried away Maṇimāla from the palace, and swallowed her up. Knowing this Susiddhasādhinī ran to that place killed the giantess, and brought out Maṇimālā by tearing her to pieces. The dead princess was made alive, by the Yoginī with the help of Mṛtyusañjīvanī While thus rescuing Maṇimālā the Yoginī was stoutly resisted by the Demon king, who had became furious at the death of his sister. Seeing this imminent danger, the Yoginī flung the Princess towards the sky, where she was immediately picked up by her friend 'Ghargharaghaṇṭā' who took her to a safe place.

While the terrible fight between the demon king and the Yoginī was going on, prince Sṛṅgāraśṛṅga and the Yogī Adbhutabhūti joined with the Yoginī. At last the demon king was killed and they all came back to Ujjayinī with great joy. Maṇimālā was again offered to the king and there were great rejoicings in the

palace and the city, when the marriage ceremony of Maṇimālā with Śṛṅgāraśṛṅga was duly performed after long separation. Adbhutabhūti the magician, who played a prominent part in fulfilling the long-cherished desire of the king for marrying Maṇimālā was suitably rewarded. Thus ends the story of this drama.

It is an intersting drama deserving publication. A close study of this work gives the impression that the Tāntric faith had great influence over the people in the age of the poet. They belived that wonderful things could be achieved by the Tāntric Yogīs and Yoginīs who were the devotees of the goddess Durgā. The importance of Durgā was very great in that age and her autumn festival was celebrated with much pomp and ado by all the sections of the people.

Reference

1. (a) Stirling's Orissa, p. 87 (1743. 1786 A. D.)
   (b) Hunter' Orissa. Vol. II Appendix p, 190—(1736-1773 A. D)
   (c) History of Orissa by R. D. Banerjee. Vol II p. 87...(1743-80 A. D.)
   (d) Orissa Itihas by Dr. H. K. Mahatab (1738-1780 A. D.)
2. An Indian Ephemeris, Vol. V1, p. 292. by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai
3. -do- -do- p. 355
4. J. K. H. R. Society voll II, No I, pp 19-22



ŚIVALĪLĀMRITA MAHĀKĀVYA OF POET NITYĀNANDA

A palmleaf manuscript containing an unplished work in Sanskrit named Śivalīlāmṛta Mahākāvya was acquired in 1955 by the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, from the Ranapur area of the Puri district. It has got 146 folios (14" × 1 25") in all, out of which 106 folios contain the 'Kailāsa Khaṇḍa' of the 'Śivapurāṇa', while the remaining 40 folios contain this Mahākāvya written in Oriya script. It is in a fair state of preservation and on each side of every folio there are 5 lines of writing on the whole. From the post-colophon verse given below,

"शिवलीलामृतं काव्यं रथेन कृत्तिवाससा
लिखितं लिङ्गराजस्य भवतु प्रीतये सदा ।"

it is known that the Kṛttivāsa Ratha copied the manuscript for propitiation of Lord Liṅgarāja, but he didn't give the date of the copy of the manuscript. It is to be presumed that copiest was associated with the famous local deity of Bhubaneswar.

This work is written on the model of the wellknown Gītagovinda by the celebrated poet Jayadeva and like it this is also divided into different Sargas or Cantoes. Thus it is another imitation of the Gītagovinda which has not yet been discovered elsewhere. But unlike most of the imitations of the Gītagovinda depicting the Līlā of Śri Rādhā and Śri Kṛushna it has as its theme the Līlā of Śiva and Pārvatī. As such it can be put into the category of works like 'Gītagirīśa', 'Gīta Digaṃvara', 'Gīta Gaṅgādhara', 'Gīta Śaṃkara' and others numbering eleven in all, which have been enumerated by Dr. V. W. Karambelkar,[1] M. A. Ph. D. The first canto of this work begins with three benedictory verses in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī, whereafter the genealogy of the patron of the poet is given in 9 verses (verses 8 to 16). It then describes the birth of Pārvatī from Menā, the beauty and accomplishments of Pārvatī and the advent of Śiva to the dense forest of the Himālayas. The second

canto depicts the deep and austere meditation of Pārvatī for getting Śiva as her consort. The third canto gives a vivid picture of the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī, while the next delineates the sweet and happy married life of the couple and the birth of two sons named Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa. The fifth canto gives a description of the glories and splendour of the city of Kāśī sanctified by the presence of Śiva and Pārvatī, and of all purifying Gaṅgā that flows by this sacred place. In the next canto the poet tells us the story of king Hariśchandra of Ayodhyā and his queen Satyavatī who were blessed with two sons named Nandī and Bhṛṅgī through the grace of Lord Śiva whom they propitiated. The seventh canto contains the conversation between Śiva and Pārvatī about the natural beauties and sanctity of Ekāmra-kānana (Bhubaneswar) which was also known as *Gupta kasi*, lying between Virajā (Jajpur) and Purushottama (Puri) in Utkala (Orissa) They both started for this holy place as Pārvatī longed to see it. In the eighth canto the story of the two demon brothers named Kīrti and Vāsa, living in Ekāmra-kānana, both of whom were trampled down to death under the feet of Pārvatī, is given This is followed by the story of the origin of Vindu-sarovara the big sacred tank of Bhubaneswar and a description of the beauties and sanctity of the river Gandhavatī that flows by this holy place. In the next canto are narrated the Rāsa-krīḍā of Śiva and Pārvatī, sudden disappearance of Śiva from the scence, separation of Pārvatī, her search of Śiva in the company of dear maidens in the forest and groves lying on the banks of the Gandhavatī river, worship of Vālukā-Liṅga by Pārvatī for propitiating her beloved. The last canto begins with the reunion of Śiva and Pārvatī after long separation and their 'Rāsa' in the groves on the banks of the Gandhavatī. There after it contains hymns to Gaurī of the Siddhavana, Lord Liṅgarāja, the presiding deity of Ekāmra-kshetra (Bhubaneswar), Brahmeśvara one of the eight Śivaliṅgas (Asṭaśambhus) of this holy place, The work ends with a verse giving the name, and the gotra of the poet who was a great devotee of Śiva.

A close study of this Mahākāvya gives the impression that the poet drew materials for composing this work from the Kumāra-

saṃbhava of the great Kālidāsa, the Śiva Purāṇa, Ekāmra Purāṇa, Ekāmrachandrikā, Śvarṇādrimahodaya and others. The last three works referred to above were compiled by Oriya scholars prior to the seventeenth century A. D. which describe elaborately the sanctity and greatness of the temples and tanks etc. of Bhubaneswar. This work though different in nature and style of writing from the above three works, also indirectly sings the glory of Ekāmra-kānana or Bhubaneswar. But it cann't be traced from which source the poet derived his information about the birth of Nandī and Bhṛṅgī from Satyavatī the wife of Hariśchandra of Ayodhyā. The account of the birth of Nandī given in the Śiva Purāṇa [2] is altogether different from this. But on the whole this very interesting and praiseworthy imitation of the famous Gītagovinda will certainly win the admiration of scholars, if printed and published.

Author of the work—

In the colophon at the end of each of the ten cantos it is written.

इति श्रीमदग्निचित् नित्यानन्द पण्डितकृते शिवलीलामृतमहाकाव्ये प्रथमसर्गः etc.

From this it is clear that the poet Nityānanda was the real anthor of this work. From the last verse of the last canto quoted below it is known that the poet was a great devotee of Śiva and was born in a family of the Kauṇḍinya gotra.

"प्रालेयाचल-नन्दना पतिपद प्रत्यग्र पङ्केरुह
द्वन्द्वामन्द मकरन्द-विन्दुमहिम प्रेमप्रसादोदयः ।
कौण्डिन्यान्वय-दुग्धसिन्धु-रजनी वन्धोः प्रबन्धोत्तमं
नित्यानन्द कवे र्निवेदित मिमं संशोधयध्वं बुधाः ।
समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः" ।

But he gives no other information about his time, place or family in any other verse of this work.

But the authorship of this work has been ascribed by the poet to the name of his patron Gadādhara Māndhātā, the ruler of the Navadurga (Nayagarh State) whose name with or without the title 'Māndhātā' appears in the last line of most of the verse, and also in one verse he is called the ruler of Navadurga.

"जयति रसिक नवदुर्गधराधिप सुकवि गदाधरगीतं " (Folio 135)

From the facts stated above it can safely be concluded that though poet Nityānanda was the real author of this Mahākāvya, its authorship was attributed by him to Gadādhara Māndhātā as a token of gratitude for the patronage shown to him.

In this connection it may be noted that a manuscript of another Mahākāvya named 'Śrī Krshnalīlāmṛta' by Nityānanda, found in the Puri district was noticed some years ago by Pandit Kulamani Mishra the professor, Sadasiva Sanskrit college, Puri.[3] This is also another laudable imitation of the 'Gītagovinda' of Jayadeva. Like the 'Śivalīlāmṛta Mahākāvya' of the same poet, its authorship has also been attributed by him to another patron named Vanamāli of the Garga gotra. This will be evident from a portion of a verse quoted below.

गर्गान्वयोदन्वनुदितशीतधामाभिरामो वनमाली नामा
तदीय नामाङ्कितगीतवन्धं, कर्त्तुं प्रवर्त्ते रुचिरं प्रवन्धम् ।
श्रीकृष्ण पादाम्बुज भृङ्ग पेयं,
श्रीकृष्णलीलामृत नामधेयम् ।

Time of the poet—

The time of the poet Nityānanda may be fixed tentatively as the time of his patron Gadādhara Māndhātā which can be calculated with some amount of certainty. Some information about Gadādhara and his family is furnished by the poet in nine introductory verses (verses 8 to 16 of the first canto), which are quoted below as they are very helpful for fixing his time.

आसीदखण्ड वलखण्ड धरापतीनां नासीरगणतमपुण्य-भुज प्रतापः ।
पूतात्म चिन्तन निरन्तरधीः स कोऽपि धुतारिवर्ग नवदुर्ग मही महीन्द्रः ॥८

नित्यं शोभित लक्ष्मणाञ्चितगुणो विश्वम्भरासम्भवाम्
लक्ष्मीं भूमिभुजा वलेन बुभुजे रक्षन्नयोध्यां पुरीम् ।
सूर्यानन्द-विधायि निर्मलकुलाम्भोराशि राकाशशी
लोके यो रघुनाथ नाम विदितो रेजे नरेन्द्राग्रणीः ॥ ९

कृतागम समाह्वयस्तदनु तत्तनुजः प्रभुः,
वभूवतनयास्ततस्त्रय उदीतवन्त स्ततः ।
प्रतीतवलपौरुष प्रथमजस्तुतेषां द्विषां
विषाद जनकः परो हरिहरो नरेन्द्राजनि ॥१०
तत् पुत्रो गोकुलेन्द्रस्तदनु वसुमतीमण्डलाखण्डलोऽभूत्
यस्यास्थानी सुधर्मागुरुवुध कविभिः भासमाना सदैव ॥
योऽसौ संग्राम मूर्द्धनि प्रवलपरवल प्राणघाती प्रतीतो-
लेभे पुत्रं जयन्तं समुचित मुदयन्नम्दनानन्द लक्ष्मीः ॥११
कीर्त्तिर्यस्य दिगम्बरप्रणयिनो गौरीशरीरश्रिया,
युक्तं यद्विपदाशयामपिसदा गङ्गामतिक्रामति ।
कान्तारे हतवीरवैरि रमणी स्वान्तानिसन्तापयत्यन्तः ।
स्थानपितान् दहन्निव परं यस्य प्रतापानलः ॥१२

मुद्रयत हृदयत पद्मं स्यन्दयति दलं वलारिस्त्रीणाम् ।
अपि शशिकान्ताद्वदनादकलङ्क चन्द्रमा यस्य ॥१३
दीननाथ दया वशम्वदतया ख्यातिक्षितौ जग्मुषो—
देशे यस्य वरीवृतीति भगवान् श्री लडुकेश शिवः ।
तीव्राराधन सुप्रसन्न मनसाऽमाङ्गल्यमुन्मूलयन्
नित्यं राज्यधुरन्धरत्व मुररीकुर्वाण एप प्रभुः ॥१४
सामादिनापि परभूमिभुजामजेयः,
कामाकृतिः सतु गदाधरनामधेयः ।
मान्धात् तातसमता-मधिगम्य सम्यक्,
मान्धातृता विदित पौरुपमापभूपः ॥१५

स्मृति संमत हृद्यपद्य गीतं
शिवलीलामृत नामतः प्रतीतम् ॥
करवै पुरवैरिणो मुदेतन्
निज नामाङ्कितं काव्यवन्धमेतम् ॥१६

From these verses it is known that Raghunātha of the solar dynasty, the powerful ruler of Navadurga [4] had three sons of whom the eldest named Harihar became ruler after the death of his father. Gokulendra the son and successor of Harihar was a patron of learning and his court was adorned by poets and scholars of renown. His son Gadādhara was a strong ruler and a great devotee of 'Laḍukeśa' [5] who is worshipped with deep reverence by the people of this region.[6]

For his prowess he bore the title of Māndhātā like his father. He composed the work Śivalīlāmṛta Mahākāvya after the name of Siva.

The genealogy of Gadādhara as described by the poet is given below.

Raghunātha
|
Harihara
|
Gokulendra Māndātā
|
Gadādhara Māndhātā

In the *List of title-holders of the Presidency of Bengal*[7] completed and published in 1878 the genealogy of the Rāj family of Nayagarh is found on page 114. From this it is known that Raghunātha, the first ruler mentioned by poet Nityānanda was the twelfth chief of the line of rulers that ruled over Nayagarh, but the names of the first eleven chiefs are not given here as they are not necessary for our purpose. The names of the successors of Raghunātha as given in the list are neted below.

12. Raghunātha Siṃha.
13. Harihara Siṃha.
14. Gokula Siṃha Māndhātā.
15. Gadādhara Siṃha Māndhātā. (the patron of poet Nityānanda)
16. Rāmachandra Māndhātā,
17. Chandraśekhara Siṃha Māndhātā.
18. Purushottama Siṃha Māndhātā.
19. Mṛtyuñjaya Siṃha Māndhātā.
20. Vināyaka Siṃha Māndhātā.
21. Brajavandhu Siṃha Māndhātā.
22. Laḍukeśwara Siṃha Māndhātā.[8] (last king of the list)

The date of accession of Laḍukeśvara, the chief of Nayagarh as given in the list was 26-9-1851. Six generations of chiefs ruled between Gadādhara and Laḍukeśvara, the last king of the above list. If a period of 25 years on the average is calculated for each generation the time of Gadādhara comes to 1701 A. D.

From another source it is known that Vināyaka Siṃha Māndhātā (20th chief of the list) ruled for 20 years up to 1808 A. D. when he was 37 years old.[9] So he began to rule in 1788 A. D. Four chiefs having ruled befween Gadādhara and Vināyaka the former may tentativejy be assigned to 1688 or tha last quarter of the 17th century A. D.

Purtshottam Siṃha Māndhātā (18th chief of the list) was for some time contemporary and patron of the celebrated Oriya poet Upendra Bhañja who wrote most of his works between *circa* 1715-1750 A. D. As Gadādhara was the great grand-father of Purushottam he might be ruling some 50 years before 1715 A. D. From the facts stated above, it can be concluded that poet Nityānanda patronised by Gadādhara Siṃha Mandhātā florished in the second half of the seventeenth century.

No definite information is obtained about Vanamalī the second patron of the poet to whom the authorship of 'Śrīkṛshṇalīlāmṛta' has been attributed.

In the age of the poet, Govinda Līlāmṛta of Kṛshṇadāsa Kavirâja was very popular among the scholars. This might have served as a model for poet Nityānanda to write two Mahākāvyas namely Sivalīlāmṛta and Sri Kṛshṇalīlāmṛta to gain the admiration of the learned people.

He does not say anything in this work about his birth place or the region where he flourished. Due to the discovery of his works in different parts of the Puri district, he may be taken as a scholar of Orissa. His love and attachmenr for Ekāmra-kānana or Bhubaneswar, the glory of which place he has sung im Śivalīlāmṛta Mahākāvya also corroborates the view of his being a native of this area. The discovery of this work has made it possible to bring this famous poet to light from the darkness of oblivion.

Reference

1. Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. XXV. pp. 95-101.

2. Siva Purana, (Vangavasi edition) chapter 45 pp. 622-634.

3. The Chaturanga (now defunct Oriya monthly) 1947 Vol. II No. 5 P. 223.

4. Navadurga is the Sanskrit name of the Ex-State of Nayagarh which now comprises the major portion of the present Nayagarh subdivision of the district of Puri in Orissa.

5. The temple of Ladukesvara Siva standing at a distance of about 8 miles to the S. W. of the present town of Nayagarh is even now an important centre of pilgrimage of the Puri and the Ganjam districts.

6. The title of 'Mandhata' has been borne by the Rajas of Nayagarh from that time till today.

7. It was submitted by Colman Macaulay Esq. Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial, Political and Appointment Departments to the Government of India, Foreign Department on 6-5-1878.

8. The old spelling of the Oriya proper names given in this list has not been adopted.

9. Judicial Records of 1809 Vol. XII p. 55 preserved in the Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar.



SULOCHANĀ-MĀDHAVA KĀVYA

of Poet Brajasundara Pattanāyaka.

In 1955-56 a palmleaf manuscript of the unpublished Sulochanā-Mādhava Kāvya in Sanskrit was acquired for the Manuscript Library of the Orissa State Museum from Pandit Sri Kishora Chandra Rājaguru of Khalikota in the district of Ganjam. This manuscript which is in a fair state of preservation contains 140 folios (11.5" X 14"). It is written in Oriya characters clearly and legibly and there are four lines of writing on both sides of each folio. The date of the manuscript cann't be fixed as it is incomplete, and as such it doesn't contain any colophon, where generally the date of copy in *anka* years of Orissa kings is given. But on examination of the scripts used and the condition of the manuscript, its date may tentatively be fixed in the middle of the last century.

The poet and his date :—

Some information is obtained about the poet Brajasundara Pattanāyaka and his date from the first Maṅgalācharaṇa verse, the last verse of each canto and the first verse of canto 14 where it breaks off abruptly. Relevant portions from those verses are quoted below.

'महेन्द्रनीलोपल कन्दलोदयन्
महः प्रसारासह विग्रहच्छविः ।
कृतानुरागः कुरुतां दिने दिने
विपद्विनोदं मम नन्दनन्दनः" ॥

The first Maṅgalācharaṇa verse

"यं चक्रे स्वसभा विभूषणामणि राजन्यचूडामणिः
विद्यासिन्धुरनङ्ग भीम नृपतिः श्रीगाङ्गवशोद्भवः ।
तस्य श्री व्रजसुन्दरस्य कृतिनो विप्राशिषां काङ्क्षीणः
काव्ये पावन माधवीयचरिते सर्गोयमादिर्गतः" ॥

Last verse of the first canto

विद्यासिन्धुरनङ्गभीमनृपतिः श्रीवासुदेवात्मजः ।

Last verse of the second canto

"यन्तातो वल्भद्रनाम भणितो धीमान् कविः काव्यतः
तस्य श्री व्रजसुन्दरस्य सरसे सर्गागमत् सप्तमः ॥"

Last verse of the seventh canto

"तस्य श्री व्रजसुन्दरस्य भजतः श्रीकृष्णदासानुगान्" ॥

Last verse of the eighth canto

"तस्य श्री व्रजसुन्दरस्य सरसः काव्येऽगमत् द्वादशः ।
सर्गः यः पुरुषोत्तमे कवितया गीतः कवीनां गणैः" ॥

Last verse of the twelfth canto

"श्री चैतन्यपदारविन्द मधुप श्रीभक्तवर्गोल्लसत्
पादाम्भोजः रजः प्रसाद महिमप्राप्तोरुधी संपदा ।
येन श्री व्रजसुन्दरेण कविना सन्तोऽपि सन्तोषिताः
काव्ये तस्य भवन्तु हन्तकवयो दोषेऽपिसन्तोषिणः ॥"

First verse of the fourteenth canto

From the quotations made sbove, it is known that the poet Brajasundara, the author of this Sulochanā-Mādhava Kāvya was the son of Balabhadra who was also a poet of high order and the author of some kāvyas (धीमान् कविः काव्यतः). Brajasundara was made the court poet of the scholarly king Anaṅgabhīma Deva, the son of king Vāsudeva of the well-known Gaṅga family. The poet got his work examined by an assembly of learned scholars attached to the Jagannath temple at Puri where the twelfth canto of his work was recited and scrutinised. He was a great devotee of Śri Kṛshṇa, and a follower of the Vaishṇava faith preached by Śri Chaitanya. He highly respected the Vaishṇava saint as a true lover of his faith.

According to Sri K. C. Rajaguru the former owner of this manuscript who knows much about this poet's family, Brajasundara was Karaṇa by caste and had the family surname Pattanāyaka.

He was the father of Chakrapāṇi Pattānāyaka, the famous Sanskrit poet of Ganjam who was honoured with the title of Vakravāk for his ready wit and the power of extempore versification We have acquired this year a palmleaf manuscript of 'Guṇḍichā Champū, the last verse of which giving the caste and date of the poet is quoted below.

"समाप्ता गुण्डिचा चम्पूरियमत्यन्त दुर्लभा
कृता कायस्थजेनापि कृतिना चक्रपाणिना ।
वीरकेशरी भूपस्य राम वाणांककेऽसिते ।
कार्त्तिकैकादशी काव्यवासरे लिखितामया" ॥

From this it is known that poet Chakrapāṇi was a Kāyastha (called Karaṇa in Orissa) by caste and finished his work Guṇḍichā Champū on Friday, the eleventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika in the 53 Aṅka year of king Vīra Keśarī Deva, who must be the king of that name as the second king didn't rule for such a long period. The year of accession of Vīra Keśarī Deva I has been fixed by me in 1736 A. D. [1] This work was finished in the 53rd Aṅka or the 42nd regnal year of the king which fell in 1778 A D. The exact day according to the Christian era was *the 16th, October, 1778 A. D.,* which fell on Kārtika, Kṛshṇa, Ekādaśī, Friday.[2] The date of Chakrapāṇi having been known definitely, his father Brajasundara may be assigned to the first half of the eighteenth century. In this connection it may be stated here that Mm. H P. Śhāstrī, who first noticed this work wrote thus about the date of this poet "The writer is Brajasundara, the son of Balabhadra, both of whom enjoyed the patronge of Anaṅgabhīma, the king of Orissa in the 12th century A. D. [3]" Thi calculation of the date of the poet made by Śhāstri is not tenable. He arrived at this wrong conclusion by identifying Anaṅgabhīmadeva, patron of the poet Brajasundara, mentioned in the last verse of each canto of the work with the famous kings of that name ruling from 1190 to 1198 A. D. or 1211-1238 A. D.

But actually this Anaṅgabhīmadeva the son of the king Vāsudeva, (last verse of canto 2) was a powerful Gaṅga chieftain of the Khemuṇḍi kingdom which existed in the southern portion of the present Ganjam district in Orissa. This is proved by quotations from the Gaṅgavaṃśānucharita Champū written between 1760-65 A. D. by Vāsudeva Ratha Somayāji who was also patronised by the same king. From this it is known that the Gaṅga kings of the Khemuṇḍī kingdom, who had their capital at Gudāri Kaṭaka[4] had the

hereditary title of Anaṅgabhīmadeva, even long after the death of Anaṅgabhīmadeva. son of Madana Kāmadeva, the famous king of Orissa according to the tradition of Mādalāpāñji

लीलावती :—नाथ पृच्छामि, मदनकामदेवात्मजे अनङ्गभीमास्पदे गतवत्यपि इदानींतना गुडारिकटक-वासिन: सर्वे भूपा यदनङ्गभीमपदभाजो भवन्ति । तत् किं विजम् ?
विद्यार्णव :—किमसांपूतम्, तस्य शब्दस्य पृवृत्ति निमित्त वलात् तद्विषेषु तद्व्यपदेशो युज्यत एव ।
लीलावती :—तर्हि, तत्शब्दस्य किं पृवृत्ति निमित्तम् ?
विद्यार्णव :—"योजात: स्मरभीमसंशयकर: सौन्दर्य शौर्य्योदयात् ।
कस्मादेव मनङ्गभीम पदवीं बिभ्रत्रिनालम्बताम् ।
अत्रान्येषु तथाविधेषु च तत: शब्द: पृवृत्ते: पुन: ।
हेतौ जाग्रति साकुतो न वटणं चन्द्रानने चिन्त्यताम्" ॥ 5 (Verse 33)

In the '*Topographical list of inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*' compiled by V. Rangacharya,[6] we find the title of Anaṅgabhīmadeva affixed to the names of kings of this Gaṅga family, which corroborates the statement made by the author of the Champū Kāvya in the quotation given above.

Anaṅgabhīmadeva being a common title of this family, the real name of king, who patronised the poet Brajasundara, can be found out by reference to the term वासुदेवात्मज: used in the last verse of the second canto of the Sulochanā-Mādhava. From the same Champū Kāvya cited above, it is known that Pītāmvara Anaṅgabhīmadeva in his old age appointed his young step-brother Vāsudeva, as Yuvarāja ro rule over his kingdom eg :

X X X X

सर्वानन्दकर: कलासुचतुर: कोऽप्येष पीताम्वर: (Verse 3)
वैमात्रो य स्तदीय: सुजनकुल गुणग्राम विश्राम सीमा
निर्व्याज भ्राजमानानुपमसुभगता साधु संचारभूमि: ।
लक्षं कंसारिनाम्नां सतत मनुजपन वासुदेवाभिधानो
राज्यं भ्रातुस्तदीय: स्वमिव सुखमपात् यौवराज्येभिषिक्त: ॥

Verse 16 describes that king Vāsudeva was blessed by a son named Purushottama who was very powerful and talented, and asce-

nded the throne after his father.

स एप क्षितिभृत्कोटि नीराजित पदाम्बुजः ।
प्रशास्ति धरणीं दोर्भ्यां वीरः श्री पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ Verse 17

So king Purushottama Anaṅgabhīmadeva, son of Vāsudeva was the real patron of poet Brajasundara, who is eulogised in the last verse of each canto of his work. This king Purushottamadeva in the unpublished Oriya kāvya called 'कृष्णकेलितरङ्गिणी' composed by himself says that (i) he had the title 'Anaṅgabhīma' (ii) he was a great king of the Gaṅga family (iii) and he was the son of king Vāsudeva, which will be evident from the quotation given below.

(1) राधाकृष्णचरणपङ्कजे निति
पुरुषोत्तम अनङ्गभीम नृपति ॥ (Folio 2)

(2) गङ्गवंश पयोधि सुधाकर ।
पुरुपोत्तम देव नृपवर ॥ (Folio 15)

(3) गुरुचरणारविन्द वन्दन
करि वासुदेव नृपनन्दन
ए भावरे भणि
पुरुषोत्तमदेव नृपमणि । (Folio 28)

From the facts stated above, it can definitely be ascertained that poet Brajasundara the author of the Sulochanā-Mādhava Kāvya adorned the court of Purushottama Anaṅgabhīmadeva, son of Vāsudeva, who was a famous Gaṅga chieftain of the Khemuṇḍi kingdom lying on the southern fringe of the present Ganjam district in Orissa. As this king ruled from 1728 A. D. to 1776 A. D. [7] his court poet Brajasundara may be assigned to the first half of the eighteenth century A. D.

Review of this work :—The manuscript of this kāvya which ends abruptly in the middle of the 14th canto, contains a few more verse than that noticed by Mm. H. P. Shāstri. So both the manuscripts so far obtained are incomplete. It is difficult to say at the present state of our knowledge, whether the work was complete or

not, but it seems that the work was finished, as the poet presented the same for scrutiny to the famous *Pandita sabha* at Puri.

The story of this kävya, which is derived from the Kriyāyogasārá of the Padma Purāṇa runs thus :

In the splendid and beautiful city of Tāladhvaja there ruled a very powerful king named Vikrama, the name of whose queen was Hārâvatī In course of time she gave birth to a son named Mâdhava (first canto). The birth ceremony of the prince was celebrated with great pomp and ado, and on this occasion there were great rejoicings in the palace and the city. When Mādhava attained youth, he acquired proficiency in different games, sports, hunting and the art of warfare. (second canto)

In the third, fourth and the fifth cantos, the hunting expedition of prince Mādhava followed by a large retinue of servants, infantry and cavalry and the shooting of wild animals like deer, antelopes, boars, hares, peacocks, buffaloes, tigers, wolves etc, and trapping of wild elephants within enclosures are described vividly and impressively.

The evening was fast approaching when the hunting expedition was over. On their return home, while talking with pride and joy about their achivements of the day, they all forgot the proper route leading from the forest to the palace and followed a wrong track by the bank of a big tank. The poet here gives an enchanting pen-picture of the scenery of the sunset and the beauties of the tank. They all became refreshed by taking bath in the tank and enjoying the cool bracing breeze for some time, after strenuous labour of the day under the scorching rays of the summer sun. While bathing in the tank prince Mādhava saw a beautiful damsel named Chandrakalā, the wife of Subāhu of Kshatriya lineage, who had come there for fetching water. (Sixth canto)

He was so much enamuored of her beauty that he lost all sense of propriety and decency and expressed his desire to marry her.

At this she became wild with rage and took the prince to task who had to repent for his misconduct and begged apology of her. Then taking pity on the prince she told him that the princess Sulochanā, daughter of Guṇakara, the king of Plaksha island would be a suitable bride for him. (Seventh canto)

She further told him that he had to go to that far-off island beyond the seas by riding on the flying horse 'Bhadraśravā', which was in his stable. On reaching there, he had to make acquitance with a female named 'Gandhinī' the wife of the gārland-maker (Mālākāra) of the palace through whom he would be able to obtain Sulochanā. Chandrakalā returned home when the conversation was over and the prince inspired with the hope of getting his cherished bride cheerfully returned to the palace with the hunting party. (Eighth canto)

In the next canto the poet gives an interesting description of the natural scenery at the time of rise of the moon on the eastern horizon, the sad plight of the lotus flower, bees and the Chakravāka couples, the feelings and imotions of the lovers and their beloved after night-fall.

In the tenth canto, the poet delineates the feelings of prince Mādhava, who was pining for the princess Sulochanā whom he was wistfully longing to meet and marry in the far-off island.

From the eleventh canto we know that Mādhava was carried to that island by the flying horse Bhadraśravā within a few hours. On landing there, the prince went direct to the house of Gandhinī who entertained him as her guest after he had revealed his identity. When she came to know about the intention of the prince, she told him that the marriage of the princess Sulochanā would be performed next day with Vidyādhara, who had been chosen as bride-groom by her father Guṇākara. Hearing this Mādhava was greatly perturbed and wrote an appealing love letter to Sulochanā, which being concealed in a flower-garland was handed over to the princess by Gandhinī together with a ring sent by the prince as a present.

The princess whose joy knew no bounds when she read this letter promptly sent a reply to it and her ring through Gandhinī. After some time, under cover of darkness of the night, the princess stealthily went to the house where Mādhava lived She had a sweet talk with him and it was planned that on the next day Mādhava would land all on a sudden from the sky on his flying horse near the marriage altar, just on the eve of the performance of the marriage by the tying of the sacred knot, when she would elope with the prince. The conversation being over, the princess returned to the palace.

In the twelfth canto the poet describes that on the next day the marriage ceremony began to be perfotmed with great pomp and splendour and the bride Sulochanā who was beautifully dressed and adorned with ornaments, was taken to the marriage altar in the appointed hour encircled by female attendants.

Prince Mādhava made unusual delay in dressing himself and the time fixed for the elopement of the bride passed away. In the meantime a devil named Pracheṣṭa who was following Mādhava secretly and was in the know of his plan appeared near the marriage altar on the back of the flying horse Bhadraśravā and forcibly carried away Sulochanā who was sitting near the bridegroom Vidyādhara. In the twinkling of an eye she was taken to the city of Kānchī on the horse's back by that Devil. Being overwhelmed with sorrow, the princess bagan to weep for some time. Then she took up courage and pretended to marry him provided the marriage ceremony was duly performed. As the Devil had no money to bear its expenses, she offered him her two gold armlets for sale in the city. Soon after the devil had gone to sell the armlets in the city, Sulochanā hastily flew away on that horse assuming the form of a male by dint of magical powers which she possessed.

In the thirteenth canto the poet describes that after flying in the sky for sometime she landed in a kingdom ruled by a powerful chief named Sushena. There she in her new masculine form took the name of Vīravara and accepted a soldier's job under the king.

At that time great panic had spread in that kingdom due to havoc caused by a rhinoceros. Being much terrified the king had proclaimed that he would give his daughter in marriage with half of his kingdom as dowry to a hero who would be able to kill that animal. Having come to know this, Vīravara took a vow to kill it. On the appointed day he went a hunting accompanied by some soldiers and very bravely and skillfully put the animal to death. After this glorious achievement he was given great ovation by the king and his people who regarded him as their savior. As Proclaimed by the king his daughter 'Jayanti' was offered to him with half of his territory. As Vīravara did not like to live in his father-in-law's house, he built a palace near the 'Gaṅgā Saṃgama' (confluence of the Gaṅgā with the sea) where he passed his days in deep mediattion.

In the fourteenth canto the poet narrates that when Pracheṣta returned from the city after buying the things required for the marriage ceremony, he was mortified to find that the princess had gone away riding on the horse. He wept loudly and fell down senseless on the ground.

As the manuscript of the Kāvya ends here abruptly the remaining part of the story as found in the Padmapurāṇa, [8] which the poet has closely followed is narrated briefly to give a clear picture of the entire plot

Being desperate Prachesta was going to commit suiside by jumping into the Gaṅgā when he was caught by the guards of Vīravara's palace who threw this devil into the prison at his behest. The disappointed bridegroom Vidyādhara, who had also come to that place to put an end to his life by jumping into the Gaṅgā was also similarly caught and presented before Vīravara. After hearing every thing from him Vīravara requested him to live in that holy place peacefully to which he agreed. Mādhava whose hopes of marriage with Sulochanā were frustrated due to her abduction by Prachesta wandered with sorrow in different places and at last went to the Gaṅgā Saṃgama to kill himself. While trying to jump into

the river he was likewise caught and presented before Vīravara by the palace guards.

When Mādhava told the whole story beginning from his conversation with Chandrakalā till his arrival at that place for committing suicide out of desperation, Vīrabara could at once recognise him as her lover and went inside the palace to assume her old feminine form of Sulochanā. Then Mādhava was called inside where Sulochanā bowed respectfully at his feet. The joy of couple knew no bounds due to their accidental union after long period of separation. Next morning Sulochanā, Jayantī and Mādhava went to the palace of king Sushеṇa, who was very glad to see them. As desired by the king, both the princesses were married to Mādhava who was given half of the territory previously acquired by Vīravara (disguised Sulochanā). The devil Prachesta who had been imprisoned, was punished with death. Mādhava ruled happily with his two wives for good many years. Thus the story ends.

Reference

1. Manimala Natika of Anadi Kavi O. H. J. R. Vol. IV Nos. 3&4 pp. 60-61.
2. An Indian Ephemeris by L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, Vol, VI p. 359.
3. Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol VII, Kavya Manuscripts p, 119.
4. The ruin of this town are now found in the village Gudari in the Rayagada Subdivision of the Koraput District in Orissa.
5. Gangavamshanucharita Champu 8th Canto.
6. Volume I, Ganjam District pp. 676-696. No. 77-Ananta Anangabhima Kesari ; nos 59, 60, 80-Padmanabha Anangabhima Deva. no. 72-Pitamvara Anangabhima Deva. nos. 58,267, Purushottama Anangabhima Deva.
7. Vide my article Govinda Lilamrita with its commentary, O. H. R. J. Vol. III no. 3 p. 154.
8. Padma Purana (Bangabasi Edition) Chapter V 1128-56, Madhava Chandrakala Upakhyana.



MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA KRISHNA MISRA, AUTHOR OF KĀLASARVASVA AND OTHER WORKS

There are three palmleaf manuscripts of an unpublished work on Smṛti called Kālasarvsva by Kṛshṇa Miśra, in the Manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Of the three, the first acduireq from Ranpur area in the Puri district and the second and third acquired from the Khallikota town in the Ganjam district are named A. B. C. respectively.

In the manuscript 'A' the first 9 folia are missing and a Tikā on Suddhi Chandrikā of Kālidāsa Chayanī is written on folia 10 to 18 and the remaining folia (14" X 12") from 19 to 104 contain the incomplete text of Kālasarvasva by Kṛshṇa Miśra. There is no colophon at the end, but it is stated in the verse found at the end of the Tīkā on Suddhichandrikā, that the manuscript was copied in the 23rd Añka year of Srī Rāmachandra Deva.

Manuscript 'B' having 141 Folia (16. 1/2 X 12") contains the complete text of Kālasarvasva. The Manuscript was copied by one Rāmachandra Ratha, but the date of copy is not given. On consideration of the condition of the manuscript and the scripts used, it can safely be assigned to the first quarter of the last century.

Manuscript 'C' having 135 folios (13" X 12") contains the complete text of Kālasarvasva. But neither the date of copy not the name of the copiest is given at the end of the work. It may be assigned to the middle of the last century on examination of the scripts used in the manuscript. So of the three manuscripts only manuscript 'A' contains a date which is the 23rd Añka of Rāmachandra Deva, who is evidently the Rājā of Khurda. He can safely be identified with the third king of that name, in the Rāj family of Khurda, because the manuscript is not old enough to be assigned

to the reign of Rāmachandra Deva 1 (1568-1601 A. D.) and Rāmachandra Deva II (1725-1738 A. D.) did not rule for 23 Aṅkas or 18 years. Consequently date of copy is the 23rd Aṅka or 18th regnal year of Rāmachandra Deva III (1817-1856 A. D.) which corresponds to 1835-36 A. D.

Author and his Family

Some information about the author is obtained from the concluding portion of the Kālasarvasva, which is quoted bolow.

इति श्रीमन् कौत्सकुलकैरव- शरन्निशाकर न्यायवैशेषिक - मीमांसा -श्लेषभाष्यादि-शास्त्राकूपारपारङ्गम साहित्य सङ्गीत छन्दः प्राकृत ज्योतिः पाटीजादोविद् गर्वसर्वकंप महामहोपाध्यायकविकोविदकृष्णमिश्र विरचिते कालसर्वस्वे वैष्णवप्रकरणं समाप्तं । समाप्तश्चायं ग्रन्थः ।

It may be mentioned here that the above eulogistic description is found in a very slightly different form in the commentary on Sāhitya Ratnākara by Kṛshṇa Mishra a manuscript of which is preserved in the Orissa State Museum from which it is quoted below :

इति श्रीमन् कौत्सकुलकैरवशरन्निशाकरन्याय वैशेषिक श्लेषभाष्यादिशास्त्राकूपारपारङ्गम-साहित्य सङ्गीत प्राकृत ज्योतिषछन्दागम गर्वसर्वकंष महामहोपाध्याय कृष्णमिश्रविरचिते साहित्यरत्नाकर विवरणेऽलङ्कारसुधाकरे...........

Comparison of the above two quotations clearly indicates that Kṛshṇa Miśra, author of Kālasarvasva is identical with Kṛshṇa Miśra the author of the commentary on Sāhitya Ratnākara entitled Sudhākara as both belonged to Kautsa gotra, had the honorific title of Mahāmahopāddhāya, and used almost similar attributes before their names. As such the verse after Maṅgalācharaṇa and the verse at the end of the first section of the commentary on Sāhitya Ratnākara are quoted below, which give some informations about the author and his family, e. g.

नानाशास्त्रविशारदो द्विजवरो यो राम नामा महान्
यज्वा कौत्सकुलावलीहिमकरः प्रादुर्बभूवोत्कले ।

कृष्णस्तत्तनयात्मजः कविसुधी साहित्यरत्नाकरा—
लङ्कारस्य सुधाकराख्यममलं व्याख्यानमाख्यात्यसौ (२)
X X X X X X X
विद्वन्मण्डलमण्डनेन जनितः कौत्सान्वय ज्योतिना
योरामाह्वयदीक्षितेन परमानन्दाख्यमिश्रोमहान् ।
तन् पुण्योत्थसुतस्य कृष्णविदुपः साहित्यरत्नाकर-
स्यालङ्कारसुधाकरे रुचिकरे पूर्णाइयकौमुदी ॥

From the first verse it is known that Rāmachandra, well-versed in different branches of learning, a performer of sacrifices, the moon of the Kautsa family became famous in Utkala (Orissa). His grandson Kṛshṇa wrote a commentary named 'Sudhākara' on Sāhitya Ratnākara. The second verse relates that Paramānanda Miśra, son of the great scholar Rāmachandra Miśra, the light of the Kautsa family was the father of Kṛshṇa Miśra, the author of the above commentary.

It may be stated here that there is a palmleaf manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta from which it is known that a celebrated scholar named Rāmachandra Miśra, son of Mṛtyuñjaya Miśra of the Kautsa gotra wrote a commentary called बुधनन्दिनी on the सहृदयानन्द महाकाव्य composed by Kṛshṇānananda Sāndhibigrahika Mahāpātra. Rāmachandra author of the above commentary is most probably not different from the grand-father of Kṛshṇa Miśra as both were great scholars and had the same Kautsa gotra. The genealogy of Kṛshṇa Miśra may thus be drawn as follows :

Mṛtyuñjaya Miśra of Kautsa gotra.
|
Rāmachandra Miśra author of the बुधनन्दिनी टीका on सहृदयानन्द
|
Paramānanda Miśra.
|
Kṛshṇa Miśra., author of 'Kālasarvasva' and other works.

From the above discussion it is clear that the family of the

author was distinguished in Orissa for its scholarship and learning, which became manifest in their works on different subjects.

Time of Krishna Mishra :—

Yajñanārāyaṇa Dikshita wrote poem called रघुनाथभूपविजय or साहित्यरत्नाकर is sixteen cantos describing the life of his patron Raghunātha Nāyaka, king of Tanjore (1614-1632 A. D.) Kṛshṇa Miśra, who wrote a commentary on this Sāhitya Ratnākara must be placed after 1632 A. D. which fixes the earliest limit of the time of this author. This limit can be pushed later by some years, because Kṛshṇa Miśra refers thrice to Smṛti writer of Orissa named Gopīnātha-Vājapeyī, who flourished in the last quarter of the 18th century as will be evident from the quotation made below from the introductory portion of an unpublished drama named मधुरानिरुद्ध नाटक by Chayanī Chandraśekhara.

"देवोऽजायत रामचन्द्रधरणीभर्तुः समर्त्योत्तमा
X X X X
धीरः स्वात्मनि वीरकेशरीपदं यः सान्वयमन्यते ॥ ४
तद्देशनित्यवास्तव्य स्तव्यः सन्कविकोविदैः
अस्यकर्त्ता प्रबन्धस्य चयनी चन्द्रशेखरः ॥
X X X X
वत्स्यान्वय पद्माकर दिनकर सप्तसोमयाजी वाजपेयी गोपीनाथ राजगुरु—
द्वितीयतनय चयनीचन्द्रशेखरायगुरोरनन्यसाधारणः सरस्वतीनिर्यासः ॥

Rāmachandra referred to in the text quoted above was Rāmachandra II Rājā of Khurda (1725-1736 A. D.) who was succeeded by Virakeśarī Deva I (1736-1792 A. D.). Kṛshṇa Miśra who refers to Gopīnātha Vājapeyī of the time of the above Rāmachandra Deva II with respect may be placed after 1736 A. D. As such he may be assigned to the middle or the third quarter of the 18th century A.D. He refers to two works named Dīkshāsāra (f4) and Yogasāra (f133) which were parhaps the works of Gadādhara Rājaguru who flourished

in the 1st quarter of the 18th century. Thus the time fixed for him above is quite tenable.

Review of Kalasarvasva :—

Krshna Miśra has referred to the following scholars and works, in his work of Kālasarvasva which are arranged below alphabetically and the number of references made has been shown against each.

अ- अगस्तिसंहिता 4, अङ्गिरा 2, अध्यात्म रामायण 1, अनन्तभट्टि 3,
आ- आग्नेयपुराण 3, आनन्द्वन 2, आपस्तम्ब 1,
इ- इतिहासपुराण 1,
ई- ईशानसंहिता 1,
उ- उत्कला
ऋ- ऋग्वेद 1,
ए- एकाम्रपुराण 1,
क- कर्काचार्य्य 1, कपिल 1, कम्व 1, कात्यायन 4, कालनिर्णयदीपिका 1, कालादर्श 10, कालिकापुराण 6, कामाभट्ट देवीदास 2, काशीखण्ड 1, कूर्मपुराण 9, कृत्यकौमुदी 2, कौमुदी 2, कौमुदीकार 6, कृत्यचिन्तामणि 1, कोशलखण्ड 1 ।
ग- गर्ग 1, गरुडपुराण 6, गार्ग्य 2, गङ्गामहात्म्य 2, गीता 1, गोपाल 1, गोपालोपनिषत् 1, गोपालभट्ट 18, गोपीनाथ and गोपीनाथवाजपेयी 3, गोविन्दराज 1, गोभिल 1, गौड-भट्टाचार्य्य 1, गोदास 10, गौतम 6, गौतमीय 1 ।
च- चन्द्रिका 2
ज- जावाली 2, जीमूतवाहन 1, जैमिनिसूत्र 2, ज्योतिषसिद्धान्त by हेमाद्रि 1 ।
त- तत्त्वसारसंहिता 1, तिथितत्त्व 2 ।
द- दर्शनतत्त्व 10, दिव्यसिंह 13, दीपिका 2, दीक्षासार 1, देवल 5, देवीपुराण 6
ध-धवलसंग्रह 2
न- नागरखण्ड 1, नामकौमुदी 1, नारद 2, नारदस्मृति 1, नारदपञ्चरात्र 1, नारदीय 1, नरसिंह 1, नारायण 1, नारायणभट्ट 7, नारायणभट्टाचार्य्य 1, निगम 3, निर्णयामृत 1, नृसिंहाचार्य्य 2, नृसिंहपरिचर्य्याभिलाप 1, नृसिंहपुराण 1, ॥
प- पञ्चरात्र 3, पण्डितसर्वस्व 1, पद्मपुराण 31, पराशर 1, पुष्करपुराण 1, प्रतापमार्तण्ड 3, प्रपञ्चसंहिता 1, प्रश्नपञ्चरात्र 1, प्रह्लादसंहिता 1 ।
ब- वह्निपुराण 1, ब्रह्मपुराण 13, ब्रह्मरामायण2, ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त 1, ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त 13, ब्रह्माण्ड-पुराण 1, ब्राह्मण 1, वृद्धमनु 1, बृहद्वशिष्ठ 3, बृहन्नरसिंहपुराण 1, बृहस्पति 1, बौद्धायन 1 ।

भ- भक्तिप्रदीप 1, भट्टाचार्य्य 2, भविष्यपुराण 19, भविष्योत्तरपुराण 1, भागवत 9, भारत 1, भास्वती 1, भास्कराचार्य्य 2, भीमपराक्रम 1, माधवीय, मत्स्य 1, मेदिनीकर 1, भुजबलस्मृति 1, भोज 1, भृगु ।

म- मनु 7, मन्त्रप्रकाश 1, महागार्ग्य , मार्कण्डेय 3, मार्कण्डेयपुराण 2, माधव & माधवाचार्य 15 and 17, माधवीय 11, मत्स्य 6, मेदिनीकर 1

य-यम 5, याज्ञवल्क्य 2, योगसार 1, योगीयाज्ञवल्क्य 3, योगिनीतन्त्र 1 ।

र- रघुनन्दन 23, राजमार्तण्ड 10, रामतत्त्वप्रकाश 1, रामार्च्चन चन्द्रिका 6, रामायण 1

ल- लक्ष्मीधर 2, लङ्काकाण्ड 1, लिङ्गपुराण 12, लिङ्गवैभव 1

व- वराह 3, वराहपुराण 1, वराहसंहिता 1, वसन्तराज 1, वराहमानस्मृति 2, वशिष्ठ 2 वशिष्ठ रामायण 2, वाक्यनिर्णय 1, वाचस्पति मिश्र 1, वाजपेयी 2, वाजसनेय 1, वामनपुराण 1, वाजपुराण 3, वाजकाण्ड 1, वाल्मीकि 1,व्यास 1,विद्याकर, विद्याकरपद्धति 1, विप्रमिश्र 1, विश्वनाथ 1;विश्वामित्र 3;विष्णु 2;विष्णुतन्त्र 1;विष्णुधर्मोत्तर 6; विष्णुपुराण 7; विष्णुरहस्य 1;विष्णुशृङ्खला 1;विष्णुस्मृति 1,वैश्वानरसंहिता; वैष्णवसर्वस्व 1;वैष्णवनामोदय 1

श- शतानन्द; शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका 1; शम्भुकर 3; शम्भुकर वाजपेयी; शाम्बपुराण; श्राद्धाधिकार; शिवरहस्य; शिरोमणि; श्रीधरवाणी 2

स- सनतकुमार संहिता; सह्यखण्ड 1, सम्वत्सर प्रदीप 2; स्कन्द 6, स्कन्दपुराण ; स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य्य;साधनदीपिका, सिंहवाजपेयी 6; सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि;सूर्य्यसिद्धान्तशिरोमणि; सूमन्तु, सुप्रकाशकार 2, स्मृतिमहार्णव, स्मृतिसार 21, स्मृतिसारकार, स्मृतिसारसंग्रह, स्मृतिसिद्धान्त ।

ह- हरिवंशस्मृति, हरिभक्तिविलास, हारित, हेमाद्रि

On examination of the above alphabetical list the names of the following Smṛti writers and Smṛti works of Orissa known before are obtained.

1. (a) Śatānanda (11th century) quoted 7 times
   (b) Bhāsvatī by Śatānanda -do- twice
2. Sambhukara Vājapeyī (14th century) quoted 4 times
3. (a) Vidyākara Vājapeyī (14th century) -do- 4 times
   (b) Vidyākara Paddhati -do- once
4. (a) Kṛtyakaumudī - -do- twice

(b) Kaumudikāra (Bṛhaspaṭi) (15th century quoted 6 times.)

5. Pratāpa Mârtanḍa by Gajapati Pratāprudra Deva (1497-1535) quoted once.

6. (a) Siṃha Vājapeyī (popular name of Narasiṃha Vājapeyī (16th cent.) quoted 10 times.

(b) Bhaktipradīpa by the above author quoted twice

7. (a) Viśvanātha Miśra C. 1640 **A.** D. quoted 4 times

(b) Smṛtisārasaṃgraha by the above author quoted once

8. Divyasiṃha Mahāpātra, 17th century quoted 13 times

The two works Dīkshāsāra and Yograsāra were perhaps compiled by Gadādhara Rājaguru (1st quarters of the 18th century) as all his works end with the term Sāra. Mantraprakāśa quoted once(f 133) Was most probably the work of Vāsudeva Ratha a contemporary and rival of Gadādhara Rājaguru, as all his works end with the term Prakāśa. Pandita-śarvasva reffered to (f127) was an Orissan compilation and was different from the Pandita śarvasva of the famous author named Halāyudha of Bengal.

Besides the names given above, the names of two Smṛti writers of Orissa not known before namely Vipra Mishra and Gopīnātha Vājapeyī are found quoted in the Kālasarvasva. Though the time of Vipra Mishra is not yet known definitely, he may tentatively, be assigned to the 17th century, as he was anterior to Divyasiṃha Mahāpātra (2nd half of the 17th century who quoted him five times in his work called 'Srāddha Dīpa'). Gopīnātha Vājapeyī mentioned for the first time in Kālasarvasva is known to be the Rājaguru of Rājā Rāmachandra Deva II (1725-1736 A.D.) of Khurda.

As regards the Smṛti writers of other parts of India the number of refeınces made to Mādhavāchārya and his work Mādhavīya has been the largest (39 times) in this work, which clearly indicates that this celebrated Smṛtikāra of Southern India was still

reigning supreme in the field of Dharmaśāstra literature. Next to Mādhava counts Raghunandana (23 times) and Gopālabhaṭṭa, the author of Haribhaktivilāsa (20 times). Kṛshna Miśra refers to Gauḍa ten times in his work without giving their names. Smṛtisāra quoted 21 times was most probably the compilation of that namely a Maithili Pandita.

Among the Purāṇas Skanda Purāṇa ranks first as the largest number of quotations (36 times) has been made from it. Them come Padmapurāṇa (quoted 31 times), Bhavishya Purāṇa (quoted 19 times) and Bhavisyottara Purāṇa(quoted 17 times).

The above critical analysis of this work bears ample testimony to the scholarship and erudition of the author, who utilised all available sources to make his work as authentic and authoritative as was possible in that age.

Regarding the importance of this work the author's own words may be profitably quoted here :—

षोडशानां तिथीनांचद्वैधेऽनुष्ठान निर्णयः
स्मार्त्तवैष्णवयोः प्रोक्तः संयोगो लाघवान्मया ।
ग्रन्थाः सन्ति पुरातनाश्चनवा यद्यप्यनेके स्मृतौ
प्रायस्ते तदपीह संशयफला निर्णायकानेतीतः ।
ज्योतिः साधन मौपत्तिकवचः स्मार्त्तेतथावैष्णवे
भोधीरा अधिकं क्वचिच्च चिनुत श्रीकालसर्वस्वतः ।।

In the above two verses the author claims the superiority of his work over others in respect of treatment of both the Smārta and the Vaishṇava methods of calculation of auspicious time for the observance of various fasts and festivals.

It may be stated here that the Smṛti works of Orissa compiled prior to C 1650 A. D. make no separate mention of the Vaishṇava fasts and festivals and the time of their observervance

as the Vaishṇavas constituted a minority in the society. In the Kāladīpa of Divyasiṃha Mahāpātra C. 1640-1680, we find for the first time the description of Vaishṇava Ekādaśī as observed by the followers of Mādhvāchārya Gadādhara Rājaguru who flourished after Divyasiṃha describes in his 'Kālasāra' the rites to be observed by the Gauḍiya followers of Sree Chaitanya(2). In the Ekādaśī prakaraṇa of the same work Gadādhara makes discussion about different Vaishṇava Ekādaśī as enjoined by Haribhaktivilāsa and other works[3]. In the same section he observes that Oriya Vaishṇavas perform Dīkshā like the Smārtas[4].

Kṛshṇa Mishra who was posterior to Gadādhara by some 20 years adds a separate section which is the last chapter of Kālasarvasva called Vaishṇava Prakaraṇa where in he makes an elaborate discussion about the fasts and festivals etc. observed by different sects of Vaishṇavas e. g, 'माध्व' 'श्री वैष्णव' 'सनक वैष्णव' 'रामोपासक वैष्णव' 'उत्कल वैष्णव' and the appropriate time of their observance by the respective sects. The writing of this chapter was felt necessary as a large section of people in Orissa had become Vaishṇava by this time.

One most important point which deserves mention here is the description of ललिता सप्तमी and राधाष्टमी by Kṛishṇa Miśra in his work, which is not found in any other Smṛti of Orissa written prior to him. On this he makes the following observation :—

यद्यपिराधाललिताजन्म हरिभक्तिविलासेनास्ति तथापिवैष्णवाचारात्
साधनदीपिकायां सत्त्वाच्च तत् किंचित् लिख्यते ।
ललिताजन्म-भद्रे भाद्रस्य सप्तम्यां शुक्लपक्षेयुधिष्ठिर
X X X X X
ललिते ललिते देवी सौख्य सौभाग्य दायिनी ।
राधाष्टमी- भविष्योत्तरे
भद्रे भाद्रपदे मासि शुक्लाष्टम्यां युधिष्ठिर
X X X X X

सोऽपवासप्रयत्नेन तत्रदेवीं प्रपूजयेत् ।
देवी व्रजदेवीं, इयं ज्येष्ठर्क्ष योगात् ज्येष्ठाष्टमीत्युच्यते ।
ज्येष्ठेति राधाया नामान्तर मिति केचित् ।

At another place he mentions that (f135) कार्त्तिक कृष्णाष्टमी is deemed holy as on that day Sree Kṛshṇa made Rādhā the overlord of Bṛndāvana वृन्दावनाधिपत्यंच दत्तंतस्यां X X (f137). From the above discussion it is quite clear that Kṛshṇa Miśra, who was not a worshipper of Rādhā Kṛshṇa[6] had to incorporate the fasts and festivals connected with Rādhā in his work on Dharmaśāstra as by his time (mid 18th century) Rādhā had become deified and the worshippers of Sree Rādhā-Kṛshṇa had formed an influential section in the society due to the preaching of Rasikānanda Gosvāmī of Gopiballabhapur.

Thus the Kālasarvasva is very important as it throws much new light on the development of Rādhā Kṛshṇa worship in Orissa which was steadily gaining ground before his days and became dominant in the society during the succeeding two centuries.

Other works by Kṛshṇa Miśra :— In the Janmāsṭmī Prakaraṇa of his Kālasarvasva, Kṛshṇa Miśra writes thus : उपवासंतत्र शुद्धिसर्वस्वेवक्षामः from which it is clear that he had written a work called शुद्धिसर्वस्व before compiling the कालसर्वस्व. It has been stated before that he wrote a commentary named सुधाकर on साहित्यरत्नाकर, an incomplete manuscript of which is preserved in the Museum. He was also the author of a grammar called कृष्णमिश्र प्रक्रिया after his name, which he wrote on the basis of Prakriyā of Vardhamāna. This will be evident from the quotation given below :—

प्रणम्य श्री हयग्रीवं विघ्नराजं सरस्वतीं
प्रक्रिया क्रियतेऽस्माभिः वर्द्धमानानुसारिणी ।

इति श्रीकृष्णमिश्रविरचितायां वर्द्धमानानुसारिण्यां प्रक्रियायां सन्धौ पंचम सन्धिः समाप्तः

It is not possible to say at the present state of our knowledge the number and names of all the works written by Kṛshṇa Miśra. But a great scholar as he was he might have written some other works besides the four discussed above manuscripts of which can be traced by thorough search in future.

Reference

१. अथ वैष्णवैकादशीव्यवस्था माध्वाचार्योक्तालिख्यते
२. कालसार पृ· २६ चैतन्यमतानुयायी गौडवैष्णवैस्त आश्विन शुक्लैकादशीमारभ्य कार्त्तिक शुक्लैकादशीं यावत् व्रतमाचर्यते ।
३. कालसार पृ. १४२ हरिभक्तिविलासादि ग्रन्थानालोक्य संप्रति वैष्णवैकादशीभेदा लिख्यन्ते नातिविस्तरं ।
४. कालसार पृ· १४६-गृहीत दीक्षैरपि औड्रवैष्णवैः स्मार्त्तवत् दीक्षां क्रियते ।
५. He prays to सरस्वती in the मङ्गलाचरण of कालसर्वस्व and offers his prayer to हयग्रीव गणेश and सरस्वती in his प्रक्रिया ।
७. There is an incomplete manuscript of कृष्णमिश्रप्रक्रिया in the manuscripts library of the Orissa State Museum.

ŚATĀNANDA, A FAMOUS ASTRONOMER OF ORISSA

Śatānanda who was famous in the past ages for his well known works entitled 'Bhāsvatī' and Śatānanda-Saṃgraha has escaped the notice of the notable wtiters on Sanskrit literature. He doesn't find mention in (1) History of Sanskrit literature by Macdonell, (2)[1] History of the Indian literature, Vol. I & II by Winternitz.[2] (3) History of Sanskrit literature Vol.I by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De[3] though a brief note was given about this renowned scholar by M. M. Chakravarti in his valuable paper 'On the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa' published about 55 years ago.[4] Keith only gives the dates of Bhāsvatī by Śatānanda in his 'A History of Sanskrit literature'[5] whereas Sri V. Varadāchāri the latest writer on the history of Sanskrit literature writes one line only e.g. "On Karaṇa was written the Bhāsvatī by Śatānanda of unknown date".[6]

Thus Śatānanda, a great astronomer, is now practically lost into oblivion although his work Bhāsvatī was once accepted as an authority on Jyotisha and had several commentaries writteh by scholars of different parts of India, which bear ample testimony to its popularity among the later astronomers. So an attempt is made in this paper to throw some light on Śatānanda and his works with the peices of information elicited from different sources.

Time of Śatānanda :—One need not worry for fixing his time as it is clearly mentioned in the last verse of his work Bhāsvatī quoted below that Śatānanda of Purushottam (Puri), the son of Saṅkara and Sarasvatī, finished this work in the Yugābda (Kha = 0, Kha = 0, Aśvī = 2, Veda = 4) or 4238 years e.g.

'खखाश्विवेद प्रमितेयुगाद्धे
दिव्योक्तितिः श्री पुरुषोत्तमस्थ
श्रीमान् शतानन्दहृतोद्‌माह
सरस्वती शङ्करयो स्तनुजः ।'

Yugābda 4200 is equal to 1099 of the Christian era. This fact is corroborated by the first verse of this work quoted below, which states that Śatānanda, a devotee of Murāri or Vishṇu wrote Bhāsvatī for the benefit of the Students when the year Śaśi (1), Paksha (2), Kha (o) and Eka (1) or 1021 of the Śaka era had already expired—

'नत्वामुरारेश्चरणारविन्दं
श्रीमाच्छतानन्द इति प्रसिद्धः
तां भास्वतीं शिष्यहितार्थमाह
शाके विहीने शशिपक्षखैकैः ।'

Śaka year 1021 fell 1099 A. D. Thus it is convincingly proved that Bhāsvatī was begun and finished by Śatānanda in Yuga year 4200 or Śaka year 1021 which is equivalent to 1099 A. D.

Family of Śatānanda :—

There are five complete copies of Bhāsvatī in the Manuscript library of the Orissa State Museum which are named A. B. C. D. & E. respectively. In the Manuscript 'A' the following colophon e.g. इति श्री मुक्ताधरशतानन्दविरचितायां पञ्चसिद्धान्त्यां भास्वत्यां is found at the end of each of the eight sections into which the work is divided ; whereas in the manuscript 'B' the words underlined above are found only in the colophons of sections 5 to 8. In the manuscript 'C' the colophon of sections 1 to 7 runs as follows e.g. इति श्री शतानन्द आचार्य विरचितायां भास्वत्यां while इति श्री मुक्ताधरशतानन्द आचार्य विरचितायां is found at the end of section 8. In the manuscript 'D' the colophon at the end of each section is simply इति श्री भास्वतीये and that in manuscript 'E' is इति श्री पञ्चसिन्धान्तसारे भास्वतीये ।

Thus on examination of the colophons it can be said that the name of Śatānanda was preceded by the epithet मुक्ताधर and followed by the term आचार्य । It is not clearly understood what the epithet 'मुक्ताधर' denotes, but the term Āchārya may safely be taken as his designation or surname. Though the Buddhist and Jaina preceptors were also called Āchāryas Śatānanda who was a devotee of Murāri or Vishṇu was undoubtedly a follower of the Brahmanic faith.

It may be mentioned here that Brahmins having the family surname Āchārya were popular in that age in Orissa. We know of one Pramodāchārya who made a grant for offering of one 'āḍhaka' of grain to Lord Pārśveśvara every morning from the Paraśurameśvara temple inscription at Bhubaneswar[7]. This inscription is assigned to the 8th century A. D. It is known from the Megheśvara temple inscription at Bhubaneswar that one 'Vishṇu Āchārya' who was as great as Lord Vishṇu e.g. सुदर्शनेनान्वितएप विष्णुराचार्यराजः स पृथक् न विष्णोः was granted a village by Svapneśvara Deva, maternal uncle of the Gaṅga Emperor Anaṅgabhīma Deva II (1190-1198 A. D.)[8] The writer of this inscription was a poet named Udayana Āchārya. Govardhana, author of the well known Āryā-Saptaśatī who according to tradition lived at Puri had the family surname Āchārya, as cited by Jayadeva[9]. So the term Āchārya, found with name of Śatānanda may be taken as the surname of his family.

Nativity af Śatānanda :—

M. M. Chakravarti who first made a brief notice of the 'Bhāsvatī' rightly pointed out after careful study of this work and wrote thus : "He (Śatānanda) was of Purushottama (i.e. Puri) and according to commentators he based his calculations on the meridian of this town"[10]. This view of Chakravarti is corroborated by the last verse of Bhāsvatī quoted above which is found in all five manuscripts of this wogk preserved in the Orissa Museum, as well as in others so far noticed in Orissa. The term पुरुषोत्तमस्थ used in this verse clearly proves that Śatānanda was the resident of sacred town of Puri in Orissa which is known as Purushottama Kshetra from the days of yore.[11]

It may be mentioned in this connection that the word 'पुरुषोत्तमस्य' has been printed in place of 'पुरुषोत्तमस्थ' in the Notices of Sanskrit manuscripts edited and published by Rajendralal Mitra.[12] This is certainly a mistake as the word 'पुरुषोत्तमस्य' is meaningless with reference to the context, where 'पुरुषोत्तमस्थ' is used as an adjective af Śatānanda indicating the place of his residence. This was either a printing mistake or might be due to the ignorance of the

scribe or carelessness of the copyist. Thus Satānanda can defitely be said to have flourished at Puri in Orissa

Works of Shatānanda :—

It is difficult to say at the present state of our knowledge the exact number of works compiled by Shatānanda. But his work 'Bhāsvatī' which was also called 'पञ्चसिद्धान्तसार' or 'पञ्चसिद्धान्ती भास्वती' was wellknown in India. It is divided into eight sections called अधिकार as given below.

(1) Tithi dhruvādhikāra, (2) Grahadhrurvādhikāra, (3) Tithisiddhyadhikāra, (4) Grahasphuṭādhikāra or Grahasiddhyadhikāra, (5) Tripraśnādhikāra, (6) Chandragrahaṇādhikāra, (7) Sūryagrahaṇādhikāra, (8) Parilekhādhikāra.

The Introductory portion of this work is quoted below :

"Atha pravakshe mihiropadeśāt
tat Sūryasiddhāntaṃ samaṃ samāsāt"

From this it is known that he accepted the works of Mihira or Varāhamihira and the Sūryasiddhānta as authority for his work. Shatānanda called his work 'पञ्चसिद्धान्तसार' or 'पञ्चसिद्धान्ती' in imitation of the famous 'पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका' by the celebrated astronomer Varāhamihira by whom he was greatly influenced. Sūryasiddhānta followed by him is a very ancient work on the Astronomy which in its present form was revealed by Sūrya or the Sun-God to Asura Maya in Romaka. [13]

Commentaries on Bhāsvati :—

According to Hiralal who noticed four copies of this work Nos. 3683-3686 there are about twenty commentaries on it. [14] But only two commentaries on this have so far been noticed.

(A) An important commentary on Bhāsvatī known as 'Saṃsāraprakāśikā' (संसारप्रकाशिका) has been found in different parts of Orissa. It was written by a scholar named Kāśīśvara as will be evident from the quotation given below :—

श्री शिवायनमः
नमः कमलिनीकन्दसन्दिग्धशशलाङ्छनं
सुरस्रोतस्वतीधां दधते शम्भुसिन्धवे ।
दुर्वोध्यवाक्य सरसीरुहवारिराशि
श्री भास्वतीयकरणं कविराजसूनुः
प्रत्यर्थिवारण-विदारण दृप्तसिंहः
काशीश्वरः कविरसौ प्रकटीचकार ।
इति श्रीमत् कविकेशरो काशीश्वरविरचितायां
संसारप्रकाशिकायां भास्वतीयकरणटीकायां
परिलेखाधिकारो नामाष्टमोऽध्यायः

(B) Balabhadra son of Vasanta and grandson of Vimalākara of the Kauśika Gotra, wrote a commentary on Bhāsvatī named 'Vālabodhinī' in शररसमनुमितेशाके (शर = 5, रस = 6, मनु = 14) or 1465 Shaka year which fell in 1543 A. D. in the town of Umā in the country of Jumilā during the reign of the Shāhi dynasty.[16] I do not know about any other commentary on Bhāsvatī.

Shatānanda Ratnamālā :--

Satānanda was also reputed as the author of two works namely 'Shatānanda Ratnamālā' and 'Shatānanda Saṃgraha' which are known from references made to them in later works. A palmleaf manuscript of Ratnamālā or Ratnāvalī was discovered some twenty years ago in a Brahmin village near Puri as is known from the notes left by Pandit Sri Narasiṃha Ratha[17] quoted below. Shatānanda begins this work with a prayer to God Purushottama and adoration of his father e.g. as follows :—

ॐ सूर्याय नमः, ॐ विघ्नेश्वराय नमः ।
ॐ यस्यप्रभोः सर्वविद्याप्रसन्न—
ज्ञानाञ्जनैरञ्जितलोचनश्रीः
त्रिकालदर्शीह कलौ नरःस्यात्
तस्मै नमः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाय ।
स्फुरद्ज्ञानज्योतिः पितृचरणधूलीचितशिराः

शतानन्द स्तत्तन्मुनिवचनरत्नानि कतिचिन्
विविच्यान्तः सूत्रं प्रथयति च रत्नावलिरियं
यथा विद्वन् कण्ठे लुठति हृदयं रञ्जयतिच ॥

According to Sri Ratha, Shatānanda mentions the following authors and works in his Ratnamālā e.g. Jāvāli, Vālmīki, Vishṇu, Virañchi, Rishysṛṅga, Atri, Gautama, Prachetā, Bhāgavata, Varāhapurāṇa, Kūrmapurāṇa, Āgneyapurāṇa.

Manuscripts of Ratnamālā were available in Madhya Pradesh as will be evident from the note left by Hiralal quoted below :—

" Ratnamālā Author-Sripati Bhatta "

" Subject—Jyotisha "

"It is otherwise known as Jyotisha Ratnamālā or Shripati Ratnamālā. There are books of the same name by various authors on Kosha, anthology, and medicine etc. Many other authors like Achyuta, Mādhava and Shatānanda writing on Jyotisha have given the same to the same name to their works." 18 It may be pointed out here that Shripati Bhatta who perhaps flourished after Shatānanda gave the name of ' Ratnamālā ' to his work on Jyotisha in imitation of that of the latter.

Ratnamālā was also known in Bengal. N. N. Vasu described it as a work on Jyotisha by Shatānanda in his monumental work ' Viśvakosha. '[19]

Shatānanda Saṃgraha :—

His other work 'Shatānanda Saṃgraha' was most probably a work on Smṛti as it is quoted only in the later Smṛti works of Orissa. It was a compilation called after his name like the ' Dhavala Saṃgraha ' by Dhavala or Dhavalāchārya and Balabhadra-Saṃgraha by certain Balabhadra. Though it is very often quoted in the later Smṛti

works, no manuscript of this work has yet been discovered either in Orissa or elsewhere.

References to Shatānanda and his works :—

Bṛhaspati Sūri an earlier Smṛti writer of Orissa tentatively assignable to the 15th century A. D. or little earlier refers to Shatānanda twice and quotes from Shatānanda-Saṃgraha once in his work on Dharmaśāstra called Kṛtyakaumudī. [20] Vāchaspati Mishra, a reputed Smṛti writer of Mithilā of the 15th century quotes from Bhāsvatī once in his Kṛtyachintāmaṇi. [21] Raghunandana the celebrated Smṛti-writer of Bengal quotes twice from the Ratnamālā of Shatānanda in his Jyotisha tattva. [22] Narasiṃh Miśra, the greatest Smṛti writer of Orissa of the 16th century A. D. refers to Shatānanda six times in his work Nityāchāra Pradīpa' without giving the name of his work. [23] Viśvanātha Miśra, an Oriya Smṛti-writer of the 17th century A. D. has referred once to Shatānanda Ratnamālā ; twenty-fore times to Shatānanda Saṃgraha and has mentioned the name of Satānanda eleven times separately in his popular work called 'Smṛti Sārasaṃgraha' [24] Kṛshṇa Miśra, an Oriya Smṛti-Kāra of the 18th century A. D. has quoted twice from the Bhāsvatī and has referred seven times to Shatānanda without giving the name of the work in his 'Kāla-sarvasva' which is not yet published. [25] Shatānanda-Saṃgraha is also referred to by Gadādhara Rājaguru, a famous Smṛti-writer of Orissa of the 18th century A. D. in his work Kāla-sāra. [26]

From the discussion made above it is clear that the Bhāsvatī of Shatānanda, was accepted as authority by the later astronomers of India for which as many as twenty commentaries had to be written on this valuable work on Astronomy. His two other works शतानन्दसंग्रहः and शतानन्दरत्नमाला were regarded as standard works on Dharmaśātra by the Smṛti-writers of Orissa who flourished in the post-Shatānanda period.

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19 Visvakosha Vol, 20 p 172
20 There are two complete and one incomplete manuscripts of Krtyakaumudi in the Manuscripts library of the Orissa State Museum which have been examined for the purpose of this article.
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GOVARDHANA ACHARYA & UDAYANA ACHARYA

Govardhana Āchārya is well-known for his work 'Āryāsaptaśatī' which has been printed and published by many institutions in India. Many scholars are of opinion that he was a poet of the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena, the last independent Hindu king of Bengal. But this theory, which is not based on convincing evidence seems untenable as will be shown below.

Gobardhana nowhere mentions in his work that he was a poet of the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena as has been done by Śrīdhara Dāsa author of 'Śaduktikarṇāmṛtaṃ', Dhoyī, author of 'Pavanadūtaṃ' and Halāyudha. author of 'Brāmhaṇasarvasvam' who definitely refer to their patron Lakshmaṇa Sena in their respective works (a), (b), (c),. The mention of Umāpati Dhara, Saraṇa, Dhoyī along with Govardhana in a verse of the Gītagovinda, does not mean that all the poets referred to in it belonged to a single court. In tne introductory portion of his 'आ. स' he refers to some famous poets who preceeded him e. g.

श्रीरामायण भारत वृहत्कथानां कवीन्नमस्कुर्मः
त्रिस्रोताइव सरसा सरस्वती स्फुरति यैर्भिन्ना ।।३४
साकूत मधुर कोमल विलासिनी-कण्ठकूजित प्राये
शिक्षासमयेऽपि मुदेरतलीला कालिदासोक्तिः ।।३५

भवभूतेः संभेदाद् भूधर भूरिव भारतीभाति
एतत्कृत कारुण्ये किमन्यथारोदिति ग्रावा ॥३६

जाताशिखण्डिनी प्राक् यथा शिखण्डी तथाऽवगच्छामि
प्रागल्भ्यमधिक माप्तुवाणी वाणो वभूवेति ॥३७
यं गणयति गुरोरनुयस्याऽस्ते धर्मकर्म संकुचितम्
कविमह मुशनसमिव तं तातं नीलाम्वरं वन्दे ।।३८

सकलकलाः कलयितुं प्रभुः प्रबन्धस्य तातं कुमुदवनबन्धोः
सेनकुलतिलकभूपतिरेको राकाप्रदोषश्च ॥

In the first verse quoted above, Govardhana pays his respects to Maharṣi Vālmīki, Maharṣi Vyāsa, and poet Guṇāḍhya who were the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābharata and the Bṛhatkathā respectively. In the next verse he sings the glory of the greatest poet Kālidāsa, whose languge was simple, melodious and enchanting. The two subsequent verses speak of Bhavabhūti and Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Then he sings the eulogy of his father Nīlāmvara Āchārya, who was not only a great poet but a Smṛtikāra. In the last verse quoted above he speaks highly of a 'Senakulatilaka' whom some scholars have identified with Lakshmaṇa Sena, working under the impression that Gorvardhana was his court-poet.

But the trend of narration clearly indicates that some royal poet or scholar is alluded to by the term 'Senakulatilaka bhūṣita' and not Lakshṇa Sena, who was not reputed as a scholar or a poet. From a commentary of this work, it is known that this term denotes 'Pravarasena' who was famous as the author of Setuvandha Kāvyam. This identification based on historical evidence is quite plausible and suits the context fully well. So there is no justification in taking Govardhana as a poet of the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena on the strength of the evidence furnished by the above term.

There is also no clear or veiled reference to the patronage of Lakshmaṇa Sena or any other king of Gauḍa in the last few verses of the work quoted below :—

पुण्यैर्विभिन्नवृत्तां गुणाढ्यभवभूति वाणरघुकारैः ।
वाग्देवीं भजतां ममपश्यतु को दापः ॥ (६९६)

X X X X X

कविसमरसिंह नादस्वरानुवादः सुधैक सम्वादः
विद्वद्विनोदकन्दसन्दर्भोऽय मयासृष्टः ॥ ७००

विरच्य वामनलीलां वामनइव कविपदं परंलिप्सुः
अकृतार्यासप्तशतीमेतां गोवर्द्धनाचार्यः ॥ ७०२

उदयन बलभद्राभ्यां सप्तशती शिष्यसोदराभ्यां नः
द्यौरिव रविचन्द्राभ्यां प्रकाशिता निर्मलीकृत्य ॥ ७०१

इति कविपण्डित गोवर्द्धनाचार्यकृता सप्तशती समाप्ता ।

In the verses quoted above, Govardhana again respectfully mentions the names of Gunāḍhya, Bhavabhūti, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Raghukāra or Kālidāsa and states with pride that his two younger brothers Udayana and Balabhadra, who were poets of reputation helped him in improving the composition of his work. Lastly he expresses his humility by comparing himself with a dwarf like the great Kālidāsa, who sang in a similar manner in the beginning of his work Raghuvaṃśa e. g. प्रांशुलभ्येफले उच्चे उद्‌बाहुरिव वामनः ।

It is noteworthy that none of the stanzas of Āryāsaptaśatī is quoted in Saduktikarṇāmṛtaṃ. A poet Govardhana is quoted six times, but these verses cannot be traced in the poem.[2] This omission is significant, which clearly proves that the poet was not associated with the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena. Had it been composed under his patronage, Śrīdhara Dāsa would never have missed the opportunity of quoting a few verses from this unique work of his colleague.

The facts stated above prove that poet Govardhana neither belonged to Bengal nor was he patronised by Lakshmaṇa Sena. On the contrary there is convincing contemporary epigraphic evidence to show that poet Udayana Āchārya, the younger brother of Govardhana belonged to Orissa and was connected with the ruling Gaṇga family of this State. Up till now two stone inscriptions composed by Udayana Āchārya have been discovered and published. Of these two, one is still to be seen in the temple of 'Śobhaneśvara' in the village Niyāli on the river Prāchī flowing on the northern boundary of the Puri district[3]. From one of the verses quoted below it is known that this eulogy was written by poet Udayana, by the order

of a Brāhmaṇa chiftain named Vaidyanātha, who was a vassal of the Gaṅga sovereign of Orissa. The date of inscription is circa 1190 A. D.

नेत्रानन्दजल प्रणालसरणि कण्ठद्वयांशुक्तिका
स्वात्यम्भोलहरी मनः कुमुदिनीचैतन्यचन्द्रत्विषम् ।
मूर्द्धान्ताण्डपण्डितांकविसभाकण्ठावलम्बिस्रजं
धीरेन्द्रोदयनः प्रशस्तिमतुलांतत्प्रेरित श्चक्रिवान् ॥

The second stone inscription composed by Udayana was originally fixed in the temple of Maheśvara in the temple city of Bhubaneswar for which it was ment. But in the last quarter of the last century it was fixed by mistake on the compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar by some officer of the Government of India, where it is still to be seen.[4]

This inscription informs us that the poet was being patronised by another vassal chieftain named Svapneśvara Deva, who was connected with the ruling Gaṅga family by matrimonial alliance as his sister Suramā Devī was married to king Rājarāja Deva II (1170-1190). So while singing the praise of his patron, the poet has also eulogised his brother-in-law, Rājarāja and his younger brother Anaṅgabhīma II who ruled after him (1190-1198). The analysis of this inscription shows that there are only five verses (2-6) describing Svapneśvara and his family, where as the achievements of Gaṅga kings Cholagaṅga Deva, Rājarāja and Anaṅgabhīma Deva are narrated in 11 verses (7-17), which indicates that poet Udayana tried to please Anaṅgabhīma Deva, the overlord of his patron, whose favour he was either getting or seeking to get. In this inscription we also find the eulogy of one Vishṇu Āchārya, the spiritual guide of Svapneśvara Deva, who has been compared with god Vishṇu, and was given a village near the Brahmeśvara temple e. g.—

आराद् ब्रह्मपुर ब्रृहस्पतिपुरस्पर्द्धिस्मरारेः सदा—
चार्यं विष्णुमभिस्फुरद्द्विजवर ग्रामाय धर्मात्मने ।
दत्तंतेन मुदा X X X

तं प्रत्यतिष्ठद् द्विजराजपूज्यः प्रासादमीशस्य सनन्दकश्रीः ।
सुदर्शनेनान्वित एषविष्णुराचार्यराजः स पृथक् न विष्णोः ॥३२

One important point which deserves mention here is that Vishṇu Āchārya, who was only a royal preceptor in the time of Anaṅgabhīma II (1190-1198) rose to the position of commander-in-chief and minister of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-1238 A. D.) and became famous for his conquest of Bengal and Tummāṇa (Raipur and Bilāspur districts of M. P.) and brought the whole empire of the king the lord of Trikaliṅga. under one parasol, which is described in the Chāteśvar temple inscription e. g.[5].

तस्याथक्षितिपालभालतडभीनिद्रास्पदाङ्गले
विष्णु विष्णुरिवापरः कलितवान् साचिव्यमभ्याहृतम् ।
श्वेतछत्रशतानि यस्य यशसा निर्मायकिं ब्रूमहे
साम्राज्यं त्रिकलिङ्गनाथनृपते रेकातपत्रीकृतम् ॥१२

We are further informed that poet Udayana composed the Magheśvara temple inscription at the behest of Vishṇu Āchārya, as stated in verse No. 33 quoted below, because the term 'Tasya' of this stanza refers to Vishṇu Āchārya, who has been eulogised in the previous verse cited above and not to any king as interpreted by some scholars.

उदयनकविस्तस्यादेशान् प्रशस्तिविलासिनी
सुललितपदन्यासैः शश्वद्विदग्धमनोहराम् ॥
ध्वनिभिरनिशं कण्ठे श्लिष्टा मलंकृतिहारिणी |
मतिरसतयाशय्यायातां प्रसाधितावानिमाम् ॥ (verse-33)

It may be suggested here, though it is difficult to prove at the present state of our knowledge that Vishṇu Āchārya belonged to the family of the famous Nīlāmbara Āchārya and it was through his help that Udayana, who was at first living near about Niali Śasana in a remote corner of Orissa under a petty chieftain Vaidya-

nātha came to Bhubaneswar where Spaneśvara was living. This brought him and his family to the fore front by giving them a chance to come in contact with Anaṅgabhīma II, the Gaṅga sovereign of Orissa, through his reletive and general Svapneśvara Deva.

One thing, which deserves mention here is the tradition which relates that Govardhana Āchārya permanently resided at Purushottama Kshetra or Puri in a site near the present Guṇḍichā temple. This is corroborated by the facts stated about Udayana, who first lived in the Niali area and then came to Bhubaneswar. So it seems quite probable that his elder brother might have selected Puri, a very sacred place for his residence.

While making his comments about the Meheśvara temple inscription late M. M. Gaṅguli tried to connect its author Udayana Āchārya with one Bhaduḍi family of Bengal and indentified him with the Naiyāyika Udayana e. g.

" We trace the authorship to poet Udayana who according to Bhāduḍi vaṃśāvalī was a contemporary of Kulluka Bhaṭṭa and Mayūrabhaṭṭa. He is the reputed author of 'Kusumāñjali' a treatise on the Nyāya system of Hindu philosophy. According to Pandit Gangānātha Jha, Udayana the author of 'Tātparyapariśuddhi' a commentary on the Nyāya vārtikatātparya by Vāchaspati Miśra, flourished in the reign of Lakshmaṇa Sena'"[6].

Late Mr. Ganguli confused poet Udayana of Orissa with Naiyāyika Udayana of Mithilā, who as will be shown flourished nearly two centuries before the former. In the learnd article entitled 'History of Navya Nyāya in Bengal and Mithilā'[7] by M M. Chakravarti, it has been definitely proved that the Naiyāyika Udayana who was the author of 'Kiraṇāvalī' 'Ātmatattvaviveka', 'Nyāyakusumāñjali' and 'Lakshaṇāvalī' finished his 'Lakshaṇāvalī' in the expired Saka year 906 or 984 A. D. e. g.—

तर्काम्बराङ्कप्रमितेष्वतीतेषुशकान्ततः
वर्षेषूदयनश्चक्रे सुबोधां लक्षणावलीम् ॥

Regarding his homeland, it is stated elsewhere in the same paper thus " His home is yet unsettled. But from the use of Shaka year and from the great influence his works exercised on the Maithilis, it is not improbable that he was a Maithili ".

The conclusion made about both the Udayanas in the ' History of Bengal ' is worth quoting here for the consideration of scholars " Shīdhara's famous contemporary Udayana who dates his Lakshaṇāvlī in Śaka 906 (984 AD.) and who is the author of a sub-commentary entitled Kiraṇāvalī on Praśastapāda's Bhāshya, as well as two independent polemical works Kusumāñjali and Ātmatattvaviveka is some times connected with Bengal. by a tradition, which associates him with the Bhaduri Brāhmaṇas of North Bengal. But the unreliability of the tradition is indicated by Udayana's disparaging remarks about the Gauḍa Mīmāṃsaka who in his opinion lacked a ture knowledge of the Vedic texts "[8].

Elsewhere in the same work the following conclusion is made about Govardhana and Udayana—" In one of the concluding verse he (Govardhana) mentions his brothers and pupils Udayana and Balabhadra who helped him in revising and publishing the poem. Udayana may be identical with Udayana Kavi who composed the Praśasti of the Megheśvara temple at Bhubaneswar in Orissa ".[9]

On the basis of the foregoing discussion the following conclusions can be made :—

(a) Naiyāyika Udayana who flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century belonged to Mithila in the present State of Bihara, whereas poet Udayana Āchārya who is the author of the two inscriptions in the Śobhaneśvara and Megheśvara temples. was a native of Orissa and can definitely be assigned to the last quarter of the twelfth century. None of the two had any connection with the Bhāduri Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal.

(b) Udayana Āchārya, the author of the above two inscriptions is identical with Udayana, the brother of poet Govardhana, mentioned in his 'Āryāsaptaśatī'. Both the brothers came to prominence with the help of great Vishṇu Āchārya who was at first a royal preceptor during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma Deva II (1190-1198 A. D.) but gradually rose to the position of commander-cum-minister of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-1238 A. D.) It seems very likely that Vishṇu Achārya belonged to the family of Udayana.

(c) Udayana unknown to Shrīdhara Dāsa, the author of 'Saduktikarṇāmṛtaṃ' had nothing to do with Lakshmaṇa Sena of Bengal, and lived in Orissa in the courts of two local chieftains under the Gaṅga kings Rājarāja II (1270-1290) and Anaṅgabhīma II (1290-1298), Similarly Govardhana, not a single verse of whose 'Āryāsaptaśatī' is found quoted in 'Saduktikarṇāmṛtaṃ' of Shrīdhara Dāsa, did not adorn the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena and the term 'Senakulatilaka Bhūpati' of his work can more appropriately be applied to Pravara Sena, who is reputed as the author of 'Setubandha kāvyaṃ' than to Lakshmaṇa Sena.

Works of Govardhana and Udayana :—

The only work of Govardhana so far known and published is the famous 'Āryāsaptaśati' which had wide circulation in India and has got commentaries written by scholars of different provinces. But no work of Udayana is known to have been published as yet, though he earned reputation by writing the first commentary on the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva which is called 'Bhāvabibhābinī' [10]. According to an Orissan tradition, Udayana was an intimate friend and admirer of Jayadeva and both hailed from same area in the Prāchī valley of the Puri district. A commentary on Naishadha of Sriharṣa was written by one Udayana Āchārya, [11] who was pershaps identical with our Udayana Āchārya.

Reference

1 (a) सासाजमिव योगिनामपि गुरुर्यश्चक्ष्मामण्डले
सश्री लक्ष्मणसेन एकनृपति र्मुक्तश्च जीवन्नभूत् ।१
यस्यासीत् प्रतिराजतद्धृतमहासामन्तचूडामणि—
र्नाम्ना श्रीवटु दास इत्यनुपम प्रेमैकपात्रं सखा ॥ (सदुक्तिकर्णामृतम्)
(b) दृष्ट्वा देवं भुवनविजये लक्ष्मणं क्षैणिपालं
वाला सद्यः कुसुमधनुपः संविवेयी वभूव ॥ (verse 2 पवनदूतम्)
(c) गौडभूमिभृदमात्यमण्डलि मौलिरत्नरचितांघि—
राजपण्डित महामहन्तक श्रीहलायुध X X अजीजनत् ।
X X X X X
विजयरसिकमते लक्ष्म क्षौणिभर्त्तुः
नित्य प्रीतिप्रमोदा सततमदयिनो यस्य लक्ष्मीर्वभुव ॥ (ब्राह्मणसर्वस्वम्)
Capied from its manuscript preserved in the Museum.

* Quoted from a palmleaf manuscript preserved in the O. S. Museum.

2 History of Bengal, published by the Dacca Universsity p. 367.
3 J. B. O.R. S. Vol, XVII, 1981 page 119-135.
4 J. A. S. Bengal Vol. LXVI, 1897 pp. 18-24
5 Re-edited by Dr. B. Ch. Chhopra, E. I. Vol XXIX p, 127
6 Orissa and her Remains by M. M. Ganguli (1912) P 332.
7 J. P. A.,S. of Bengal (New Series) Vol. XI. 1915 p 262-263
8 History of Bengal. Vol. I published by the Dacca University p. 313
9 Ibid...p. 266—text and footnote.
10 History of Sanskrit. literature by Dr. Dasgupta and Dr. De. P. 666
11 Ibid P. 624.



NEW LIGHT ON POET JAYADEVA, THE AUTHOR OF THE GITAGOVINDA

Gītagovinda by Jayadeva is one of the most important works in Sanskrit literature. It has got the largest numbers of imitations and commentaries written by scholars of differnt parts of India, which testify to its immense popularity and wide circulation in this country. But the question of the birth place of Jayadeva is still a matter of controversy among scholars. So an humble attempt is made here to find out its solution.

On the strength of a stanza in the first Sarga of the G. G.[1] quoted below many scholars have asserted that the five poets mentioned in it belonged to Bengal and adorned the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena e. g.,

वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरः सन्दर्भशुद्धिगिरां
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः श्लाघ्योदुरुहद्द्रुतेः ।
शृङ्गारोत्तरसत्प्रमेयरचनैराचार्य गोवर्द्धनः
स्पर्द्धी कोऽपि न विश्रुतः श्रुतिधरो धोयी कविः क्ष्मापतिः ।।

In the above stanza, Jayadeva only gives his own estimate about himself and four other poets who might at best be taken to be his elder contemporaries. But this verse does not imply directly or indirectly that all the five poets mentioned in it belonged to Bengal and adorned the same court. It is only an example of poetic tradition followed by many other poets of India as shown below.

Ravikīrtti, the author of the fomous Aihole Inscription of Pulakesi II respectfully mentions the names of Kālidasa and Bhāravi in the 57th stanza of the Praśasti.

"स विजयतां रविकीर्त्तिः कविताश्रित कालिदासभारविकीर्त्तिः

This cannot be interpreted as Ravikīrtti belonged to the same territory where the two great poets Kālidāsa and Bhāravi flourished.

Rājaśekhara, a well-known court poet of king Mahendrapāla of Kanauja has compared himself with Vālmiki, Bhartṛhari, Meṇṭha, and Bhavabhūti in a verse of his Vāla Rāmāyaṇa which is quoted below :

बभूव वल्मीकभवः कविः पुरा
ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तृमेण्ठताम् ।
स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया
स वर्त्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखरः ॥

Similarly Kavirāja Suri, a court poet of Kāmadeva II (1182-87) of the Kadamva royal family of Jayantipura or Vanavāsi compares himself in one of the introductory verses of his Rāghavapāṇḍavīya Mahākāvya with Subandhu and Bāṇabhaṭṭa e. g.,

श्रीमद्रामायण गङ्गां भारतं सागरो महान्
तत्संयोजनकर्मज्ञः कविराजः भगीरथः ॥
सुवन्धुवाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रयः ।
वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाः चतुर्थोविद्यते न वा ॥

In the like manner Govardhana Achārya has given a long list of poets in some introductory and concluding stanzas of his work "Āryāsaptaśati" which have been quoted and discussed in my article published before. [3] More examples need not be given to clarify the significance of this stanza of the G. G. where the poetic tradition has only been followed.

Let us now examine if any of the five poets mentioned in this stanza belonged to Bengal and adorned the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena. It has ben convincingly proved in my article that Achārya Govardhana spoken respectfully by Jayadeva had no connection with the court of King Lakshmaṇa Sena and his family was flouri-

shing in the Puri district of Orissa under the patronage of local chieftains and Gaṅga sovereigns. What to speak of Lakshmaṇa Sena, nowhere in the G. G. there is any definite or veiled reference to the effect that its author had adorned the court or received the patronage of any king. On the other hand the saintly poet has taken pride in calling himself ; " पद्मावतीचरणचारणचक्रवर्ती " e. g., a renowned master or great expert who could ably direct the dance of his beloved wife Padmavati (to the tune of the songs which he used to sing joyfully inspired by deep devotion to his favourite god Kṛshna.) The earliest reference about this poet so far known is found in पृथीराजरासो written in old Hindi by Chand Bardai, who is geneally assigned to the 13th century. In this work he is pictured not as a court poet but as a great devotee e. g.,

जयदेव अथं कविकविरायं
जिनें केवलं किरति गोविन्दगायं ।

G. G. was only a hymn to Govinda, which was solely meant to be sung before the god of his devotion and was not written to gair the goodwill and favour of any royal patron. So its author cannot be associated with Lakshmana Sena or any other king on the strength of any internal evidence furnished by G. G.

As regards the other three poets of this stanza, it may be said that there is epigraphic evidence to prove that Umapati Dhara was a court poet of the Sena royal family of Bengal. In the last but one verse ef the Deopara inscription of Vijaya Sena, it is said that this Praśasti was written by Umapati Dhar, who may be identified with the poet of the same name mentioned in the G. G. e. g ,

निर्णीतसेनकुल भूपतिमौक्तिकाना
मग्रन्थिलग्रथन पक्ष्मलसूत्रवाह्नः ।
एषा कवेः पदपदार्थविचारशुद्र—
बुद्धेरुमापतिधरस्य कृतिः प्रशस्तिः ॥४

The date of the inscription can be fixed with some amount of certainty as it mentions the defeat of Rāghava Deva, the Ganga king of Orissa (1156–1170 A. D.)[5] in a verse, so it cannot be earlier than 1156 A. D.[6] Vijaya Sena died in 1158 A. D.[7] So it was composed some time between 1156 to 1158 A. D. Four verses from this inscription (Nos. 7, 23, 24 and 30) are found quoted in S. K. M. of Sridhara Das.[8] Merutunga Acharya in his ' Prabandha Chintāmaṇi ' staes that Umapati Dhara lived in the court of Lakshmana Sena. This seems possible in view of the fact that the interval between the reigns of Vijaya Sena and Lakshmana Sena was only 21 years (1158-1179 A. D.) " Again verse 7 of the Madhainagar copper plates of Lakshmana Sena almost exactly corresponds to a verse ascribed to Umapati Dhara in the S. K. M. It is therefore not unlikely that the poet lived not only in the court of Vijaya Sena, but in that of his son and grandson."[9]

No work of poet Saraṇa mentioned by Jayadeva has yet been discovered. In a verse of Sarana (quoted in the S K. M. he is found) eulogising a Sena king whose name. is not mentined e. g, " सेवाभिर्यदिसेनवंशतिलकदासादनीय श्रिय. " In another verse quoted in the same work in which while deprecating the rulers of Gauda, Kalinga, Chedi, Mlechha, Kamarupa, Kasi and Magadha, he does not give a clear idea about his patron. So there is no direct and definite evidence to connect Sarana with the court of Lakshmana Sena. But this much can be said on the strength of the verse referred to above that he was patronised by some Sena king of Bengal.

As regards Dhoyi, there is definite evidence to prove that he was patronised by king Lakshmana Sena, in whose honour he worte his ' Pavana-dūtam '[10] which is evident from verse 2 of the work which runs as follows :—

दृष्ट्वादेवं भुवनविषये लक्ष्मणं क्षौणिपालम्
बाला सद्यः कुसुमधनुषः संविधेयी बभूव ॥

X X X X X

In the verse 28 of the same work he speaks of the kings of the Sena dynasty e. g.,

तस्मिन् सेनान्वयनृपतीनां देशराज्याभिषिक्तो
देवः साक्षात् वसति कमलाकेलिकारो मुरारिः ॥

XXX XX XX XXX

The verse 101 of the same work informs us that the poet Dhoyika was honoured by the king of Gauḍa e.g.,

दन्तिव्यूहं कनकलतिकां चामरं हैमदण्डं
यो गौडेन्द्रादलभत कविक्ष्माभृतां चक्रवर्त्ती।
श्रीधोयिकः सकलरसिकः प्रीतिहेतोर्मनस्वी
काव्यं सारस्वतमिव स तं मन्त्रमेतज्जगाद ॥

On the strength of the verses quoted above from 'Pavanadūtam' Dhoyi can definitely be ascertained as a court poet of Lakshman Sena. Poet Umapati Dhara cannot be taken as such on the indirect evidence furnished by a verse of the Madhainagar copper plate grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, which has been assigned to him in S. K. M. Saraṇa was patronised by a Sena king, whose name he does not mention. Govardhana as stated before, belonged to Orissa and was not associated with the court of the Sena Kings of Bengal. There is no direct or indirect evidence on the basis of which Jayadeva can be called a court poet of Lakshmana Sena. So the conclusion that all the five poets mentioned in verse of G. G. ? quoted before belonged to Bengal and were living in the court of Lakshmana Sena is not supported by facts and cannot be proved convincingly.

Some scholars cite another verse given below to establish the connection of Jayadeva with king Lakshmana Sena e. g.,

गोवर्द्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः
कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥

It is said that Sri Rupa and Sri Sanātana Gosvāmis saw this verse inscribed on the gate of king Lakshmana Sena's Assembly Hall in Navadvipa.[11] This verse is a sphurious one like the famous traditional verse quoted below describing the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya;

"धन्वन्तरी क्षपणकामरसिंह् शङ्कु—
वेतालभट्टघटकर्परकालिदासः ।
ख्यातो वराह्महिरो नृपतेः सभायां
रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नवविक्रमस्य ॥"

Let us examine the authenticity of this traditional verse. There is no contemporary epigraphic or literary evidence to prove that Nadiya was ever the capital of either Lakshmana Sena or his forefathers and successors. Regarding the capital of the Sena kings it is written thus :

" It is a noteworthy fact that the two known grants of Vijaya Sena, Vallāla Sena and all the five grants of Lakshmana Sena dated within the first six years of his reign were issued from the royal camp at Vikramapura. It was again in this city that the chief queen of Vijaya Sena performed the elaborate 'Tulāpurusha Mahādāna.'

" It is to be noted, however, that the two later grants of Lakshmana Sena, and those of his successors, are issued, not from Vikramapura, but respectively from Dharyagrama and Phalgu grama, none of which can be identified."[12]

Similarly in no Sanskrit work written during the Sena period Nadiya is mentioned as the capital of Lakshmana Sena. In 'Pavanadutam' of Dhoyi, Vijayapura on the Ganges is referred to as the capital of Lokshmana Sena. Its identification with Nadia may only be presumed but cannot be definitely proved.

Only in 'Tabaqat-i-Nasiri' written in 1260 after about 60 years of the death of Lakshmana Sena Nadia is described as his seat of

Government e. g. "Rai Lokshmanaih whose seat of Government was the city of Nadiah and who was a very great Rae and had been on the throne for a period of eighty years."[13]

The account given in 'Nasiri' is not reliable, as it is based on heresay testimony. It narrates fanciful stories about the birth of Lakshman Sena (p. 555) and invasion of Nadiā (557). It gives a reign of 80 years to this king which is disproved by contemporary epigraphic records. Supposing this account is accepted as true, its version regarding the destruction of Nadia should also be accepted e. g.

" After Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar possessed himself of that territory (Rae Lakshmaniah's)he left the city of Nadia in desolation (p. 550). In the foot note of the same page it is further written "Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar destroyed Nadiah and leaving it in desolation passed onwards". So is can be said without any fear of contradiction that no trace of the palace of Lakshmaṇa Sena destroyed by the Muslim army could exist up to the time of Sanātana Gosvamī. So the theory of seeing this so-called inscription on the gate of his palace is simply imaginary and is not based on any historical truth. The story of the discovery of the so-called inscription describing the connection of five poets with Srīdhara Namadvipa originated and was circulated in the post-Chaitanya period, when Nadia came to prominence due to the birth of the great reformer Sree Chaitanya in that holy place.

Another point which is generally advocated by the supporters of the Bengal origin of Jayadeva is the indentification of 'Kenduvilva' mentioned in the G. G. with the village Kenduli on the bank of the river Ajaya in the district of Birbhum in Bengal. Jayadeva has called himself a moon born from the ocean of Kenduvilva in the 3rd canto of his G. G. e. g.

"वर्णितं जयदेवकेन हरेरिदं प्रवणेन ।
केन्दुबिल्वसमुद्रसम्भवरोहिणीरमणेन ॥

But Kenduvilva mentioned with pride by Sri Jayadeva as his birth place can more convincingly be indentified with Kenduli Sāsana in the Balipatana P. S. of the Puri district standing between the rivers Prāchī and the Kusabhadrā. It was a very big village in the past but at present it is divided into three adjoining villages namely Kenduli Sasana (Brāmhaṇa village) Kenduli Deuli (seat of temples) and Kenduli patana (vide sheet No. 73H. 16 one inch map).

The Kenduli area has got antiquities which can safely be assigned to the 8th century A. D. if not earlier. In the outskirts of this village still stand three small dilapidated brick temples of the Bhauma period (c 650-850 A. D.). In two of them are still worshipped two four-armed goddesses carved in chlorite stone who are popularly called Ambikā and Jageśvarī. Each of the two figures has got a seven hooded serpent over her head. One of them holds a full blown lotus and a lotus bud in her two hands while the two other hands are broken.

She cannot be identificd with goddess 'Manasā' as she does not hold 'Amṛtabhāṇḍa' in her lower two hands. Not far from this stands the image of Viṣṇu holding Chakra, 'Śankha, Padma and Gadā in his four hands. There is another broken temple for Siva Liṅga which is called Mukteśvara. On the path to these monuments are found two Yupạ stamvas (sacrificial posts) which are traditionally said to have been used by Shree Jayadeva. The present presiding deity of the village is Śrī Nṛsiṃha, which is said to have been established by Gaṅga king. While re-excavating the tank near the Nṛsiṃha temple some years ago a set of copper plate grants of the Gaṅga king Narasiṃha IV (1407-1435) was discovered in a stone box under ground[14]. It was sent to the Mahanta of Trimāli Maṭha at Puri as the area then formed a part of his estate. But the stone box containing this set is still to be seen in the local Tahasildār's office.

Not far from this village is the famous Triveṇi Saṅgama (the confluence of the rivers Prāchī, Kushabhadrā and Dhanuā) where a

big festival is held every year on the day of Amâvâsyâ of the lunar month of Mâgha, which is called Triveṇi Amâvâsyâ. According to tradition Shree Jayadeva used to take his bath here every day and worshipped the deity of Madhava called Triveni Madhava. The antiquity of the Triveni festival can be pushed atleast to the 13th century if not earlier, as it is a long standing custom in this area that people who got the Chandrabhaga fistival held near the famous Sun temple at Konarka on the Mâgha Sukla Saptami must have taken their bath in the Triveni confluence on the Amavasya day. The worship of god Vishnu performed daily with deep devotion and reverence in a large number of temples which were raising their heads with all their splendour and magificnse in and around this Kenduvila sasana before the days of Sri Jayadeva must have maid a deep impression on the mind of this thoughtful and saintly poet, which slowly but imperceptibly shaped his career as a great devotee of God Kṛshna.

It may not be out of place to mention here that in the compound of the Sobhanesvara temple of the Niali Sasana on the bank of the Prachi, which is not far from the Kenduli Sasana, one can see a dozen big Vishnu images carved in chlorite, which have been brought to this place from different temples on the Prachi valley which were razed to the ground by the iconoclastic Muslim army in the 17th and the 18th ceuties. There is perhaps no other area in India where so many fine Vishnu images of the Pre-Ganga period (circa 900-1100) can be seen as are to be found in the important villages of the Prachi valley. The village Kenduli of the district of Birbhum completely lacks this archaeological background and devotional environment of pre-Jayadeva days, which contributed a lot in moulding the career of this saintly poet. It has got no antiquities worth mentioning, which can be assigned to the pre-Chaitanya period.

One most important thing which deserves mention here is the lack of any mention of the Kenduli village of Birbhum as the birth place of Sri Jayadeva in the biographies of Sri Chaitanya. Had it been

considered a sacred place before the days of Sri Chaitanya, on this account, he who was a greatest admirer of the G. G. of Jayadeva must have paid a visit to this place at least once during his life time. But the contemporary Vaishnava literature is silent about this matter.

So it is evident that attempts were made to connect Kenduli of Birbhum district with Kenduvilva of the G. G. when this work was regarded as a holy book by the orthodox Vaishnavas of Bengal in the post Chaitanya period. The so called Jayadeva temple of this place was built by the mother of Kirti Chandra, Maharaja of Vardhaman in Saka year 1605 or 1683 A. D. [15]

Similarly there developed a tradition in Bihar indicating the birth place of Jayadeva in Tirhut. About it Colebrooke wrote 'Jayadeva is by the Maithilas said to be their countryman. In Tirhoot, a town on the Belar river near Jenjharpur, bears the name of Kendoli, supposed to be the same as Kenduli, Kilva sic vilva is a family of Maithili Brahmanas."

About this tradition late M. M. Chakravarti made the following remark " Beyond the similarity of name, nothing else has been found to support it " [16] The same remark of Mr. Chakravarti may appropriately be maid about the Kenduli village of Birbhum district. So the identification of the Kenduli Sāsana of Puri district having a large number of antiquities of the Pre-Gaṇga period in and around it, with Kenduvilva of the Gitagovinda stands on a stronger foundation than with the Kenduli village of Birbhum.

This identification is supported by literary evidence furnished by works written in different parts of India. In 'Sampradaya pradipa' written by Gada Dvivedi (1553-54 A. D.) [17] it is stated that the saint Jayadeva belonged to Utkala. Mahipati of Maharastra in his Bhaktavijaya speaks of Jayadeva as an incarnation of Vyāsa belonging to a village named Tinduvilva near the sacred city of Jagannātha.

Navaji of Gwalior in his "Bhaktamala" in Hindi assigns Jayadeva to Utkal. 18 Chandra Dutta of Mithila in his Bhaktamala in Sanskrit does not claim Jayadeva for his own land but mentions definitely that Jayadeva belonged to a Brahmin village named Kinduvivla near the Jagannatha Puri e. g. [19]

जगन्नाथपुरी प्रान्ते देशे वै चोत्कलाभिधे
किन्दुविल्व इतिख्यातो ग्रामो ब्राह्मण संकुलः ।
तत्रोत्कले द्विजोजातो जयदेव इति श्रुतः
विद्याभ्यासरतः शान्तः पुरुषोत्तम पूजकः ॥
X X X X
तद्दारभ्यातिभक्त्या वै पत्न्यासह हरिंभजन्
गायन् वै गीतगोविन्दं तोपयामास केशवम् ।
निर्माय गीतगोविन्दं पुस्तकं पुरुषोत्तमे
निवेद्य कृतकृत्योऽभूज्जयदेवो महामनाः ॥

Against this literary evidence furnished by the above works, the acount of Jayadeva written in the Bengali 'Jayadeva Charita' by Banamāli Dāsa is adduced to prove the Bengal origin of this poet. But this work published by the Vangīya Sāhitya Parishad on the authority of a single manuscript only cannot be regarded as very authentic, which indicates that this work has no curculation in Bengal itself, which accounts for the non-availability of a second copy of this work.

Secondly in the Sarvāngasundarī Tikā the earliest commentary on the G. G. so far available, a copy of which is preserved in our Museum (No. L / 129) there is no mention of the fact that the poets referred to in the famous verse 'Vāchah pallavayati' belonged to the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena. On the grounds stated above, it may be concluded that Jayadeva belongs to Utkala.

The Daśāvatārastuti (hymn to the ten incarnations of god Vishṇu) found in the first canto of the G. G. is very significant as it furnishes a clue to locate the brith place of Jayadeva. Regarding

this the learned writer Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M. A. made the following remark "Vaishṇavism in Bengal probably made a contribution to the systematisation of the theory of Avatāra." [20] The same remark can be applied with greater force and stronger evidence to the Vaishnavism of Orissa ; because two of the earliest representations as depicted by Sri Jayadeva are found carved in two Vishṇu images worshipped in the village Saintala of the Bolangir Patna district of Orissa. These two images were built either by Mahasivagupta Valarjuna, or by his son Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya, the first Somavamsi emperor of Orissa. The village Saintala stands near Murasima-Kataka a capital of Janamejaya which finds mention in his two Patna C. P. grants and also in the Kalivana grant. [21] These two unique Vishnu images of Saintala which furnishes definite Archaeological evidence regarding the development of Dasavatara may tentatively be assigned to the last part of the eighth century. They were first brought to the notice of the scholars by my friend late lamented P. C. Ratha of Balangir [22] from whose description of the two images, extracts are quoted below :

"In the pedastal of each image are found Garuda to the right, some worshippers in the middle and sage Narada to the left. Over the worsippers are carved the figures of fish and tortoise representing Matsyāvatāra and Kurmāvatāra. On the right and left sides of the pedastal stand respectively Lakshmi holding a lotus flower and Sarasvati playing on musical instrument. On the right hand side pilaster of the Narasimha Vamana and Parsurama (broken) and on the left hand side pilaster are found from top to bottom the images of Rama, Valarama, Buddha and Kalki. On the lintel over the two Pilasters is depicted Samudramanthana the churning of the ocean with the Gods on one side and the demons on the other. The chief object of worship was a two-armed figure of Vishnu (broken) standing on the pedastal described above. The representation of the ten incarnations carved round these two images completely tallies with their description given in the famous Daśāvatārastuti of the G. G.

Two handed figures of Vishnu are very rare and old. The image of Vishnu which was worhsipped in the famous Lakshmana temple of Sripur on the Mahanadi in the Raipur district of M. P. is also two-handed like the Saintala figures. [23] The figures of Avataras are found carved on the door-jambs of this temple [24], which was built by Mahasivagupta Valarjuna, father of Janamejaya. In a place called 'Tirtha Matha' situated in the Ersama P. S. of the Cuttack district there was an ancient temple containing very beautiful images of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, of which the figures of Rama, Parasurama and Halarama are still preserved, while others are perhaps buried in a mound nearby. These can be assigned to the 7th century A. D. The images of ten incarnations were set in a temple of Kakatapur in the Puri district (Circa 9th century) which was completely destroyed by the Muslims. Some of these recovered from the debris have been placed in the compound wall of the reconstructed Somesvara temple. The ten incarnatins of Vishnu are found carved on the lintel over the Lion's gate of Jagannatha temple of Puri which is unanimously admitted to have been constructed by Cholaganaga Deva between 1112-1147 A. D. But here we find Jagannatha in place of the 9th incarnation as Jagannatha is regarded as the manifestations of the Buddha. The ten incarnation were carved on outer surface of the wal's of the Jagannath temple. There is a Matha called 'Dasava-tara Matha' near the Gundicha temple of Puri, where the ten incarnations are worshipped. Sri Kurma and Simhachalam temples built before the days of Jayadeva are dedicated to Kurma and Narasimha.

With those archaeological evidences it can safely be ascertained that the theory of Dasavatara had gained much popularity in Orissa atleast from the eighth eentury A. D. So neither Jayadeva nor Vaishnavism in Bengal had anything to contribute to the systematisation of the theory of Avatara, which was systematised somewhere in North India prior to the days of Valarjuna, as proved before and was followed by the sculptors of Orissa in the subsequent centuries. Due to their immense popularity Jayadeva in his famous

hymn to Jagadiiśa Hari or Jagannātha of Puri tried to establish that the ten incarnations were only the different manifestations of Supreme Lord Krishna who was the Daśākṛtikṛt of the very creator or progenitor of the ten incarnations known to the people. This appealing hymn of Sri Jayadeva contributed a lot to establish the supremacy of Sri Krishna in the realm of religion in those days.

As regards the worship of Rādhā Dr. Bagchi remarks elsewhere " Radha was probobly a Bengali innovation made shortly before the time of Jayadeva and represented only a Vaishnavite phase of growing Saktism. " [25] But this conclusion is aiso not tenable as will be shown below.

There was vigorous revival of Vaishnavism in South India in the twelfth century due to the preachings of Sri Ramanuja, Sri Vishnu Svami, Sri Nimbarka and Sri Madhvacharya, all of whom made Puri the centre of their activities and established Mathas there for propagation of their respective religious faiths. Sri Ramanuja and his disciple founded the Ramanuja Kotta and Emaramatha respectively at Puri. There are three Mathas at Puri established by Vishnu Svami and his followers, of which the Vishnu Svami Matha near the Markandeya tank is worth mentioning. Following the example of these two great teachers Sri Nimbarka and his disciples founded five Mathas at Puri of which the Radhaballava Matha standing just to the east of the Lion's Gate of the Jagannntha temple is note-worthy. A lot of information is obtained from contemporary epigrapic records regarding the activities in Orissa of Sri Madhvacharya and his famous disciple Narahari Tirtha.

Of the above four great reformers of Vaishnavism, Śri Nimbarka alone proclaimed Rādhā as the Śakti (female energy) of Shree Kṛshṇa and his spouse in divine soprt. The school of Nimbarka gave great prominence to the worship of Rādhā along with Shree Kṛṣṇa. Shree Jayadeva, a devout Vaishṇava from his youth who remained at Puri was greatly influenced by the Nimbarka

school either by coming in personal contact with its founder or by intimate association with his disciples who established Maṭhas at Puri in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Exaltation of Rādhā, which is distinct feature of the Nimbarka school inspired Jayadeva to develop his erotic mysticism. In that age there flourished another saintly poet named Vilvamaṅgala or Līlāsuka in the Āndhra country, who like Jayadeva also exalted Rādhā in his devotional lyric called 'Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtaṃ'. It is difficult to trace at the present state of our knowledge the influence of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtaṃ on the Gītagovindaṃ or vice versa. But it seems quite probable that both the saintly poets derived their inspiration from the same source, which was no other than the teachings of the Nimbarka school both in Āndhra and Orissa, which (two states) were closely tied together culturally under the rule of the imperial Gaṅgas which began in 1112 A. D.

So the theory that Rādhā was probably a Bengali innovation made shortly before the time of Jayadeva is not substantiated by facts stated above. On the contrary, the credit of this innovation goes to Nimbarka, who first gave Rāḍhā prominence in thought and worship.

Jayadeva is claimed as an Orissan poet because the earliest commentaries on his G. G. were written by two poets of Orissa, and its first imitation so far known was made in Orissa. It has been stated before that poet Udayana Āchārya of Orissa, who was a close friend and admirer of the author of the G. G. wrote the first commentary on it called 'Bhāvavibhāvinī'. The second commentary on the G.G. called Sarvāṅgasundarī' was written by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāśa, of the famons Kapiñjala family of Orissa, who was a court poet of the Gaṅga king Narasiṃha II (1279-1307 A. D.) also called Kavi Narasiṃha. Though the efforts of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāśa, the recitation of the G. G. was introduced in the Jagannātha temple at Puri by his patron, which formed an important part of the daily

Seva of the deity since those days. The recitation of the G. G. daily in the temple of Jagannâtha enhanced its prestige and helped its rapid circulation outside Orissa by scholars who got the chance listening to its melodius songs, while paying their respects to Lord Jagannātha at the time of their pilgrimage to Puri.

The first imitation of the G. G. so far discovered is the 'Abhinavagītagovindaṃ' the authorship of which is attributed to the famous Gajapati Purushottama Deva of Cuttack (1466-1497) though its real author was Kavichandraraya Divākara Mishra, Purushottama Deva introduced the recitation of his 'Abhinavagītagovinda' in the temple of Jagannatha. But according to tradition 'this innovation of the king was disliked by Lord Jagannātha at whose behest only 12 verses of his work, interpolated into the G. G. of Jayadeva began to be sung before the deity. Even this interpolation was objected to by the devotees of the Lord. So Pratāparudra Deva, son and successor of Gajapati Purushottama Deva proclaimed by an inscription in 1599 A. D. that only the G.G. by Shree Jayadeva would be recited before the Lord. The inscription placed on an entrance of the Jagannātha temple has been edited and published by M. M. Chakravarti[26].

The second imitation of G. G. is perhaps the Jagannātha vallabha nāṭakam by Rāya Rāmānanda Paṭṭanāyaka, the Oriyā Governor of Rājā Mahendra under Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva. This was composed some time between 1497 to 1509 A. D. before the coming of Shree Chaitanya to Puri.

Thus the earliest commentaries and immitations of the G. G. were written in Orissa, which leads one to the conclusion that the G. G. was written in Orissa and not well-known in Bengal before the days of Srī Chaitanya, who popularised it there.

The tremendous influence and immense popularity of the G. G. in Orissa not only served as a source of inspiration to her

scholars to write the first commentatries on and imitation of it, but also brought remarkable change in Orissan iconography. Before the days of Jayadeva worship of the four-handed figures of god Vishṇu was very popular and held in high esteem by the people. But the wide circulation of the G. G. in Orissa which was recognised as a holy book and daily recited in the Jagannātha temple, steadily but imperceptibly influenced the minds of her people and inspired them with devotion for Śree Kṛshṅa whose glory it sings. But Shree Rādhā could not be defied in that age either singly or in the company of Shree Kṛshṇa as her worship was not sanctioned by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which had gained popularity in Orissa before the days of Shree Jayadava, nor recognised by the Smṛti-writers of Orissa who were moulding the religious life of the people in those days with the support and patronage of the kings. The cumulative effect of these trends of religious thought of that age was that Jagannātha was regarded as another form of Shree Kṛṣṇa[27] and the worship of only Gopījanavallabha Shree Kṛṣṇa and not Rādhāvallabha Shree Kṛṣṇa got the royal sanction So images of Gopinātha (Kṛṣṇa) standing in the Tribhaṅga pose, playing on flute 'Vaṃśidhārī' surrounded by Gopis 'Gopastripariveṣṭita' and tending cattle Godhana Charaṇa began to be built in this age. A large number of Gopinātha images of this type, which began to be carved from the 13th century and found in different parts of Orissa. Of these the following which can be assigned to this period are mentioned below :-

(a) The Gopinātha image discovered from Dharmaśālā P. S, of the Cuttack district with an inscription of the 13th century on pedastal, which is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum.

(b) Three Gopinātha images in the villages of Alārpur, Hirāpur and Sarakana which were built during the reign of Narasiṃha II (1278-1307). The Alārpur image now being worshiped in a temple at Balianta.

(c) The famous Gopīnātha image Remuṇā Kaṭaka (present Remuṇā in Balasore district) made during the reign of Narasiṃha II.

(d) The Gopīnātha image in the temple of Someśvarapur built during this period (circa 1264-1300 A. D.).

(e) The Gopīnātha image in the broken temple at Bageśvarapur near Pipili most probably built by Bhanu (1264-1278).

Other Gopīnātha images found in other parts of Orissa need not be described here. Since that age it became a custom in Orissa to build a temple for Gopīnātha (Kṛshṇa) in each Sāsana or Brāhmaṇa village founded by the king and his ofıficers.

It may be pointed out here that this development of Hindu iconography which was effected by recognition of Jagannātha as Kṛshṇa in the post Jayadeva period is clearly noticed in Orissa, whereas this is conspicuous by its absence in Bengal and Bihar. "While thousands of images of different varieties of the four-hanbed Viṣṇu belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been discovered in different parts of the province of Bengal and Bihar not a single Kṛshṇa image belonging to the post- Jayadeva and pre-Chaitanya period has been discovered in these two provinces. The conclusion made on this matter by late R D. Banerjee, who is regarded as an authority on Indian Archaeolgy is quoted here.

"Not only do we find a very great scarcity of combined images of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in the Eastern school, but no image of Kṛshṇa by himself earlier than the fifteenth century has been discovered any where in Bengal or Bihar. The popularity of the Rādhā Kṛshṇa cult in north eastern provinces of India appears to date from the advent of the great reformer Chaitanya"

INFLUENCE OF THE G. G. ON ORISSAN LITERATURE—

The Gitagovinda influenced the entire Sasnkrit literature of India as a whole, which is clearly proved by the large number of imitations of this work made by poets of different parts of

India. But the influence of the G. G. was the greatest in Orissa, where the number of its imitations made by her poets was greater than that made in any other region of India, as is shown below :-

1. Abhinava Gītagovindaṃ by Gajapati Purushottama Deva (C. 1470 A. D.)

(2) Jagannātha Ballabha Nāṭakam by Rāya Rāmānanda Paṭṭanāyaka (C. 1500 A. D.)

(3) Pīyuṣalaharī Nātikā By Jayadeva Āchārya

(4) Besyawamruta Nātakam son of Kaviḍinḍima (C.1520)

(5) Gopagovindaṃ author not known.

(6) Mudita Mādhabaṃ (C. 1620 A. D.) by Satamjiva Miśra.

(7) Mukundavilāsam by Yatindra Raghunātha Puri (C. 1620 A. D.)

(8) Sivalīlāmṛta Kāvya by poet Nityānanda (C. 1690 A, D.)

(9) Shreekṛshṇalīlāmṛta Mahākāvyaṃ by poet Nityānanda (C. 1690 A. D.)

(10) Narahari Charitaṃ by Rāmachandra Khaḍgaraya (C. 1730 A. D.)

(11) Rādhāvilāsa Mahākāvyam by Harekṛshṇa Kavirāja (C. 1750 A. D.)

(12) Samudra madhava Nātakam by Kavibhuṣaṇa Gobinda (C. 1750 A. D.),

(13) Brajayubavilāsam
(14) Gītagovindam
(15) Saṅgīta Chintāmaṇi
by Kavichandra Kamala-lochana Khaḍgaraya (C. 1780 1800)

Purushottama Bhaṭṭa of the 15th century, author of 'Chhanda Govindam' most probably belonged to Orissa. This work is especially quoted in treatises on music written in Orissa.

Some imitations of the G. G. were no doubt made in Bengal in the post Chaitanya period, but not before the days of

Sri Chaitanya, as was the case in Orissa, from which it may be concluded that the G. G. was made well-known in Bengal by the master.

Almost all the rāgas 29 used in ahe G. G. were used by early Oriya poets while composing their verses. The number of rāgas, used in Oriya poetry began to increase in course of time the number reaching its maximum in the time of Upendra Bhanja (1680-1720 A D.) Many beautiful Kávyas like the Rahasyamañiari of Devadurllava Dasa, the Rasakalloala of Dinakrushna, the Mathura Mangala of Abhimanyu Samantasimhara, and the Kisora Chandrananda Champu of Kavisurya Valadeva Ratha and many others were written under the influence of the G. G., is more than a dozen in number of which that by Dharanidhara is the best. Illustruted manuscripts of the G. G. are found in every ' Bhagavata ghara ' and in the houses of rich and the Pandits in Orissa.

But in the old Bengali literature, the use of the ' rāgas ' of the G. G. are scarcely met with. There was practically no distinct age of the Kāvyas in old Bengali literature. Music in Orissa was tremendously influenced by the G. G. which was not the case in Bengal

On the grounds stated above, Jayadeva author of the G. G. may be regarded as a poet of Orissa, and not of Bengal, where religion, art and iconography, literature and music were not affected by the all-pervading influence of the G. G. in the pre-Chaitany age as was the case in Orissa. So I appeal to the scholars to examine the tenability of the theory of the Bengal origin of Sri Jayadeva, which is being persistenty advocated in the light of the facts stated above.

Reference

1 The Gitagovinda is abbreviated as G. G.
2 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI p. 7
3 History of Sanskrit Poetics by Dr. P. V. Kane- p. 203

4 Quoted from the manuscript in the Orissa State Museum

5 O. H. R. Journal, Vol, VII No. I p. 40-46

6 ' Inscriptions of Bengal ' Vol. III. p. 49

7 History of Bengal published by the Dacca Univevrsity p. 216

8 Sanskrit literature in Bengal. J & P. A. S. Bengal Vol. II No. 5, 1906 p. 160
" Sadukti Karnamrutam " is abbreviated as S. K. M.

9 Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. III. p. 107

10 Published by M. M. Chakravarti, J. A. S, Vol. IN. S. 1905 pp.41 to 71

11 Birbhum Vivarana e. g.

श्रीरूप श्रोसनातन श्रीधामनवद्वीपे लक्ष्मणसेनेर सभागृह द्वारे निम्नोक्त श्लोकटि अङ्कित देखिया छिलेन ॥

12 History of Bengal published by the Dacca University p. 251

13 Tabakat-i-Nasari translated by Raverty p. 554

14 Re-edited and published by my colleague Sri S. N. Rajaguru in O. H. R. Journal Vol. V.

15 Birbhum District Gazetteer, p. 119

16 J. A. S. Bengal Vol. II New Series 1906, p.163

17 History of Dharmasastra literature Vol. I pp. 650 by Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane

18 J. K.H. R. Society Vol. I pp 243 and 245

19 Vaktamala printed and published by the Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, Sarga 39

20 History of Bengal published by the Dacca University p.403

21 (a) Edited by Fleet. E. I. Vol, III pp. 341-344

(b) Edited by G. M. Laskar, J. A. S. B. 1905 Vol. I pp. 12-13

(c) Edited by D. C. Sirkar and P. C. Ratha, I. H. Q. Vol. XX p. 245.

22 J. K H. R. Society Vol. II, Nos. 2 & 3, pp. 124-125

23 See plate XVII of A. S. of India, Vol. XVII by Cunningham

24 A. S. of India Vol, XVII p. 28

25 History of Bengal published by the Dacca University p, 404

26 J. A. S. Bengal Vol. LXII, 1893 p. 96

27 See inscription of Chandrika Devi in the Ananta Vasudeva temple of Bhubanesver, dated 1278 in which Sri Krishna is substituted for Jagannath e. g. E.I. Vol. XIII, p. 150

(a) कृष्णेनतृष्णावती ।

(b) तत्तीर्थमण्डनाख्यस्य तीरे नानावनीघने ।
श्रीकृष्ण श्रीवलवासवासिते नन्दनायिते ॥

(c) मुकुटाद्यैरलङ्कारैः शक्त्या भक्त्या मुदन्विता ।
वलकृष्णशुभादाश्च श्रेयसेऽसावभूपयत् ॥

28 Eastern Indian School of Medieval sculptures by R. D. Banerjee

29 Malaba Raga (p. 10, p. 96)

(2) Gujari Raga (p. 18, 55, 80, 104, 123)

(3) Basanta Raga (p. 24, 100, 139)

(4) Karnata Raga (p. 64)

(5) Ramakeri (p. 30, 167)

(6) Desi Baradi (p.77, 110, 128)

(7) Gondakeri (p. 89)

(8) Baradi raga (p. 146-150)

(9) Vairabi Rage (p. 116)

(10) Vivasa Raga (p. 158)

G. G. of the Nirnyasagara Press Edition 1937



TWO UNKNOWN SANSKRIT POETS OF ORISSA

KRISHNA DASA BADAJENA MAHAPATRA

Kṛshṇa Dāsa, an old and wormeaten manuscript of whose 'Gita Prakâśah' a treatise on music is preserved in the manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum was a very powerful writer and was accepted as an authority by the later writers of Orissa on the science of music. His work begins with a prayer to Lord Jəgannātha e. g.

कामदं नीलशैलस्थ करुणावरुणालयं
शरणं सर्वसत्त्वानां शाश्वतधामकामये ।

The last verse of his work which is divided into seven chapters is quoted below.

नृत्यगीतपरीक्षेऽय कृष्णदासेन कौतुकान्
आर्यं मात्सर्यमुत्सार्य ससन्तोष विचार्यताम् ।

The date of Kṛshṇa Dāsa may be fixed with some amount of certainty as his work has been quoted in the 'सङ्गीत कल्पलता' by poet Haladhara Miśra, who worte this work between 1623-1630 A. D. This fixes the posterior limit for his work, in which some verses given as illustrations mention a Gajapati, who was his patron. Only in one place the name of the Gajapati is called Mukunda, e.g.

मुकुन्दनृपतिगायति विपुलभक्तितया हरिचरितं (द्वितीयोल्लासः)

X X X X

मुरभिदिति पटुचाटुकुशलो दिशतु गजपतिमङ्गलं (द्वितियोल्लासः)

X X X

(गजपति) सिन्धुराधिप नृपतिचेतोविहारी (द्वितीयोल्लासः)

X X X

सिन्धुराधिपवीर तवरिपुनागरी नयनाम्बुनिवहै—
मृण्मय महीमण्डलं किमिति नैव विलीयते ॥
ज्ञातमात्र महीश सन्ततमम्बु शुष्यति तेजसातव ॥

Gajapati Mukunda referred to in the above quotation can definitely be identified with the last independent ruler of Orissa, who ruled from 1559-1568 A. D. as no other Gajapati bearing this name ever ruled over Orissa before 1622 A. D. The identification is supported by the quotation of a verse by Rāmānanda Rāya, of the time of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva, which fixes the anterier limit for this work near about 1509 A. D.

कलयति नयन दिशि दिशि वलितम्
पङ्कजमिव मृदुमारुतचलितम् । (१)

केलिविपिनं प्रविशति राधा प्रतिपदसमुदितमनसिजवाधा
जनयतु रुद्र गजेशमुदितं, रायरामानन्द कविनिगदितम् ।२

So Kṛṣṇa Dāsa may be taken as poet of the court of Gajapati Mukunda Deva (1559-1568 A. D.), with whom Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor of Delhi (1557-1605 A.D.) entered into an alliance.

In this connection it may by stated that there was a 'Mahāpātra' in the court of Ākbar for some time about whom Abul-I-Fazal writes thus 'Mahāpātra' who was unrivalled in the arts of Indian poetry and of music, was sent along with him (Hāsan Khān Khanzāñci). These two went together to Orissa" to carry on negotiation about an alliance with Gajapati Mukunda Deva against the Nawab of Bengla in 1565 A. D.

This 'Mahāpātra' of Ākbar's court was none else than Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Baḍajenā Mahāpātra, who wrote his 'गीतप्रकाशः' under the patronage of Gajapati Mukunda Deva as stated before. The above

account furnishes a definite date (1565 A. D.) before which he had become 'unarivalled in the arts of Indian peotry and of music.' He was perhaps sent as an envoy of the गजपति to the Mughal court when the negotiation for an alliance was going on.

Authors and works quoted in the गीतप्रकाशः are Hari Nâyaka, Vishṇu prakāśa 'प्रबन्ध', Sāraṅga Deva, Gaṅgādhar Guru (teacher of Kṛshṇa Dāsa), Sāhitya Darpaṇa, Rāya Rāmānanda, Kṛṣṇa Vijaya, Vālacharita, Gandharvarāya, Nimai (son of Gandharvarāya) Saṅgītarāya, Saṅgīta Dāmodara, Pāṇini, Saṅgīta Ratnākara, Kāvya Prakāśa.

Among the authorities quoted 'Gandharvarāya' and Saṇgītarāya are definitely titles of two Oriya scholars whose names remain to be discovered, Nimāi son of Gandharvarāya certainly belonged to Orissa. Hari Nāyaka seems to be a musician of this land, about whom very little is known. No information is available about Gaṅgādhara Guru the teacher of Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, who is perhaps identical with Gaṅga Dāsa, author of छन्दो मञ्जरी. The authors of 'Vishṇu Prakāsa' 'Kṛṣṇa Vijaya' and 'Vālacharita' could not be traced. The remaining ones are well-known which need not be discussed here.

The importance of this work lies in the fact that its author while explaining various Rāgas has given as examples, stanzas from different poems in Sanskrit, Oriya and Hindi (Vrajaboli) mostly composed by himself, which definitely proves that Kṛṣṇa Dāsa was a master in above three languages. Example from each is given below.

SANSKRIT

तालत्रिपुटान्तरायतिर्यथा, मल्हार रागेण

'मुञ्चमानिनि मानतिमिर मुखसुधाकर X उज्ज्वल

कुरु कृशोदरि विरहदहनं दहतुनहिममानसम्
वितरसखिविकचाम्बुरुहमुखि मधुरतरमधुरामृतम् ।

ORIYA

नट रागेण—'देउचण्डि अर्द्धचन्द्रमण्डि'

झम्पक—'शुणरे आरे निश्चलातनु, जनु योखिमा धनुरे' ।

त्रिपुटं— 'सखितुरे व्रजतरुणिजन
वृन्दावने नयना नन्दन कामकान्ति घनशोभन,
तरुणीमन मोहनुआ

शिखिशिखण्ड मण्डित कुण्डल मालतीमाल गुञ्जामञ्जुल गण्डस्थल
विलुलित कुण्डल मुखजित विधुमण्डल इआ इति निःसारी'

VRAJABOLI

'ध्रुवपदामाह, ज्ञातानि पाश्चात्य गीतानि । उदाहरणं गौरीरागेण

चौयाचन्दन अनुअङ्गे चढाओ
वडत्तारे गगने आजुँहे वन्दे ।

आजुँ कोकिलधुनि पुन पुन सुन, विमल पवन वहु मन्द मन्द ।१

आजुँ गोविन्द विलत मेरे मन्दिर सुनत पुलकपुरित सवअङ्ग ।
हेरत नयन अमृतरस सिञ्चत कुसुम सेजुकर करत अतिरङ्ग (ध्रु)

Scholars engaged in research on the development of music in the Oriya and Vrajavoli litereture will find ample materials in this work, written by a master musician of the mid-sixteenth century. With Kṛṣṇa Dāsa closes the glorious period of Sanskrit literature in Orissa, which came under the devastating Muslim sway after the death of his patron Gajapati Mukunda Deva in 1568 A. D.

HALADHARA MISHRA

Two works of Haladhara Miśra namely 'वसन्तोत्सवमहाकाव्यम्' and 'सङ्गीत कल्पलता' are known from their manuscripts preserved in the Manuscripts library of our Museum. The first work which is divided into 22 cantos has for its them, the description of the car-festival of Lord Jagannātha, observed during the spring season, which was newly introduced by Gajapati Narasiṃha Deva of Khurdhā (1623-1647 A, D.), over and above the car festival which was traditionally being observed on the 2nd day of bright fortnight of the lunar month of Āṣāḍha. The names of each canto of this Mahākāvya are given as appendix at the end of this paper.

In the beginning of the work, the poet has given a brief history fo the family of his patron, beginning from the reign of Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva, the founder of this royal dynasty, and ending with that Narasiṃha Deva, who is eulogised for this innovation.

From the concluding verses of the last canto, it is known that the poet Haladhara Miśra was born in the renowned family of Śambhu Kara Miśra, like poet Gaṅgādhara Miśra, author of कोशलानन्द महाकाव्यम्'. But the exact relation between the two poets who were contemporary can not be ascertained at present. His parents were Divākara Miśra and Padmāvatī. Kapileśvara Miśra referred to in another verse was his son who was also a scholar like his father e.g.

मातायस्य पवित्रकीर्त्तिरमला पद्मावती यत्पिता—
सारासारविचारविद्दीनकरो नीरोद्भवाक्षः क्षमी ।
जातः शम्भूकरकुलेतिविमले सोऽहं पुरारातये
काव्य भव्यमिदं मुदा हलधरोधीरोददेतन्मुदे ।

X X X

वत्स श्री कपिलेश्वराखिलगुणग्रामालयः श्रूयतां
काव्यं भव्यमिदं कृतंतदुभयोरैक्य समुत्पादितम् ।
आत्मासौ गमितः कृतान्यपदवीं स्फीतं यशोरक्षितं
क्षोण्यां नित्यमतः परं यदपितद्राक् सावधानः शृणु ।।

It is the first Mahâkâvya, so far known to have been written about the car-festival of Lord Jagannâtha, which was the most imporant festival of Orissa even before the days of Murâri, in whose 'अनर्घराघवनाटकम्' it is first mentioned. It is one of the Mahâkâvyas, written in Orissa during the Mughal period, which can vie with similar works written in other parts of India during this age.

Haladhar Miśra, author of 'Saṅgītakalpalatā' is identical with his name sake, the author of the 'वसन्तोत्सव महाकाव्यम्' as the same first 'Maṅgalācharaṇa' verse quoted below is found at the beginning of both the works e. g.

कटीतटपटीकृतायत गजाजिनोधूर्जटि
जटापटलमण्डित त्रिपुरखण्डने पण्डितः ॥
दुरत्तरभरान्तरावल्गितावनोमेमनो-
विनोदभरभूर्विभुः सपदि सन्निधत्तांहृदि ।१

After this, there is a verse in which the name of the work is given e. g.

X X X

'सङ्गीतकल्पलतिकां हलधरपरिपालितां भजत'

He wrote this work in a spirit of competition, with Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, who had become very famous by his time. He quotes from another work called 'हरिहर प्रकाशः' which was written for pleasing his patron Narasiṃha Deva. But the author's name before the surname 'Miśra'

is lost as that portion of folio (4) of the manuscript is worm-eaten. But most probably the work was written by him e. g. Pralāpa—:

श्री मन्न कुन्दपदारविन्दद्वन्द्व गलितमकरन्दविन्दुसन्दोहइन्दीवर - उत्कलदेशभूषण विगतदूषण गजपति नरसिंहदेव मङ्गलाय हरिहर प्रकाश प्रवन्ध X X X मिश्रविरचयति आ।

We find the names of some new authors in this work such as वाणनगर हरिचन्दन, गङ्गाधरदास, अनङ्गभीम, मधुपुरनरेन्द्र, अनङ्ग भ्रमरवर, गजपति मुकुन्द, गजपति रामचन्द्रदेव, गजपति प्रतापरुद्र, or रुद्रराय, मेनकादेइ, कमला पाटमहादेवी all of whom belonged to Orissa. Bāṇanagar Harichandana was रघुनाथ हरिचन्दन Rājā of Bāṇapura, which was a small kingdom on the border of the districts of Gañjām and Puri, who earned reputation by writing many Kāvyas in Oriya. From the quotations made in this work, it appears that he was also the author of some work or works in Sanskrit, the names of which are not yet known.

From stanza of Gaṅgādhar Dās, quoted in this work, it is known that he was the court poet of Narasiṇha Deva, who was perhaps identical with the patron of Haladhara e. g.

नृप नरसिंह सुजाने भानुवति पञ्च प्राणे
नीलगिरिपति चरणेमति अविरत गङ्गाधर दासगाने ॥

Anaṅgabhima was the hereditary title of the Gaṅga kings of the Khemuṇḍi kiṅgdom in the Gañjām district, whose real name remains to be discovered. Similarly the real name of the king of Madhupur in the Cuttack district, whose title is 'Narendra' is not known. No information is available about the remaining author Anaṅga Bhramaravara. Gajapati Mukunda is Mukunda Deva, the patron of Kṛshṇa Dāsa as stated before. Rāmachandra is indentical with Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva (1568-1707) the founder of the Khurda kingdom. Gajapati Pratāparudra Rāya and Rudra Rāya are

the other names of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva (1497-1534) Menakā Dei and Kamalā Pāṭa Mahādevi are two Oriya female writers about whom nothing is known.

From the above discussion it is evident that science of Music was widely and intensively cultured in Orissa since the rule of the Sūryavaṃśi Gajapatis over this land (1435-1534) as a result of which Haladhara in this treatise on Music could cite some stanza from Oriya poems, composed by himself and others as examples of different metres and 'tālas' (See. appendix C).

There is a Sanskrit grammar called 'Haladhara kārikā' which was most probably written by this author.

APPENDIX A.

वसन्तोत्सव महाकाव्यम्

इति श्रीहलधरमिश्रविरचिते वसन्तोत्सवमहाकाव्ये श्रीपुरुषोत्तमप्रवेशो नाम प्रथम सर्गः ॥ राजनीतिवर्णनं नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः, सङ्गीतनिरूपणं नाम तृतीयः सर्गः, स्वप्नदर्शनं नाम ४र्थः सर्गः, यात्रानिर्णयो नाम पञ्चमः सर्गः, हरगौरीपुरीप्रवेशो नाम षष्ठः सर्गः, पुरीवर्णनं नाम सप्तमः सर्गः, देवालय प्रवेशो नाम अष्टमः सर्गः, शस्त्रलक्षण नाम नवमः सर्गः, अन्तः-पुरप्रवेशो नाम दशमः सर्गः, रथघटनं नाम एकादशः सर्गः, यात्रिकप्रस्थानं नाम द्वादशः सर्गः षडऋतुवर्णनं नाम त्रयोदशः सर्गः, वनविहारो नाम चतुर्दशः सर्गः, जलविहारो नाम पञ्चदशः सर्गः, चन्द्रवर्णनं नाम षोडशः सर्गः, दूतीप्रस्थानं नाम सप्तदशः सर्गः, सुरत वर्णनं नाम अष्टादशः सर्गः, प्रभातवर्णनं नाम ऊनविंशः सर्गः, गुण्डिचामण्डप प्रवेशो नाम विंशतितमः सर्गः, होरावर्णनं नाम एकविंशः सर्गः, परिवर्त्तन गुण्डिचावर्णनं नाम द्वाविंशः सर्गः।

APPENDIX B.

सङ्गीत कल्पलता

इति श्रीहलधरमिश्रविरचितायां संगीतकल्पलतिकाकायां शुद्धगीतनिरूपण नाम प्रथमः स्तवकः, छायालगनिरूपणंनाम द्वितीयः स्तवकः, क्षुद्रगीतनिरूपणं नाम तृतीयः स्तवकः, गुणनिरूपणं नाम चतुर्थः स्तवकः, दोषनिरूपणं नाम पञ्चमः स्तवकः, रागनिरूपणं नाम षष्ठः स्तवक,ः

स्वरनिरूपणं नाम सप्तमः स्तवकः, वाद्यनिरूपणं नाम अष्टमः स्तवकः, नाट्यानिरूपणं नाम नवमः स्तवकः, हस्तनिरूपणं नाम दशमः स्तवकः, शिरोव्यापारनिरूपणं नाम एकादशः स्तवकः, दृष्टिनिरूपणं नाम द्वादशः स्तवकः, भ्रूक्षेपनिरूपणं नाम त्रयोदशः स्तवकः, स्थाननिरूपणं नाम चतुर्दशः स्तवकः, गिरो ? निरूपणं नाम पञ्चदशः स्तवकः, कारणनिरूपणं नाम षोडशः स्तवकः, शुद्धपद्धतिनिरूपणं नाम सप्तदशः स्तवकः ।

APPENDIX C.

Same stanzas from Oriya poems given in the 'Saṅgīta Kalpalatā'

अथ रूपकः—'जयतु जयतु पुरमुरहर हरिहरतनुधरन्ति ।
सकल जगत कुशलकरण धरणीर भार वहन्ति ॥'

ध्रुवपद मिदं— X X X X

' जपगूढकि सुअलिङ्गन
संपूर्णमुख से दश चुम्बन ।
विद्धु आदि अष्टदशनक्षत,
अपहस्त आदि प्रहारजात,
येते वन्धगण
चउपठी ताहा जाणे सुजाण (ध्रु)
विशेषरे अष्ट दशनक्षत ।
चन्द्रवारणादि रत वहुत
वेनिजनर नाहिँ पराजए
देखिण मदन कृतार्थ होए ।
से वेनि सुजाण
नरसिंह नृप गीते वखाण ' ।

ध्रुव पद— ' जगत जीवन ए नन्दनन्दन येवे कला सर्व दोष,
हलधर भणि सुजाण रसिक तहिँ कि करइ रोष' ।

झम्प— 'ब्रह्माण्ड भाण्डफेडि चण्डभुजदण्डे,
सकल दिगपाल कम्पे नाद प्रचण्डे

नखउग्रचण्डे, दइतउरखण्डे,
दन्तकुल राजित गभीरतर तुण्डे।
गगने उदेकि ए नवीन शशिखण्डे
रसना वालभुजङ्ग भ्रमे उदण्डे,
नरसिंह पद शिशुश्यामहृदय मण्डे।

गुज्जरी, एकतालि भाषा

'वसन्त समय निशी, उदए निर्मल शशी
कोकिल पञ्चम भाषि ठिहा ? विदेशी
मलय पवन वहे मधुकर धुनिकहे,
कर्पूर चन्दन देहे लेपन तनु नसहे ॥ घोषा ॥
दिनु दिनु मनमथ शरे क्षिन्नतनु
वीरवर गजपति परताप रायाविनु।'

X X X X

'शरतचन्द्र वदन, कमलदललोचन, सुन्दरकोटि मदननृपति मणि,
देवीपूजा अवसर, अनङ्ग भ्रमरवर ढालन्ति धीरे चामर समय जाणि।
वीरवर नरसिंह देव चन्द्रमा
पाटमहादेई राणि, भानुमती गुणमणि,
नृपतिमनचकोर पीयूषसीमा,

केदार—

विजे सदन कोटि मदन,
रूपशोभन, नवीन घन,
मननयन, कृतसदन, नन्दीघोपर।

नाद घर्घर, कि घडघडि घोर घन
वणिट घागुडि निर्घोषनर तर झुणिणरे॥ घोषा

अति सुघटरे मण्डित पाटरे, देवङ्क भेटरे, अति सुघटरे,
चलन्ते लट कमलापाट महादेविरे ।। घोषा

मत्ता ? भेट गुण्डिचालट सत्य सङ्कट, किमु उचाटरे
गहले गह गह शवद
के वोले रह रह प्रमाद ।
पडिला...........खेद ।
रथपरे निसाण तु तु तु तु वादन ।
शङ्कर भुं भुं भुं भुं गर्जन ।
जनक जे जे जे जे वचन अतिप्रमोदरे ।। २
वट समीपे मिलिले रूपवती तेजिण X X
X X अति अमाप संसार तापरे ।

मुकुट झट झट प्रकट, उत्कृष्ट भूषा हृदयतट
सुपीतपाट कटि सुघट दाम अमापरे ।
X X X X X X

The major portion of the poem cannot be read as the folio is worm-eaten.



STUDIES IN THE NAISHADHA CHARITA OF SRI HARSHA

A lot has been written by eminent scholars about Shīharsha. We find the following conclusion in the 'History of Bengal' "Equally uncertain is the similar tradition which connects Shīharsha son of Shrīhīra and Mamallā Devī and author of the Naishadha Charita with Bengal for Shriharsha of the Bengal genealogists is described as the son of Medhatithi or Tithimedha. This last claim has been argued at some length, but the evidence is not oonclusive."[1]

The following agruments which are advocated to prove his Bengal origin may be critically examined. (a) The use of Ululu (XIV. 51) as an auspicious sound is not only made by the women of Bengal, but also by the women of Orissa till to-day on festive occasions. So this can equally be taken as a proof of his Orissa o igin.

(b) The custom of using conch-bangles by the bride (XV 45) and its breaking as characterising the beginning of widowhood in (XII.35) is not the characteristic of Bengal alone, but is also strictly followed in Orissa even upto the present day.

(c) The tying of the hands of the bride and the bridegroom with a Kuśa blade (Kuśaih pāṇibandhanaṃ) XVI 14 is not only a (Deśāchāra) in Bengal alone but also a social usage strictly followed in Orissa.

(d) The custom of painting the floors with ricepowder mixed with water was widely prevalent in Orissa in the past and is still followed in festive occasions and especially on Thursdays in the lunar months of Mārgasīrsha and Pausha when Mahālakshmī is worshipped in every household.

(e) The examples of the poet's indiscriminate use in alliteration of (i) the three sibilants (ii) the two nasals (na & ṇa), (iii) ba and va, (iv) Ja and ya, (v) Ksha and Khya, which have been put-forth to show that his mother language was Bengali, may also be adduced to prove that his mother tongue was Oriya. Besides the above, the following points deserve cnsideration.

(f) The use of cowry shells as the medium of exchange in the market place is described in two places of this work.

1) Barāṭikāgaṇa-nāṭat-kara-karkatotkara

(Canto 2, Verse 88)

2) Vikriya taṃ helihiraṇyapiṇḍaṃ
Tārāvarāṭāniyamādita dyauh

(Canto 22, Verse 13.)

Cowry currency was more widely prevalent in Orissa than in other parts of India, even upto the time of the British occupation of this territory in the beginning of the last century.

(g) The chewing of betel (Tāmbulapuṭi) several times a day for refreshment (Vidhāya tāmbulapuṭiṃ karāṅkagāṃ vabhāṇa tāmbulakarṇkavāhinī (Canto 12, verse 76) and again in Canto 16 verse 109, Canto 7 verse 46 is a special characteristic of Orissa, which is not so widely in vogue in other regions of India.

(h) The use of brass ornaments in place of gold once was very common among the females of poor classes in Orissa, which is very nicely expressed by the poet e. g.,

Akāñchane akiñchananāyikāṅgake kimārakūṭābharaṇena no Shriyah, (Canto 9, Verse 28)

(i) The marriage feast described in the 16th canto of this work is typically Orissan in character. The niceties of fish and flesh (Mīnamṛgājapatrijaih palaih) and other items of fcod e. g., fine,

white hot cooked rice, emitting appetising flavour and saturated with ghee, sweet pudding (Pāyasa), tasteful but pungent curry prepared with curd, powdered mustard seed and chillies (Dadhidadhat kaṭurājikārāddha), thickned curd made from the milk of she-buffalo (Māhiṣya dadhi), round reddish sweet cakes (Vartulagairika kṣīā-vaṭa), another kind of round cake, scented with comphor particles (Shritachāndra saurabhā varṣopalagolakāvali), Laḍu (Laḍḍuka) and the preparation of drinks e. g. cold water scented with Aguru and ice-like cold water mixed with sugar (Tuṣāradhāramṛditeva Sharkarā) give a clear picture of a feast generally held in the rich families of Orissa, where majority of the people fed are non-vegetarian.

(j) While walking Nala's movement has been compared to that of Lord Jagannāth (Puruṣottama) who is taken from the temple to the raised platform (Mañcha) on the full-moon day of the lunar month of Jaiṣṭha, where thousands of people throng round the deity to pay their respects.

१ ताभिर्द्दश्यतएषयान् पथिमहाजैर्स्तोमहेमन्महे
याद्दग्भः पुरुषोत्तमः परिचितः प्राच्मश्चमश्चनकृतः

(Canto 15, Verse 89)

This metaphor is significant and is reminiscent of the association of the poet with the sacred Purushnttama Kshetra.

(k) The chief object of Shriharsha was no doubt the treatment of the well-known Mahābhārata story of Nala and Damayanti, but at the same time he has very skilfully brought Nala into prominence, which might be due to the fact that he was being patronised by some ruler of this family. From the epigrphic records so far published we come to know that the Nalas were powerful in the Ganjam and the Koraput Districts of Orissa from the 6th century onwards e. g.,

१) 'नलनृपतिकुलान्वयः श्रीमहाराजार्थपति' (३)
२) 'श्रीनलान्वयमुख्यस्य X X X भवदत्तस्य X सत्पुत्र श्रीस्कन्दवर्मा' ४
३) 'ख्यातो नृप नल इति प्रणतारिचक्र, चूडामणिभूभर चुम्बित पादपद्मः' (५)
४) स्वस्ति भीमपुरान् X X परममाहेश्वर X X नलवंशोद्भव कमलालङ्कारभूतो महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री भोमसेन देव (६)

But there is no epigraphic evidence or literary reference regarding the rule of the Nala family in any part of Bengal. This may be taken as an evidence for associating Shrīharṣa with Orissa.

(l) The erotic digression prominently exhibited by the poet in the description of the marriage feast in the 16th canto and the poets knowledge of the Kāmaśāstra displayed in some of the stanzas of the 18th canto, which may be called vulgar, judged by the modern standard, truly represent the trend of thought of his age in Orissa, where it also found expression in the erotic or obscene figures, that are found in large numbers in the body of the temples, built since the 9th century. On the basis of this contemporary Archaeological evidence, the poet may be assined to Orissa, where his work gained immense popularity and tremendously influenced the later Sanskrit and Oriya kāvyas written in this State.

(m) If the commentator Udayana Āchārya [7] is identified with the poet Udayana, the author of the Shobhaneśvara and Megheśvara temple inscriptions and also of the first commentary on the Gītagovida called (Bhāvavibhāvinī) 8, which seems quite plausible, then it can be said with certainity that this commentary written in the last quarter of the twelfth century was the first on the Naishadhacharita of Shrīharsha It is now known definitely that Udayana belonged to Orissa. On the strength of this evidence, Shrīharsha may be taken as a poet of Orissa for which the first commentary on his work could be written by an Orissan poet, within a few years after his death.

(n) The first imitation, rather the supplement of this work is the (Sahṛdayānanda Mahākāvyṃ) by Kṛshanānanda Sāndhivigrahikā Mahāpātra, of the famous Kapiñjala ganily of Orissa, who

minister of Gaṅga Emperor Narasiṃha IV of Cuttack (1379-1407 A. D.). He described the Nala legend in its entirety in fifteen cantos in his work as only a small part of it was dealt by Shrīharsha in his ' Naiṣadhacharitaṃ '.

(o) Had Shrīharsha been a poet of Gauḍa or Bengal, it would be natural on his part to describe the glory of the king of his native land in a vivid manner, which we do not find in his work. On the contrary, he has devoted only 4 verses to sing the praise of the king of Gauḍa (11th canto verses 95-98) whereas the eulogy of the king of Utkala is sung in 9 verses (canto 12, verses 78-86). The accuracy of his knowledge about the political condition of Orissa is displayed by the separate description of the king of the Mahendra region or Kaliṅga (southern part of the present Ganjam District) in nine stanzas (Canto 12, verse 23-31) as that region was then a kingdom under the Eastern Gaṅgas. His intimate knowledge of the contemporary political situation of Orissa may be taken as an evidence of his Orissan origin.

(p) This line (Kathāprasaṅgeṣu mithah sakhīmukhāt tṛṇopi tanvyā Nalanāmāni śṛte) (V 35 canto 1) is very significant because in some islands of the Chilika lake near Puri, a kind of big and thick grass called ' Nala ' by the people grow very luxuriantly, for which these island are called (Nalavaṇa). Such a scene is scarcely found in the other parts of India. Shriharṣa who seems very conversant with it may be assigned to Orissa.

(q) From the study of this Kāvya, we come to know that in the age of Shrīharsha Vishṇu and Shiva were woshipped with equal respect, along with Lakshmī and Pārvatī; [9] various Vedic sacrifices were being performed, [10] Advaitavāda of Sri Shaṅkara was holding the ground. [11] Tantricism was a popular cult. [12] Various sects of Buddhism were still struggling for their existence, [13] the Digambara

sect of the Jainas was existing in some areas. 14 This picture of the society as depicted by the poet correctly reflect the religious condition prevailing in Orissa in the period ranging from C. 800 A. D. as will be shown below.

We find the building of temples both for Vishṇu and Shiva, side by side at different places of Orissa at least from the eighth century onwards, the chief of these are the Someśvara and Keśava temple at Ranīpur in the Balangir District (circa 8th century), the twin temples of Siddheśvara and Nīlamādhava in Gandharadi on the bank of the Mahānadī; and many other Shiva and Vishṇu temples standing at different places of the Prāchī valley. Udayana Āchārya, the first commentator of the "Naiṣadhacharitaṃ" has written thus; "Visṇur Bhavānīpateh" in the Sobhaneśvara temple iniscrsption. Thus the exaltation of the Harihara conception by Shrīharsha gives a ture picture of the main religious current of his age in Orissa.

From the time of Yayāti, (Circa 9th century) who performed ten horse sacrifices in Jājapura on the present 'Daśāśvamedha ghāṭa' on the Vaitaraṇī there was great revīval of Vedic sacrifices in Orissa which continued unabated till the Muslim occupation of this state in 1568 A. D

After the establishment of the Govardhana Piṭha at Purushottama Kshetra or Puri by the great Saṅkarāchārya (C 788-820) his 'Advaitavāda' held the ground in Orissa at least till the arrival of Shrī Chaitanya at Puri in 1509 A. D

During the rule of the Bhaumakaras over a major portion of the pesent day Orissa for about two centuries (C 650-850 A. D.) the Vajrayāna school of Buddhism, which was based on Tantra, was founded in this region by Indrabhūti, a chieftain of Orissa, and by his sister Lakshmīṅkarā and his disciples Rāhula and others. The Hindu Tantra which competed with the Vajrayāna school was also

propagated in Orissa with equal tenacity and vigour. As a result of this we find the building of these religious (Tantric edifices) during the Bhauma period e. g. two circular enclosures for sixty-fore Yoginīs at Raṇipur near Titlagarh, and at Hirāpur near Bhubaneswar; temples of Bhadrakalī at Bhadrak, Virajā and Saptamātṛkā at Jajapur, Shāradā at Jhankaḍa; Kapālini, Mohinī and others at Bhubaneswar, Vārāhī at Tulasipur, Rāmachndī near Puri on the sea-shore besides a large number of temples dedicated to (Mahiṣamardinī Durgā) at seveal places of Orissa.

The famous Buddhist monasteries at Puspagiri or the present Ratnagiri Lalitagiri area of the Cuttack Distrct, where a large number of votive stupas and a big Vihāra have been discovered by recent excavation, was a strong hold of Buddhism in Orissa till the advent of the Gaṅgas near about 1100 A. D.

The inscriptions of the Digambara Jaina Āchārya Kulachandra and his disciple Shubhachandra (c. 1000 A. D.) in the Khandagiri hill near Bhubaneswar and the discovery of a large number of Digambara Jaina images in different parts of Puri, Balasore, Keonjhara and Mayurabhanja Districts of Orissa, bear unmistakable evidence about the existence of this faith in different parts of Orissa.

(r) The carving of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu on the body of the Vaishṇava temples or around the presiding diety of Vishṇu became a common feature in Orissa from the eighth century onwards [15]. The adoration of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu in Orissa finds full expression in so many verses of canto 21 of this work, where the poet has very inspiringly sung the glory of each ' Avatāra ' [16] through his hero Nala. On the grounds stated above, Shrīharsha may be accepted as a poet of Orissa, till its contrary is proved by more convincing evidence.

Time of Shriharsha :--

This line 'Tāmbuladvayamāsanañcha labhate yah Kānyakubjesvarāt' which is taken as a clue to fix the time of the poet, simply

states that he was honoured by a king of Kānyakubja, whose name is not given. But on the strength of a story given in the (Prabandhakosha) by the Jaina Rājashekhara Suri, composed in 1348 A. D., he is said to have lived in the court of Vijaya Chandra and Jaya Chandra in the second half of the twelfth century. But this story about Shriharsha written after nearly two centuries may not be taken as fully authentic. So the authenticity of this story may be examined afresh in the light of new research on this subject.

(I) It has been stated before that Udayana Achārya (1170-1200) wrote the first commentary on the (Naiṣadhacharitaṃ) of Shriharsha. As such this poet may be placed before1170 A. D.

(II) This posterior time-limit may be pushed back by some years, if we take into consideration his description of Utkala and Kalinga (Mahendra region) as two separate kingdoms. It is now definitely known that these two kingdoms became one political entity after the occupation of Utkala by Cholagaṅga Deva, the founder of the Gaṅga Empire, in 1112 A. D. He extended his territory from the Gaṅga in the North to the Godāvari on the South with its capital at ' Vārānasi Kaṭaka ' or modern Cuttack on the right bank of the Mahānadi for which he was acclaimed as the sovereign of the Gaṅgā Godavari region (Agodāntādamarasaritaṃ yāvadekabhuvobhut). So on the strength of this very authentic epigraphical evidence he may be placed before 1112 A. D.

(III) According to Sri D. C. Bhattacharya, a line from a work by Shriharsha e. g. (Sāṅghāta mṛtyurmarakamārirmārīdevatetai Shrīharṣah) is quoted by Kshira Svāmin in his commetary on Amarakosha, written between C. 1100-1120 A. D. 18. So this quotation furnishes definite evidence for fixing the time of Shirharsha near about 1100 A. D.

The anterior limit for this work may be fixed with the help of the verse quoted below e. g.

या सोमसिद्धान्त मयाननेव शून्यात्मतावादमयोदरेव
विज्ञानसामत्स्यमयान्तरेव साकारतासिद्धिमयाखिलेव

(दशम सर्ग ८८ श्लोक)

The 'Somasiddhānta' referred to in the above verse is identical with ' Somaśambhutantra ' by the famous Shaiva teacher Bhagavān Soma Shambhu or Soma Shiva e. g.,

प्राचीन पुण्यपरिपाकवशान् प्रजाना-
माविर्बभूव भगवानिह सोमशम्भुः ।
नाम्ना निजेन सकलागमसिन्धुसेतुं
यः पद्धतिं करुणया प्रतिमां बबन्ध ॥[19]

The date of Soma Shambhu is known with some amount of certainty because his disciple Vāmā Shambhu or Vama Deva was the guru of the Kalachuri king Karṇa Deva (1042 A. D.) ' Soma-Siddhānta ' referred to by Shrīharsa was written between circa 1000-1030 A. D. So Shīharsha flourished in the period between 1050-1120 A. D. or roughly in the second half of the eleventh century , and the beginning of the twefth century, when neither Vijaya Chandra or Jaya Chandra was the ruler of Kānyakubja. The king of Kānyakubja, by whom he was respected was most probably Govinda Chandra whose reign began near about 1110 A. D. and who is described ' विविध विद्या विचार वाचस्पति' in his grants.

Works of Shiharsha :—

The poet has mentioned the following works written by him in different cantos of his works e. g. (Sthairyavichāraṇa Prakaraṇaṃ) (fourth canto) (Vijaya praśastih) (fifth canto) (Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa khādyaṃ) (sixth canto) (Gauḍorviśa kula praśastih) (seventh canto) (Arṇava varṇanaṃ) (ninth canto) 'Chhinda praśastih' (seventeenth) (canto) 'Shiva śaktisiddhih (eighteenth canto) 'Nava sāhasāṅka charita' (twentysecond canto). He is said io have written some other works, the names of which are not given here as they have not been finally accepted.

Works & authors referred to :—

Besides his own works, cited above he refers to other works and authors, which are given below for further research on his work.

द्वितीयसर्ग—धर्मागम, V-7, सामुद्रकम् V-51, फणिभाषितभाष्यम् V-99
तृतीयसर्ग—समाधिशास्त्रम् V-44
चतुर्थसर्ग—सुश्रुतः & चरकः V-116
पञ्चमसर्ग— जैमिनि V-39
नवमसर्ग—ध्वनेः V-50

दशमसर्ग— गन्धर्वविद्या, त्रयी, साहित्यम् V-74, अथर्वा V-75, शिक्षा, कल्पः, निरुक्तविद्या V-76, छन्दः V-77, व्याकरणम् V-78, ज्योतिर्विद्या V-79, पूर्वमीमांसा & उत्तरमीमांसा V-81, आन्वीक्षिकी V-82, व्यास, पराशर, विष्णुपुराण, मत्स्य पुराण, पद्मपुराण V-84 धर्मशास्त्रव्रज V-85, सोमसिद्धान्त V-88

एकादशसर्ग—पक्षचतुष्टयम् (सांख्यम् , न्यायः, अर्हतदर्शनम् , बौद्धदर्शनम V-35
सप्तदशसर्ग—त्रयी & तन्त्रम् V-38, गोतमः V-74
अष्टादशसर्ग—नाटिका भरतभारतीसुधा V-22
शम्भुदारुवनसम्भुजिक्रिया माधवव्रजवधूविलासयोः
गुम्फितैरुशनसा सुभाषितैः । V-23

Reference

1. History of Bengal (Dacca University) Vol, 1, p, 366.
2. I. H. Q. Vol XXII-p. 144
3. "Kesharibeda plates of Arthapati' J. B. R. S. Vol XXXIV PP 33-42
4 'The podagadh stone inscription of Skanda Varman E. I. Vol XXI pp 153-157
5. 'Rajim stone inscription of Vilasa Tunga' E. I. Vol XXXVI pp. 49-59.
6. 'Pandiapathar copper plate grant of Bimasena O. H. R. J. Vol. VI parts II and III pp-99-102.

7. 'History of Sanskrit Literature' by Dr. Dasgupata and Dr. De Vol. I p, 624.

8. Discussed in my article on Jayadeva Vol VII. Nos 3 & O.H.R.J 4 pp 208

(६) रथाङ्गभाजाकमलानुपङ्क्तिना (प्रमथसर्ग, ८)
निशाशशाङ्कं शिवया गिरीशं श्रिया हरिं योजयतः प्रतीतः (३य सर्ग-८
गौरीव पत्या सुभगा कदाचित् (७म सर्ग-८८)
सायुज्यमासादयतं शिवाभ्याम् ,१४सर्ग-७१
गीर्देवता गीतयशः प्रशस्तिः श्रिया तडितत्वल्ललिताभिनेता
मुदा तदा वेक्षतकेशवस्तं स्वयम्वराड़म्वरमम्वरस्थः, १०म सर्ग-५१
सन्धावशेषे धृतताण्डवस्य चण्डीपतेः, १२श सर्ग-१६
आवामावामार्द्धे सकलमुभयाकारघटनात् १४ सर्ग-८५
वलयायितशेषशायिनः, द्वितीय सर्ग-१०१
शर्मकिं हृदि हरेः प्रियार्पणं किं शिवार्द्धघटनंशितस्यवा १८श सर्ग-१४०
श्रेयसा हरिहरौ परिपूज्य प्रह्व एष शरणं प्रविवेश २१श सर्ग-१०५

१० अश्रान्तश्रुतिपाठ पूतरसना , २यसर्ग (१०२)

In the 17th Sarga are found

अग्निहोत्रं त्रयीतन्त्र त्रिदण्डं भस्मपुण्ड्रकम् (८८)
वेदानुद्धरतां तत्र मुखादाकर्णयन् पदं (१६१)
श्रुतिपाठकवक्रेभ्यस्तत्राकर्णयत क्रमम् (१६२)
यज्ञयूपघनां जज्ञौ सपुर शङ्कु सङ्कुलाम् (१७०)
हिंसां गवीं मखे वीक्ष्य, (१७४)
मौञ्जीभृतो धृताषाढानाशशङ्के सवर्णिनः (१७८)
दृष्ट्वा सौत्रामणीमिष्टिं तं कुर्वन्त मदयत (१८०)
निर्वण्य सर्वमेघस्ययज्वनं ज्वलतिस्म सः, (१८४)
तपः स्वाध्याययज्ञानामकाण्डद्विष्टतापसः, (१६१)
दर्शस्य दर्शनात् कष्टमग्निष्टोमस्य चानशे
जुघूर्णे पौर्णमासेक्षी सोमंसोऽमन्यतान्तकम् (१६४)
सर्वंवारस्य यज्वानम् एनं दृष्ट्वाथविव्यथे (२००)

११ पक्षचतुष्ये X X अद्वैततत्त्व इव सव्येतरेऽपिलोकः (१३सर्ग ३५)

१२ अलिङ्गय नीत्वा कृतपान्थदुर्गो (१४श सर्ग-३४)

अंसिभवान्याः क्षतकासरासुरं वराय भीमः स्म ददाति भासुरम्

X X X X

अधारि यः प्राङ् महिषासुरद्विषा कृपाणमस्नैतमदत्त ककुदः

(१६श सर्ग १३ & १६)

व्यासस्यैव गिरा तस्मिन् श्रद्धेत्यद्रास्थ तान्त्रिकाः

मत्स्यस्याप्युपदेश्यान् वः को मत्स्यानपि भाषताम् (१७श सर्ग ६८)

Matsya in this line perhaps refers to famous Matsya-nath

नवाम्बिकानाम् (७म सर्ग ६७)

The figures of nine Katyayanis are found on the outer surface of the famous circular enclosure dedicated to the 64 Yoginis at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar.

१३ सुगत इव विजित्य जितेन्द्रियः (४र्थ सर्ग ८०)

न्यवेशि रत्नत्रितये जिनेन यः (६म सर्ग, ७१)

केनापि बोधिसत्त्वेन जाते सत्त्वेन हेतुना

यत् वेदमर्मभेदाय जगदे जगदस्थिरम् (१७ सर्ग ३७)

अपश्यज्जिनमन्विष्यन्नजिनं ब्रह्मचारिणाम् (१७ सर्ग १८७)

सुगत सौध सखानां (२१ सर्ग २५)

१४ क्षपणार्थी सदीक्षस्य सचाक्षपणमैक्षत् (१७ सर्ग १८७)

15. For details please see my article on Jayadeva published in O. H. R. J. Vol VII 3 & 4, pp. 200-202.

16. Mina (V 58), Kamatha (V 54), Baraha (V 55-56), Narasimha (V 57 & 58), Bamana (V 59-62 , Parshurama (V 63-65), Rama (V 66-74), Krushna and Balarama (V 75-82). In the edition by Haridasa Siddhantavagisa, the verses in praise of the Buddha and Kalki are ommitted. But in the Nirnaya-sagar Press edition which is more authentic there are four verses (87-90) describing Buddha and 2 verses (91-92) describing Kalki.

17. History of Sanskrit literature by Dasgupta and Dr De p 326

18 I H Quarterly, Vol, XXII p 149

19. J. A. H. R. Society Vol IV p 152 and p 157 *•*

KING NARASIMHA EULOGISED IN THE EKAVALI OF VIDYADHARA

Vidyādhara is well-known to the world of Sanskrit scholars for his work on 'Alaṅkāra' called 'Ekāvalī' which was printed and published with the 'Taralā ṭīkā' of Mallinātha in 1903 in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. All scholars who have discussed about the importance of this work are unanimous that its author Vidyādhara belonged to Orissa, as he has sung the eulogy of his patron Narasiṃha Deva, king of Utkal in 1314 verses composed by him as examples. But there is still controversy regarding the indentity of this Narasiṃha as there were four rulers in the Gaṅga family of Orissa bearing this name.

The question of Narasiṃha IV (1378-1407) does not arise as the Ekābali has been criticised in the Rasārṇavasudhākara of Siṃha Bhūpāla, the date of which has been fixed at C. 1330 A. D. by H.P. Shāstrī, Dr. S. K. De and Dr. V. Rāghavan.[1] On the strength of this evidence also Narasiṃha III (1327-52) cannot be taken as the patron of Vidyādhara, because it was not possible in that age for any work written in Orissa to gain circulation out side the State within three years (1327-1330 A. D.). Therefore he must be taken as a contemporary of either Narasiṃha I (1238-64) or Narasiṃha II (1278-1307). As the author does not give any date in his work, we are to depend on the internal evidence furnished by it to ascertain the identity of his patron.

In the first Unmeṣa of this work, there is a verse quoted below which praises Arjuna, king of Mālava, who gave immense wealth to poet Harihara in appreciation of his literary works :

कृत्वाकाव्यमवाप विश्वमहितांकीर्त्तिं कविग्रामणीः
श्रिहर्षः श्रियमद्भुतां हरिहरोलेभेऽज्जुर्नक्ष्माभुजः

मृत्योल्लासमपांचकार मलयक्ष्मामण्डलाखण्डल—
स्तन् किंचिन्न विलोक्यते नाकिलयत् काव्यात् समुन्मीलति ॥११

This reference to the munificence of king Arjuna of Mālava (c. 1211-1216 A.D.) is significant because it was most probably meant to please king Narasiṃha I, whose chief queen Sītā Devī is stated in a verse of all the C. P. grants of the imperial Gaṅgas to have been a daughter of the king of Mālava, who might be Arjuna Deva or his son e. g.

तस्य श्रीमान् सुदिनविधये मालवेन्द्रात्मजायां
सीतादेव्या मजनितनुजो भानुवन्भानुदेव ॥

FIGHT WITH THE YAVANAS OF BENGAL :

In a verse in the eighth Unmeṣa King Narasiṃha is called 'Javanāvanivallabha' and in next verse of the same chapter there is a reference to war in Bengal e. g.

अन्तः पुरीयति वनं यवनावनिवल्लभो नृसिंहनृपः

X X X

पश्यन्नवघनदर्श तत्र वीरनृसिंह निस्त्रिंशं

वङ्गसङ्गरसीमनि सञ्चरति मरालसञ्चारम् ॥

From contemporary epigraphic records, it is known that the war with the Muslim rulers of Bengal which began during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III (1212-1238 A. D.) reached its climax in c. 1243 A. D. during the reign of his son Narasimha I resulting in crushing defeat of the Muslim army of Bengal.

From the Chāteśvara temple inscription of Vishṇu Acharya commander of Anangabhima III written in c. 1220 A. D. there is mention of defeat of the Yavanas or the Muslims of Bengal.[2]

कर्णोत्तंसित सायकस्य सुभटानेकाकिनो निघ्नत·
किं ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्द्र समरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतम् (V-१५)

The inscription of Chandrikā Devī at Bhubaneswar dated in 1200 Śaka or 1278 A. D. speaks of the defeat ot Yavanas of Bengal by Anaṅgabhīma III e. g.[3]

यद्वंशे वैजयन्ती पटइव सुभटोऽनङ्गभीमप्रभावः
प्रध्वस्ताराતिराज व्रजयुवती जनोद्गीतगम्भीर सारः
आसीदाशीविषारे रधिकतर स्तादृग्गर्वोरुगर्वः
सोऽन्ते स्वान्तापसर्प ञ्चवमपि यवनं सङ्गरे संजहारे। V-३

The long drawn war with the Muslim rulers of Bengal which began in C. 1213 A. D. ended in the glorious victory for the Orissan army in 1245 A. D. resulting in the conquest of Rāḍha and Vārendrī (two divisions of Bengal). This is described in verse found in all the Gaṅga C. P. grants of Narasiṃha II and Narasiṃha IV e. g.

राढावरेन्द्री यवनीनयनांजना श्रु-
पूरेण दूरविनिवेशितकालीमश्रीः
तद्विप्रलम्भकरुणाद्भुतनिस्तरङ्गा
गङ्गापि नूनममुना यमुनाधुनाभूत् ॥

The rehabilitation and re-settlement of the Muslim-oppressed sannyāsis of Rāḍha and Gauḍa in Bhubaneswar area by Narasiṃha I after his conquest of Bengal is described in an unpublished inscription found on the wall of the Jagamohana of Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar.

Narasiṃha's war with Bengal is described in details in 'Tabakat-i-Nasiri'[4] a few lines from which are quoted below

"In the year 642 H (1245 A. D.) the infidels of Jājnagar (Orissa) appeared before the gate of Lakhaṇawati (Gauḍa) p. 655.

X X X X

"On a third occasion, Malik Yuzbak sustained a slight reverse, and a white elephant, than which there was no other more valuable in that part, and which was ruttish, got out of his hands in the field of battle, and fell into the hands of the infidels of Jāj-nagar."

"The following year however, Malik Yuzbak asked assistance from the court of Delhi. and then marched an army from Lakhaṇawati into the territory of Umurdan and unexpectedly reached the Rae's capital, which city they style Umurdan". (p. 678)

FIGHT WITH HAMMIRA :—

The fight of Narasiṃha with the combined army sent by the court of Delhi and Sultan of Bengal is refferred to in the following verses of 'Ekāvalī' where the Sultan of Delhi is called Amira.

त्वत्सेनाविजयोत्सवव्यतिकरे व्याप्तं वियन्मण्डल
हम्मीरक्षितिपाल चेतसिपरं मालिन्यमुन्मीलितम्
(षष्ठ उन्मेष)

X X X X

निजचरण सविधनिपतन परमपिपुर एव विक्ष्य हम्मीरम्
राजन् नृसिंह समरे तिष्ठति तूष्णीमसौ खड्गः
(षष्ठ उन्मेष)

X X X X

हम्मीरमानमर्द्दन भवतस्तेजोविभावसु जयति
(अष्टम उन्मेष)

On this matter the conclusion made by late M. M. Chakravarti is quite convincing. "The title Hammira should preferably be taken as that of the Mahomedans, having been in coins and inscriptions specially applied to the early Mahomedan rulers of India and Ghazani. This title had begun to be used before 1187 and continued to be used by the Sultans of Delhi till the time of Balban".[5]

The memory of the conquest of Narasiṃha over the army of Delhi, which was proudly cherished by the people of Orissa finds expression in a verse of a chapter of 'Bhaktibhāmavata Mahākāvyaṃ (1509 A. D,) by Kaviḍiṃḍima Jīvādeva Āchārya describing the history of Orissa.

गङ्गान्वये समुचितेऽवततार तस्मिन्
देवप्रसादरसिको भगवान्नृसिंहः ।
दिल्लीविभञ्जनाचणः प्रथितानुभावो ।
लाङ्गुलचुम्बिततनु र्जगदेकमल्लः ।

Though the Muslim historian is silent about the result of the combined attack by the armies of Delhi and Bengal on the border of Orissa, it seems certain that Narasiṃha came out victorious in this battle after which there was complete peace in Orissa during which period the world-famous magnificent sun temple at Konarka was built by him.

INCARNATION OF NARASIMHA :

Narasiṃha, the patron of Vidyādhara, has been compared in a verse quoted below of the second chapter with the Narasiṃha-incarnation of God Vishṇu, tearing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu to death.

हिरण्यकशिपुक्षेत्रदान दर्शितविस्मयः
न कस्य श्लाघनीयोऽसि नरसिंह जगतपते ।

The same verse is repeated twice in the eighth Unmeṣa of Ekāvalī. In the Gaṅga copper plate grants he is also described as an incarnation of God Nṛsiṃha.

असुरेन्द्रशोणित निवेशनिश्रुता
पनिनीषयैव वहुदानवारिभिः ।

कस्मात्मनस्तमधुना विशोधयन्
नरसिंह एष जगति स्फुटोऽभवत् ॥

NARASIMHA A GREAT HERO

Narasiṃha the patron of Vidyâdhara has been depicted as a great hero in many verses of this work, some of which are quoted below.

द्वितीयोन्मेष—त्वत्खड्गधारा पयसिप्रवीराः पतन्ति ये संयति सम्मुखीनाः
X X X X
जीयात् उत्कलभूमिपाल भवतः खड्गो रङ्गप्राङ्गणे
X X X X
धर्मसैव महोदयः विजयते वीरवः कलिङ्गेश्वरः ।

तृतीयन्मेष—गौड गुर्ज्जर कर्णाटलाटमालवसेवणाः
नरसिंहनृपे दृष्टे भवन्ति करहाटकाः ॥
X X X X
त्वत्खड्गधारा समरे पतन्ती, मूर्ध्निद्विषां वीर नृसिंहदेव
विलोक्यतां क्षालयति क्षणेण तदङ्गनानां स्तनपत्रभङ्गान् ॥

चतुर्थोन्मेष— त्वमारूढं मदगजपति स्कन्धमाधूतखड्ग-
च्छायाविद्युत् दलयितभुजं वीक्ष्य युद्धे नृसिंह ॥

षष्ठ उन्मेष—सर्व कषतिनकेषामेषां समरेषु विद्विषांगर्वम्
कालीव दानवानां वीरकृपाणी तवस्थिता पाणौ
X X X X
गर्जद् दुर्ज्जय शत्रु सैन्यजलधेः

अष्टम उन्मेष—एतत्तन् समरस्थलं कलयतः श्लाघ्यं कलिङ्गेशितुः
सैन्यै यंत्र पुनश्च पाण्डवचम्मू संरम्भ सम्भावना
X X X X
संग्रामाङ्गण भूषणस्य भवतः कर्णावतंसीभव
X X X X

रणे वीर नृसिंहस्य सिंहनादेन तर्जिताः
मदं मुञ्चन्ति मातङ्गैः सहैव परिपन्थिनः ।।
X X X
अयंसते वीर नृसिंहदेव प्रतापभानुः प्रथितो-जयश्रीः ॥
X X X
आकर्ण्योत्कलनृपतेजलमुचां निर्घोषमाकस्मिकम्
त्वत्सेनापटह भ्रमेण सहसा संजातकम्पा कुलैः ।।
अन्तर्भीति पराहतोऽपि दयिता कण्ठग्रह क्रीड़या
सान्द्रानन्दमयी दशामभिनयत्यङ्गैः शकाधीश्वरः ।।

From epigraphic records we know that Narasiṃha I fought and won many battles both in the south and the north. In the very fourth Aṅka or 1241 A. D. he defeated the king Gaṇapati, the Kākatīya kings of Varangal e. g.

स्वस्तिस्वहस्तकरवाल कम्पितभूसेनापति गजवाजिसमाज राजतनुजातमस्य X X X वीरनरकेशरी नराधिपस्य साम्राज्याभिषेक चतुर्थ सम्वत्सरे [7]

In an inscription in the Sikhareśvara temple on the Kapilāsa hill, Narasiṃha I has been described as 'वसुन्धरा समुद्धरणप्रचण्डदोर्दण्ड महावराह'.[8] His long drawn war with the Muslim army and the victory won by him have peen discussed before. So Narasiṃha, who has been eulogised as a great hero by Vidyādhara can satisfactorily be indentified with Narasiṃha I.

DEVOTEE OF BHAWĀNI

In a verse in the the 8th chapter of the 'Ekāvalī' Narasiṃha has been described as devotee of Kātyāyanī.

कात्यायिनी पादसरोजपूजनं
नैसर्गिकन्ते नरसिंहभूपते ।।

In the above Shikhareśvara temple inscription, Narasiṃha I is described as जगन्मूलकारण श्रीदुर्गापुत्र'. In the Gaṅga copper plate grant he is described as the son of Bhawānī

अङ्के कृतस्य सुतभावनया भवान्या
सिंहासने जयति यस्य पदं सदैव ।।

COMPARISON WITH RĀMA

Narasiṃha, the patron of Vidyādhara has been compared with Rāma in some verses of the 8th chapter.

सदृशं भाति रामेण नरसिंह नरेश्वर ।
X X X
इह्रामवदाभाति नरसिंह महीपते ।

This comparison with Rāma was ment to please Narasiṃha I. whose chief queen was Sītā Devī, to whom there is veiled reference in a verse of the third chapter 'सीताभङ्गक भङ्गभग्न हृदयः स्वस्थोन लङ्केश्वरः' ।

NARASIMHA A GREAT BUILDER

Narasiṃha has been described as a 'Shilpajña' in a verse of the 6th chapter e. g. शिल्पज्ञः सनपद्भूःकिमपरं वाग्मी सनोवाक्पतिः'. In a verse of the 8th chapter the same idea is conveyed.

विद्यासु तृष्णा व्यसनं कलासु
दाने विनोदः समरे विहारः
कीर्त्तौरतिः काव्यकथासुराग
स्तवैव जागर्त्ति नृसिंहदेव ।

The building of the famous sun temple at Konarka by Narasiṃha I fully entitled him to be called a 'Shilpajña' by his court poet Vidyādhara.

MUNIFICENT NARASIMHA

This verse of 8th chapter

दातारः कतिन प्रभाकर करक्रीडा सखीनांदिशां
चक्रे किन्तुनृसिंह पार्थिवतुलामेकोऽपिनारोहति ।

contains a veiled reference to the 'Tulāpuruṣa mahādāna' performed by Narasiṃha I, which finds mention in the Gaṅga copper plate grants.

अतुलयदिह स स्वोच्चेन तुलापुरुषेण
क्व भवतु कनकाद्रि देवतानां गुहाभून् ।

कुर्वन् प्रकाशमनिशं द्विजसाच्चकृत्वा
मेरुं तुलापुरुषदान महार्घदानैः ॥

NARASIMHA A GREAT PATRON OF LEARNING

In the following quotations made from the 'Ekāvalī' Narasiṃha is described as a great patron of learning.

द्वितीय उन्मेष—काव्यालङ्कार मीमांसातर्क व्याकरणागमाः
प्रविशन्तितवास्थनीं नरसिंहनरेश्वर

X X X

,, आनन्दं कोविदानां जगति विजयतेभूपतिः श्रीनृसिंहः

षष्ठ उन्मेष— नकस्य कर्णयोः हर्षमेषा वर्षति भारती
कवित्वतत्त्वनिष्ठस्य नरसिंहस्य भूपतेः ।

X X X

,, चिन्तासन्तापमीलन् कविकुलकुमुदव्यूह नक्षत्रनाथः
(repeated again)

X X X

,, श्रीमन् नृसिंहनृपते कविकाव्यशय्यां

X X X

,, तवक्रियते करुणाकटाक्षैः श्रियः कवीनां नरसिंह देव

X X X

अष्टम उन्मेष—साहित्यार्णव कर्णधार करुणापीयूष पाथोनिधे ।

Prof. Trivedi and Dr. Bhandarkar tried to identify Narasiṃha patron of Vidyādhara with Narasiṃha II as he is described 'Kavi-kumudachandra' in the copper plate grants of Narasiṃha IV. But this identification cannot be accepted because we do not find these following epithets of Narasiṃha I in his own copper plate grants so far published. Secondly we can not say at the present state of our knowledge that the court of Narasiṃha I, the greatest Gaṅga king of Orissa was not adorned by a lot of poets and scholars.

In view of the facts stated above, the patron of Vidyādhara can convincingly be identified with Narasiṃha I and not with Narasiṃha II as he is not mentioned in any of his own copper plate grants or in those of Nara siṃha IV, to have fought with the Muslims of Bengal or with the army of the Hammir (Amir) of Delhi. He is no where mentioned as an incarnation of God Nṛsiṃha or a devotee of Bhavānī, in the epigrphic records. He is never pictured as a great hero like his grand father either in inscriptions, literature or tradition. On the other hand it is known that he ascended the throne when he was a minor, and his Guru Narahari Tīrtha ruled on his behalf for twelve years. Of course he once went upto Gaṅgā not in connection with any expedition at the time of lunar eclipse e. g.

स्वस्ति सप्तदशोत्तर द्वादशशत शकवत्सरे X X श्रीवीर नरसिंह महीपति गङ्गातीरा दवधारित न्यायेत् सोमग्रहणसमया समुत्सृष्टानेकभूमव्यात्.[9] Therefore it can be concluded without any fear of contradictions that Vidyādhara adorned the court of Narasiṃha I.

My friend and collegaue Shree S. N. Rājaguru has tried to identify the patron of Vidyādhara with Narasiṃha III (1327-1352 A. D.) on the ground that his queen Kamalā has been eulogised in some verses of the chapter quoted by him.[1] But the word 'Kamalā' denotes Lakshmī the goddess of fortune in these verses quoted by him and not specifically Kamalā, the queen of Narasiṃha III. So this indentification is not tenable.

EKĀVALĪ & ITS AUTHOR

In Ekāvalī the author has referred to Bilhaṇa kavi, Pāṇini, poet श्रीहर्ष, poet Harihara, Chārvāka, (1st chapter), Bhartṛhari (2nd chapter) Bhoja, Vāmana, Alaṃkāra-sarvasvakāra, (5th chapter), Abhinavaguptāchārya (8th chapter). The first work to refer to Ekāvalī is the Rasārṇava sudhākara by Siṃha Bhūpāla e. g.

भो म्लेच्छरस-वादिनुत्कलाधिपतेः श्रृङ्गाररसाभिमानि नरसिंहदेवस्य चित्तमनुवर्त्तमानेन विद्याधरेण कविना वाढमभ्यन्तरीकृतेसि एवं खलु समर्थित मेकावल्यामनेन ''

Vidyādhara is silent about his parents or gotra. In the Maṅgalācharaṇa of his work he has prayed to god Shiva and in the colophon at the end of each chapter he has called himself 'Mahāmāhesvara' or a great devotee of Maheśvara or Shiva. He remained staunch Shaiva in that age, when Vaishṇavism was becoming predominant in Orissa, as his patron Narasiṃha I had strong leanings towards Saivism and calls himself Paramamāheśvara in his Kapilāsa temple inscription.

DATE OF EKĀVALĪ

Vidyādhara does not say anything any where in the Ekāvalī about the date of composition of this work. But by a close study of the eulogistic verses, it can be concluded that this work was written after the crushing defeat of Muslim army of Bengal by Narasiṃha I in 1245 A. D., which made him famous in the history of this land. So the date of composition of this work may tentatively be fixed between 1245 and 1264 A. D. the last year of the reign of Narasṃha I.

WORKS OF VIDYĀDHARA

Ekāvalī of Vidyādhara paled into insignificance after the wide circulation of the 'Sāhitya Darpaṇa' by Viśvanātha Kavirāja in the first quarter of the 1 th century. Regarding other works by Vidyādhara no definite information is available. According to late M M. Chakravarti, Vidyādhara worte a ṭikā on 'Naishadha charitam'

known as 'Sāhitya Vidyādhara'. But according to N. N. Basu, this was really written by Charitra Vardhana, son of Rāmachandra Bhishak and Sītā Devī, who was a court poet of the Chalukya king Visala Deva. He also wrote other commentaries namely 'Shishuhitaiṣiṇī' on Kumāra sambhava and ṭīkās on 'Shishupāla vadha' 'Rāghavapāṇḍavīya' and 'Raghuvaṃśa'. Vidyādhara author of Ekāvalī is said to have written Kelīrahasya and Ratirahasya.[13] This opinion of late Mr. Basu is acceptable. Ekāvalī of Vidyādhara served as a model for प्रतापरुद्र यशोभूषणम् of Vidyānātha, who like Vidyādhara composed all the example verses in praise of his patron Pratāparudra Deva, the Kākatiya king of Warangal, who ruled up to 1328 A. D. Other works like 'नन्दराज यशोभूषणम्' 'रघुनाथ भूपालीयम्' and अलङ्कारमञ्जूषा resemble the एकावली of Vidyādhara. The only known commentary on this work is तरला by the famous commentator Mallinātha.

Reference

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   (b) 'History of Sanskrit Literature' by Dr. S. K. De. p 525
   (c) A. B. O. R. J, Vol XVI, p 139, article by Dr. V. Raghavan.
2, E. I. Vol, XXIX p, 127.
3. O. H. R, Journal Vol I No. 4, p 283.
4. Translated by Raverty
5. 'Eastern Ganga kings of Orissa' J. A. S. Bengal Vol. LXXII part, I No. 2, 1903 pp. 151.

For further references vide (a) Chronology of the Pathan Kings of Delhi pp. 15, 16, 20, 50, 71, 75, 90, 91, 1 3, 108, 119 123, 127, 137, (b) Cat. of coins in

Indian Museum, part 1, pp. 2.-36, (c) I. A. Vol XV p. 11, (d) I. A. Vol, XX p. 208 (e) J. A. S. B. Vol, XLIII p. 118.

6. Article by Dr. K K. Kar, M. A. Published in the Oriya Monthly "The Navabharata" Vol. VI, Nos 3 & 4,
7. Lingaraja temple inscription of Narasimha I. O. H. R. J., Vol. 1 No. 4.
8. Deciphered and published by Sri S. N Rajaguru in the Oriya Magazine 'The Konarka'
9. J. A. S B. Vol. LXV pt. I No 3 p 254-57
10. O H. R J. Vol IV Nos 3 & 5 pp. 89-98
11. 'Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts' Vol VII by H. P. Shastri, Introduction CCXCY-
12. J. A. S. B. 1903 p 49.
13. Bengali 'Visvakosha' Vol 18 p 570

TIKAKARA KAVIRATNA PURUSHOTTAMA MISHRA

Like the famous Kolâchala Mallinâtha Sūrī of southern India, Purushottama Miśra of Orissa is reputed to have written commentaries on some well known Sanskrit works, some of which have been noticed by me in the second volume of the De:criptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts, which will be available to the scholars in a few days. But the date of this reputed scholar which was tentatively fixed by me can now be fixed with certainty with the helf of two verses, which were kindly supplied to me by Sri Sudarsana Acharya, a student of the 6th year M. A. (Oriya) class of the Ravenshaw College. The first verse quoted below is found in a work on Grammar by Purushottama Miśra called 'Subanta pradīpikā' This work was written by him, when he was a mere boy only ' Balyavatā ' which augured his bright scholary career. The verse runs as follows :—

अङ्के श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य वसुधाभोक्तुश्चतुर्विंशति
ख्याते बाल्यवता मयाविरचिता व्युत्पन्नसंप्रीतिदा ।
याचे मूर्ध्नि निधाय पाणियुगलं नम्रो गुणग्राहिणः
पुंस्त्री सुबोधिका च सुधियः सशोधयन्तु स्फुटम् ॥

The above verse clearly states that the work was finished in the 24th Añka year of King Purushottama Deva, who was the king of Khurda Raj family as will be shown below. This Añka year of Purushottama Deva, son of Gajapati Râmachandra Deva I, the founder of the Khurda Raj family fell in 1621 A. D. which may be taken as the date of composition of this work on grammar. As he was a mere boy at that time the year of his birth may tentatively be fixed in C. 1607 A. D.

The second verse supplied by Sri Acharya is found in his ṭīka on the ' Anargharâghava Nâṭakam ' by Murari. This very important verse which gives a date in the Shaka era, is quoed below,

वीर श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षितिपते पुत्रे नृसिंहो क्षमा-
नाथे शासति मेदिनीं गजपतौ खेष्विन्द्रियेन्दौ शके
प्रीत्यै सद्गुणिनां मयापितनुया टीका मुरारेः कृता
हृते तां परिशोधयन्तु बहुशो X X नम. ॥

From the above verse it is known that this commentary was finished in the Shaka year Kha (0) 'Isu' (5) 'Indriya' (5) 'Indu' (1) or 1550 equivalent to 1628 A.D. when Gajapati Narasiṃha Deva son of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, was the ruler of the realm (Khurda).

Late M. M. Haraprasada Shāstri quoted a verse, from his commentary on 'Haṃsadūtaṃ' where he elso gives an exact date, which is quoted below.

अङ्के श्री नरसिंह भूपतिलकस्याम्भोधि सख्ये मया
कालेनापिकृता यथायथ मिति टीकासतां प्रीतये ।
यस्यां यद्यद्लेखि विभ्रमवशान् यद्वाभ्रमान् संभ्रमात्
शोध्यं तत्तद्मेध्यमेव निपुणैर्याचेनतः साञ्जलिः ॥

I took this Narasiṃha to be a king of the Parlakhemdi Raj family. But in view of the second verse quoted above, it can now be definitely ascertained that the king Narasiṃha Deva referred to in the above verse is identical, with the king of that name of the Khurda Raj family in whose reign he also wrote his commentary on 'Anargha rāghava Nāṭakaṃ'. The fourth Aṅka of Gajapati Narasiṃha Deva ran from 15-8-1623 to 15-8-1624 A. D. Thus Kaviratna Purushottama Mishra flourished in the seventeenth century.

FAMILY OF THE POET—

From the last two verses of the first two acts of his commentary on Anargharāghava Nātakam it is known that his father Ānanda Mishra was a versatile scholar, and was highly respected in the learned society. He was very intelligent like the sage Nārada and wrote commentaries on some works by sage Parāshara, and Maharshi Vyāsa, the names of which are not distinctly mentioned. From

the ṭikā on Naiṣadha charitaṃ, by Purushottama Mishra, a fragment of which has heen available to us, it is known that Ānanda Mishra was born in a family having 'Shāṇḍilya Gotra' etc,

शाण्डिल्यान्वयदुग्धवारिधि सुधाधामाधरित्रीतला-
लङ्कारो मधुरानवद्यगुणवान्नानन्दमिश्रोऽभवत् ॥

From a concluding verse of his tīkā on 'Haṃsadūtaṃ' it is known that his elder brother Shrīdhara Mishra was proficient in different branches of learning like Vyākaraṇa, Kāvya, Alaṅkāra, Sānkhya, Shṛti, Smṛti, Purāṇa, Nāṭaka, Kosha etc. But no work written dy this famous scholar is known up till now. Thus Purushottama Mishra was born in a family reputed for its scholarship and learning, which enabled him to write a treatise on grammar, when he was only on the verge of youth.

WORKS BY PURUSHOTTAMA MISHRA

Up till now the following works e.g. 'Subanta pradīpikā', Manohāriṇī Tikā on 'Haṃsadūtaṃ' by Rūpa Gosvāmi, ṭikā on Anargharāghava Nātakam by Murari (1621 A. D.), a ṭıkā on 'Naiṣadha kāvyā' by Shrīharsha have come to light. But he is reputed to have written comentaries on some other noted works in Sanskrit literature, the manuscripts of which are not yet traced.

PURUSHOTTAMA MISHRA, AUTHOR OF TREATISES ON MUSIC

Raghunātha Ratha in his 'Nātya manoramā' finished on 23rd March, 1697 A. D., has quoted the last two lines of a verse composed by Purushottama Mishra, which run as follows :

"पुत्रमित्रबान्धवगणमिह नकलय सत्य
पुरुषोत्तममिश्र गदित ममुभावय नित्य"

This clearly indicates that Purushottama Mishra's reputation as an author of musical songs had been established by tnat time. But

the name of the work from which it is quoted is not given which awaits search in future.

In the following quotations made from Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇa written by Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva, ruler of the Parlakhemudi kingdom in the present Ganjam district of Orissa, the Gajapati respectfully acknowledges his indebtedness to Kaviratna Purushottama Mishra in the composition of this learned treatise e. g.

यद्धीतं कविरत्न पुरुपोत्तममिश्रतो मया सुधिया
तन् प्रकटीकृतमस्मिन् सुधियः परिशोधयन्तु शतशः

From two other quotations made from the 'Sangīta Nārāyaṇa' it is known that Kaviratna was the author of works called 'Rāmachandrodayah', and 'Tālasaṃgrahah' e. g.

(a) अस्मद्गुरु कविरत्नं पुरुषोत्तममिश्राणां
रामचन्द्रोदय प्रवन्धे :—
"नौमि कौशिक यागहिंसकताडकासुतनाशकम्"
(b) "अत्रास्मद्गुरु कविरत्नमिश्राणां प्रसिद्ध
तालसग्रहादौ

His son Kaviratna Nārāyaṇa Mishra, who was also proficient in the science of music like his father composed a work called Saṅgītasaraṇi e. g.

'शाण्डिल्यवंशावतंसायित सकलशास्त्रकुशल संगीत-साहित्यविद्यार्णवकर्णधार कविरत्न पुरुपोत्तममिश्रात्मजेन कविरत्न नारायण मिश्रेण विरचितायां सगीतसरणौ'

From various references made in the 'Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇa' it is definitely known that Kaviratna received the patronage of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva, the enlightened ruler of the Parlakhemdi kingdom. Some scholars have identified this Nārāyaṇa Deva, patron of Kaviratna with Gajapati Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, son of Gajapati Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇa Deva (1724-1738 A. D.) But Nārāyaṇa Deva clearly and unmistakely states in the colophon of each section

of his Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇa, that he was the son of Padmanābha Deva, e. g.

'इति श्रीमन्निखिलान्ववायोत्तुङ्गचोडङ्गवंशावतंसाशेषगुणसद्म पद्मनाभ भूमिपति तनुजन्मनो महाराजाधिराजस्य साहित्यसङ्गीतार्णवकर्णधारकमणे गजपति वीर श्रीनारायण देवस्य कृतौ सङ्गीत नारायणे X X "

In the introductory portion of this work, there is a verse which also states that Nārāyaṇa Deva was the son of Padmanābha Deva e g.

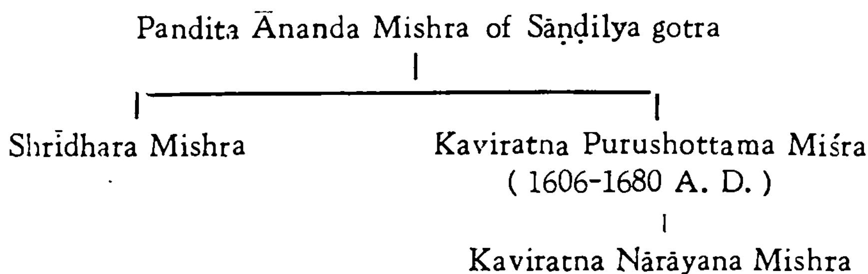
तेषां भूखण्डभूषां खिमुण्डिरतिमुरक्षांगिविक्षोभ भाजां
यत्राभूत् पद्मनाभो नृपतिरतिबलः कालकल्पोऽरिवर्गे ।
वीरतस्मादकस्मान्मिलद्मल गुणोऽधीतसङ्गीत विद्यः
कुन्दकीर्त्तिर्मुकुन्द स्मृतिकृतिसुकृति भूपनारायणोऽभूत् ।।

In the genealogy of the Khemudi Raj family there are two kings bearing the name Padmanābha. The first named Ananta Padmanābha Nārāyaṇa Deva ruled from 1636 to 1645 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Sarvajña Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, who ruled from 1648 to 1664 A. D.

The second King bearing this name was Padmanābha Nārāyaṇa Deva (1691-1707 A. D.) who was succeeded by his brother Pratāparudra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva (1706-1736). But Nārāyaṇa Deva, author of Saṅgita Nārāyaṇa definitely states that he was the son (Tanujanmā) of Padmanābha and not his brother. Therefore Sarvañja Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, (1648-1664 A. D.) who was the son of the Ananta Padmanābha Nārāyaṇa Deva may be taken as the patron of Kaviratna Puruṣottama Mishra. That was the period when Kaviratna attained great name and fame as an author of treatises on music, for which a portion of his verse could be quoted in Nāṭya Manoramā composed in 1696-97 A. D.

Thus Kaviratna was not only blessed with a worthy son and successor like Kaviratna Nārāyaṇa Mishra, but had a happy and prosperous literary career, which enabled him io display his talent

in different branches of Sanskrit learning like Kâvya, Nāṭaka, Vyākarana, Saṅgīta and Alaṅkāra. His 'Manohāriṇī Tikā' on Haṃsadūtaṃ which was the first commentary on this popular work had wide circulation not only in Orissa, but was also highly appreciated by the scholars of Bengal, where its manuscripts are also found. Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇa, which was accepted as an authority on Music, was really his work, though its authorship was attributed to the name of his patron. But it is a pity that not a single work of this celebrated scholar has been printed and published to gain the approbation of the world of scholars. The genealogy of Kaviratna so far known is given below.



According to tradition Kaviratna hailed from the present Ganjam district of Orissa where he was well known by his nickname 'Puri Pāḍhi' the exact connotation of which is not quite clear though obviously 'Puri' is an abbreviation of the term Purushottama and 'Pāḍhi' is a corruption of the exact word 'Pāṭhī', the basic word 'Pāṭhi' meaning a Brāhmaṇa who has finished his studies

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MUKUNDAVILASA MAHAKAVYAM
BY
YATINDRA RAGHUTTAMA TIRTHA

While discussing about the imitations of the famous Gītagovinda Mahākāvyam made by the poets of Orissa, I made the following observation ' Mukundavilāsam ' " by Yatīndra Raghuātha Puri (C. 1620 A. D.) " (1) I arrived at this tentative conclusion, as I could not get a chance to examine the manuscript of this work for which I was searching since 1945. Last year happily for me a manuscript of this work could be acquired from Sri Narasimha Mishra of the Ranapur area for the Manuscripts Library of this Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. The manuscript though incomplete towards the end is in a good state of preservation and contains 16 folias (15" × 1.5") on each side of which there are seven lines of writing on the average written in old Oriya scripts. For want of colophon at the end, the exact date of copy of the manuscript can not be ascertained though it can be assigned to the middle of the eighteenth century on examination of the scripts used therein.

THE AUTHOR OF THE WORK :—

The author was a sannyāsī as he calls himself ' Kaupīnabhṛt ' and ' Bhikṣu ' in the sixth and the thirteenth introductory verses of the first Sarga of this work. The adjective ' Yatīndra ' used before his designation ' Tīrthapāda ' found in the colophon at the end of each Sarga clearly indicates that he was the head of a monastery of the Tirtha sub-sect of the ten sub-sects to which the Sampradāya of the Great Shaṅkarāchārya was divided, [2] At present there are three monasteries at Puri and two monasteries at Bhubaneswar, the spiritual heads of which bear the appellation ' Tīrtha'. But the

author Raghūttama Tīrtha has clearly stated in the 18th introductory verse of the first sarga, quoted below, that he wrote this work for the propitiation of Lord Jagannnātha, the husband of Lakshmī e. g.

श्री जगन्नाथदेवस्य श्रीरन्तपुरशालिनः
शिवस्य परितोषाय काव्यमारभ्यते मया ।

(Verse 18.)

Elsewhere also he respectfully reffers to 'Chaturdhāmūrti' (forefold aspects of Lord Jagannātha) residing on the blue mountain e.g.

"श्रीमन्नीलगिरौ च दारुतनुधृक्योऽसौ चतुर्द्धास्थितो"

(Verse 4.)

The two quotations made above lead one to conclude that he was the spiritual head of one of the three monasteries at Puri namely (i) Govardhana Matha, (ii) Gopala Tīrtha Matha (iii) Shiva Tīrtha Matha. It cannot be definitely ascertained to which of the above three he belonged. But tentatively he may be taken as the head of the famous Govardhana Matha of Puri, where the presiding deity is Shrī Gopāla.

DATE OF THE WORK :—

It is easy to ascertain the date of the work as it has been clearly stated in Shaka and Kaliyuga years in a verse given at the end of the eleventh sarga, which is quoted below.

"ग्रहवसु शरचन्द्रो न्मानवर्षन्तिमेद्दे
क्षितिपतिकुलमौलेः क्ष्मापतेः श्रीशकस्य ।
वसुरसऋषिवेदैः संमिताद्दान्तवर्षे
समजनि कलिकालस्यैष काव्यप्रबन्धः' ॥

The work was completed in Graha (9) Vasu (8) Sara (5) and Chandra (1) or 1589 Shaka year when Vasu (8) Rasa (6) Rishi (7) and Veda (4)or 4768 Kaliyuga year was current. The corresponding year

of both used in the above verse is 1667 A. D, when this work ' Mukunda Vilāsa ' was finished.

REVIEW OF THE WORK :—

Though this is an imitation of the Gītagovinda, it has got some speciality of its own. In its maṅgalācharaṇa or benedictory verses the poet, a devotee of Shree Rādhā Kṛshṇa has proclaimed the identity of defferent gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, who in his opinion are the manifestations of one Supereme Being or 'Paraṃbrahma'. Like the sages of theVedic age, this spiritual head of a monastery, rose above religious sectrianism, which was predominant in the society in his age and preached the eternal truth contained in this Vedic saying 'Ekaṃ sadviprāh vahudhāvadanlī' In view of the message of religious toleratīon contained in the benedictory verses of his work, they are quoted below for their appreciation.

"वेदान्तैरपि गीतं नित्यमसद्य ? गुणातीतं
नन्दसुतं गुणसिन्धुं चिन्तयन्तं राधिकाबन्धुं ॥१
हेरम्बं कतिचिन् परे दिनकरं केचिन् पुनः शङ्कर
शक्तिं केचन केऽपि विष्णुममल त्वन्योपरे पद्मजम्
एकं भिन्नधिया यतेमव परमात्मानं सदोपासते
तं वृन्दावनचन्द्रमाश्रय मनः श्रीराधिकावल्लभम् ॥२
या वाणी विधिसन्निधौ जलधिजा या शार्ङ्गिणः सङ्गिनी
येषानार्द्धशरीरिणी भगवती श्रीरामचन्द्रप्रिया
या रुक्मिण्यपि वासुदेवगृहिणी या रामगा रेवती
तामेतां व्रजराजपुत्रदयितां श्रीराधिकामाश्रये ॥३
यो द्वेधा प्रकृतिः पुमानितिमत स्त्रीपुंसदेहाश्रितो
य स्त्रेधा विधिविष्णुशङ्करवपुर्द्धारी दरीदृश्यते
श्रीमन्नीलगिरौ च दारुस्तनुधृग् योऽसौचतुर्द्धास्थितो
राधाकृष्णतनुधरो विजयते वृन्दावने स प्रभुः" ॥४

After paying his respects to Shri Kṛshṇa, the divine companion of Shrī Rādhā in the first verse, the poet has expressed in the second verse that the different Gods like Ganeśa, Sūrya (sun),

Shiva, Shakti (Durgā), Vishnu are identical with Shrī Kṛshna, being the manifestation of the same 'Paramātma' or Supreme Being. In the third verse the same spirit of religious toleration finds expression as it says that the Goddess Sarasvatī, the consort of Brahmā, Lakshmī, the constant companion of Nārāyaṇa, Pārvatī, the better half of Shiva (who is conceived as Ardha-Nārīshvara), Sītā, the devoted wife of Rāmachandra, Rukminī, the queen of Vāsudeva,(Kṛshna) Revatī, the spouse of Balarāma are identical with Shrī Radhikā, the beloved of Śrī Kṛshṇa. In the next verse, the poet says that the Supreme Being, who is a combination of two universal aspects called Prakṛti (female energy) and Purusha (male energy), who manifests himself as Trinity, conceived as Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheshvara, who is worshipped in its fore wooden forms (Chaturdhāmūati) like Shrī Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana in the great shrine on the top of the blue mountain (Nīlagiri) at Puri appeared in Bṛndāvana in the combined form of Shrī Rādhā-Kṛshṇa.

In the thirteenth verse quoted below, the saintly poet fervently appeals to the liberal minded Vaishṅavas, Shaivas and Shāktas not to make any distinction among their respective Gods and Goddesses of devotion like Vishṇu, Shiva, Kālikā and others (they being different forms of one Superme God) as such liberality in their religious out-look alone will save them from the tortures of hell e. g.

"भो भो वैष्णव शैव शाक्त परमोदाराः परार्थप्रियाः
भिक्षुः प्रार्थयते रघुत्तम इमां भिक्षां सतां संमतां
निर्भेदे परमेश्वरे हरिहरश्रीकालिकादयाहूये
भेदेक्षं परिमुच्य मुञ्चति सदा स्वा नारकीर्यातनाः"

The sole aim of this poet phiosopher in writing this work was to stress on the importance of fundamental unity of Hindu Religion inspite of its apparent diversity, which will be clear from the verses quoted below :—

काव्यविदां रसरूपं जगतां शब्दार्थरूपञ्च
कविताछलेन परमं ब्रह्मेवाहं प्रवक्ष्यामि ।५
यद्यप्यद्यातना मनागपिजना नाञ्चन्ति सद्वासनां
कालस्यैवकलेः कलेवर मया देवेपु भेदेक्षणात्
प्रायः प्राक्तनपुण्यपुञ्जकवतां प्रज्ञावतां प्रीतये
ब्रह्माद्वैतकथां अपि वितनुते कोऽप्येपकौपीनभृत् ॥
(Verse ७)

After the introductory verses we find 'Daśāvatāra stuti' or hymn to the ten incarnations of Vishṇu in the first Sarga of this work similar to that in the famous Gītagovinda. It was perhaps divided into twelve sargas, but the last portion of the last sarga is not found in our manuscript.

The division into sargas runs as quoted below :—

इति श्रीमुकुन्दविलास महाकाव्ये यतीन्द्ररघूत्तमतीर्थपादकृतौ गोपीपूर्वानुराग प्रकटनो नाम प्रथम सर्गः ।

इति...गोपी वाग्विलासप्रकाशो नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः ।
इति...नारदोपदेशो नाम तृतीयः सर्गः ।
इति...गौरीशङ्कर पूजनो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः ।
इनि...पूर्वानुराग प्रकटनो नाम पञ्चमः सर्गः ।
इति...गोपीपट्टापहरणो नाम षष्ठः सर्गः ।
इति...गोपो कामोद्दीपनो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः ।
इति...गोपीविरह प्रजागरणो नामाष्टमः सर्गः ।
इति...मुकुन्दविरह नटनो नाम नवमः सर्गः ।
इति , गोपीगोविन्द वाग्विलासारम्भो नाम १०मसर्गः
इति...रासविलासो नामैकादशः सर्गः ।

The different rāgas used in each sarga of this work is given below for comparison with those used in the Gītāgovinda.

1st Sarga :—तोडी राग, मह्लार राग,

2nd Sarga :—मङ्गलगुञ्जरी राग, वालधनासी राग, धनासी राग, वसन्त राग, तोडी राग,

3rd Sarga :—सिन्धुडा राग, ललित राग,

4rth Sarga :—मालवगौडा राग, मालश्री राग, गुण्डकेरी राग, मङ्गलगुञ्जरी राग,

5th Sarga :—मायूर राग,

6th Sarga :—गुज्जरी राग, सामगमा राग (2 times)

7th Sarga :—गौरी राग,

8th Sarga :—केदार राग, विहङ्गमा राग,

9th Sarga :—तोडी राग, सारङ्ग राग

10th Sarga :—कामोदी, गुज्जरी राग, धनाशी राग,

11th Sarga :—मह्लार राग,

12th Sarga :—वसन्त राग,

The poet has tried to make the language of this work as simple, flowing and melodious as that of the Gītagovinda only two examples of which are given below for the perusal of the readers.

I

मङ्गलगुज्जरि रागेण गीयते

प्रणतजनप्रियकारिणि भयहारिणि विमलकमलमुखि देवि
जय गिरिराजसुते (ध्रुवपदमिदं) ।१।
स्मरहरकामदकामिनी गजगामिनी सुरुचिरकाञ्चनगौरी
सुरगणसम्भवकायिनी वरमायिनि हृतवति महिषवरतां ?
अमरचयस्तुतितोषिणि रणरोषिणि भुवनमनोरम शीले
प्रधन विधौ परिधाविनि उपुलाविनि ? खरतरवर तरवारे ।५।
मदमयमुण्डविनाशिनि वहुहासिनि विरचितचण्डविनाशे
ससहजशुम्भनिपातिनि वालघातिनि जगदनुपालिनिकालि ।६।
कुरु मम नन्दसुतं पतिं मतिसङ्गति अनघ रघूत्तम गीते

(चतुर्थः सर्गः)

II

मल्लार रागेण गीयते

विकच कुन्दकुमुदवृन्द मल्लिलसति कानने
कैरववन सुरभिपवन मृदुनवदल चालने
पश्यत वनमालिनं
रासनटनशालिनं ॥१

सकलचन्द्र विमलसान्द्र किरण राजि रञ्जिते
कुसुमपुञ्ज रुचिरकुञ्ज मधुप मधुर गुञ्जिते ॥२

मदनरङ्ग युवतिसङ्ग रसतरङ्क चञ्चलं
प्रियतमालि मुखनिभालि चारुचलदृगञ्चलं ॥३

X X X X

अतुलनटन केलिघटन हतविबुध नट स्मयं
निखिलसुखद वेणुनिनद सरणिस्मरविस्मय ।६

इदमवहर विहरणवर मखिल सदनुमोदितं
चिन्तय हृदि धृतमुरभिदि यतिरघूत्तम मोदित ॥१०

(एकादशः सर्गः)

The above discussion, I hope, has thrown some welcome light on this newly discovered work, written by a saintly poet of Puri, which was centre of Sanskrit culture in Orissa through the past ages. This is an appreciable addition to the imitations of the famous Gitagovinda, which are already known to the scholars.

Reference

1. A Descpitive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa (Kavya-Alankara-Sangita) Vol. II, Preface, p LIV published by the Oriya Sahitya Akademi Bhubaneswar.
2. Of the four disciples of Shri Shankara, two disciples of Padmapada had the designations of 'Tirtham and Ashrama' the two disciples of Hastamalaka had the designations 'Vana' and Aranya,the three disciples of Mandana' had the appelation Giri, Parvata and Sagara and the three disciples of Totaka had the designations Saraswati, Bharati and Puri.

a=**

ABHINAVA GITAGOVINDA

BY

GAJAPATI PURUSHOTTAMA DEVA (1466-1497 A. D.)

A brief notice of a palm-leaf manuscript containing 'Abhinava Gītagovinda' by Gajapati Purushottama Deva was first made by Mm. Haraprasāda Shāstri in 1934 (1). For the last 15 years, I was trying to secure a manuscript of this famous work, and my attempt was luckily crowned with success last year, on the acquisition of a palmleaf manuscript of A. G. G. (2) from Paribrājaka Shrī Sītārāma Dāsa of Chaṇḍikhol in the district of Cuttack. The manuscript containing 61 folios, each measuring (11 .5" × 1.1") is in a fair state of preservation. There are on the average three lines of writing in old Oriya characters of an archaic nature both sides of each folio.

The manuscript is complete and is very important as it contains an unusually long eulogistic colophon quoted below, describing the achievements of its author, Gajapati Purushottama Deva of the Solar dynasty and giving the exact date of its copy in the 34th Aṅka year of this royal author.

"सकलदेवाधिदेवश्रीमद्‌जगन्नाथप्रियतनय सततपरिपालन विध्वस्तविविधप्रत्यह निरपायीकृत श्रीदुर्गापुत्र निरन्तर नारायणचरणसरसिजमकरन्दपानलम्पटचञ्चरिकाचित्तवृत्ति श्रीधरापरिरम्भअप्रमद भरभरितमानस श्रीनृसिंहभक्तिविशेपसमादि ? (सादित) साम्राज्य लक्ष्मी विभावित महामहिम सन्तत वेदान्त निगमवासनावासितनिर्मलान्तः करण गजपति गौडेश्वर प्रबल कलबरग जलजलधिमन्थाचल निजभुजयोर्य्योपार्जित विपक्ष राजपक्षिशालिमेति विरुदपद विराजमान कलवरगेश्वर वीरकेदार बन्दीकरण मोचन समय समर्पित कर्णाट राज्य प्राचीन महाराज चक्र समुपार्जितमहार्घपेण्डाम नाम माणिपाटकटजातित सन्तोप परिणत नवकोटिकन्ना (र्णा)ट महीपति नवकोटिककन्ना (र्णा)टाधीशयशः समासादित कट्युभिशालिमेति तदीयं

विरुदपद नवकोटिकन्ना (र्णा)टेश्वर स्वचक्रभिन्ननिजदुर्विनयामात्यदुष्टचेष्टालुतातन्तु सन्तानविशकलन-प्रचण्ड चण्डकर सूर्यवंशकमलविकाशभास्कर परममाहेश्वर परमवैष्णव परमभट्टारक रिपुराजतोडरमल्ल विषमसमरनिःशङ्क महाराजाधिराज श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेव गजपते रस्यैव वर्द्धमान विजय राज्ये चतुस्त्रिशदंके वैशाख शुक्ल प्रतिपदि भानुवासरे समाप्तमिदं पुस्तकं ।

श्रीराधाकृष्ण चरणे शरणं भव । भीमस्यापिरणेभङ्गो मुनेरपि मतिभ्रमः यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा ममदोषो न विद्यते । श्रीमद्रामचन्द्र जगद्गुरो त्राहिमां । पुस्तकं हरते यस्तु काणोदुःखी भवेन्नर मृतः स्वर्गं न गच्छेत पितरं नरकं नयेन् । श्रीधर शर्मणा लेखितः पुस्तकं । लेखको ! नास्तिदोषः ।

The date of copy ot this work as noted in the above colophon is 'Vaiśhākha, Shukla, Pratipada Sunday in the 34th Aṅka year of the increasingly victorious reign of Gajapati Purushottama Deva of Solar dynasty. The exact corresponding date accordidg to the Christian Era is the 6th April. 1494 A. D. which was also a Sunday as well as the first tithi or Pratipada of the bright frotnight of the lunar month of Vaiśakha. (3) Thus it can now conclusively be ascertained that the 34th Aṅka year or the 28th regnal year of Gajapati Purushottama Deva was current from the 24th, August. 1493 up to 12th, September. 1494; both the dates being Sunia or Bhādra, Shukla, Dvādaśi from which tithi, the Aṅka years of the Orissa kings are calculated, and the exact date of his accession on the throne, fell in 1466 A. D. statement showing the dates of the beginning of his Aṅka years has been given in Appendix I at the end of this paper.

The author is called "श्रीमन् जगन्नाथ प्रियतनय, श्रीदुर्गापुत्र, परममाहेश्वर, परमवैष्णव परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज" in the above colophon We find the following epithets before the name of his father Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva in an inscription of 1460 A. D. e. g.[4]

"महेश्वरपुत्र X X श्रीपुरुषोत्तमपुत्र श्रीदुर्गापुत्र X X

श्रीमान् महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर

The epithets "वीर श्रीगजपति गौडेश्वर नवकोटिकर्णाट कलवर्गेश्वर' referring to Kapileśvara's victories over the countries of Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa-

and Kalavarga found for the first time in his Veligalani grant of the Shaka year 1380 or 1458 A. D.[5] are elaborately describing in the above colophon. Besides these epithets, the long compound term "वन्दीकरण मोचन समय समर्पितकर्णाट राज्य प्राचीन महाराजचक्र समुपार्जित महार्घ पेण्डाम नाम मणिपाटकट जनित सन्तोष परिणत नवकोटि कन्ना(र्णा)ट महीपाति" has historical significane. The capture of the king of Karṇāta and his re-installation in power after submission to the Gajapati supremacy is corroborated by the 'Sarasvatī Vilāsa' and the Ananta Varam plates of the time of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva of year 1500 A. D.

(१) "जीवग्राहं अरिं प्रगृह्य समरे कर्णाटभूमिधवं
दीनोक्तेः प्रवणनृसिंहमनुजाधीशं पुनर्मुक्तवान्"

X X X X

सरस्वतीविलासः [6]

(२) 'यस्मै नित्यतर प्रतापदहन ज्वालायमानध्वज-
स्तम्भवद्धकुसुम्भ रक्तवसन प्रेक्षाविभंगाद्विषे
सन्धाभययाचनाञ्जलिमहो दत्त्वोदयाद्रिं भया
दात्मान मुमुचे नृसिंहनृपतिः कर्णाटदेशाधिपः"

(Ananta Varam Plates[7])

Thus the conquest of Karṇata by Gajapati Purushottama Deva must have been achieved some years before 1494 A, D. the year of copy of this work. The verse quoted above from the Ananta Varam plates states that Narasiṃha, the king of Karṇāta, concluded peace with his captor Purushottama Deva by ceding the territory round the Udayagiri fort 'Dattvā Udaydādrim'. But in the above colophon it is stated that the king of Karṇata gave Peṇḍama to secure his release from imprisonment by Purushottama Deva वन्दीकरण मोचन समय समर्पित'. Peṇḍāma may be indentified with mordern Penukoṇḍā in the Anantapur district of the Āndhra State, where there was a fine hill fort of great historical importance. There is a large number of inscriptions in this fort ranging from 1182 A. D. to

1666.[8] The Penukoṇḍa rājya lay to the south of the Penner river and included the Guttirājya i. e. Bellary, Anantapur and parts of North Mysore.

The epithets of 'Bīra Kedāra' and 'Ripurāja Toḍaramalla' found in the above colophon can also be traced in the long text of blessing or' Āśiṣa' chanted in a chorus by the leaders of the Brāhmaṇas of the sixteen Shāsanas or Brāhmaṇa villages founded by the Gajapati (3 Shāśanas), his nine queens (nine Shāśanas) and three Brāhmaṇa officers (3 Śāsanas) on the left bank of the Mahānadi in the district of Cuttack. The text from which some relevant lines are quoted below was handed down from generation, and is an old Oriya chronicle called Chaynī Chakaḍā.[10]

'तोढर मल्लोपेक्षितवाल X X सूर्य्यवंश सम्भूत वीरश्री पुरुपोत्तम देवसुकुमार कुमारान् जनयतु''

X X X X

''पूर्व दक्षिण पश्चिम उत्तर विजय तुदित वीर केदार X X वीर श्रीपुरुपोत्तमदेवस्य X X सर्वेशत्रवः क्षय यान्तु''

X X X X

वीरवर रणवणिक तोढरमल्ल चुड़मण्डल शरणपञ्जर वीरकेदार राष्ट्रखण्ड मण्डित प्रसन्न पुरुषोत्तमपुर शासनावस्थिताशेष महाजनानामाशीर्वचांसि तथ्यानि सन्तु''

There are still places with the names 'Bīrakedārapura' and 'Toḍhara Malla sāhi' in this area near the village Shrī Prasanna Purushottamapur.[11]

The epithet of 'Vīra Varabhaṭṭāra Kedāra or Kedāra' is also found in the eulogistic colophon at the end of each section 'Prakāśa' of 'Pratāpamārtaṇḍa' or 'Prauḍha Pratāpa Mārtaṇḍa' a Smṛti work, the authorship of which is attributed to Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva. [12]

As regards the term 'Todharmalla' it may be here stated that this epithet is also found used before the name of a General named Raṅganātha in a Telugu record of S. 1348 (or 1426 A. D.) found in the temple of Siṃhāchalam.[13]

The term 'स्वचक्रभिन्न निज दुर्विनयामात्य दुष्टचेष्टालुतातन्तु' is reminiscent of the conspiracy made against Gajapati Purushottama Deva at the time of his accession on the throne of Orissa, by some officers of the State, who tried to offer the throne to Hammira Deva, but their attempt was frustrated due to the zeal, valour and states manship of Purushottama Deva. This is supported by (i) 'भुवनेश्वरी पूजापल्लव' written by the Gajapati himself, (ii) Sarasvatī Vilāsa and (iii) Mādalāpāñji or the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

In the मङ्गलाचरण verse of his भुवनेश्वरी पूजापल्लव three of which are quoted below, he humbly states that through the grace of Bhuvaneśvarī, he was able to ascend the throne of Orissa at the age of seventeen by crushing his enemies, just after the death of his father on the bank of the river Kṛshnā.

"यस्याः प्रभावमहिमा स्वचक्ररिपुमण्डलं भित्त्वा
साम्राज्यश्रिय मचिरान् सप्तदशे मामलम्बर्यो वर्षे
(श्लोक ३)

रत्नाश्वहेमवारण विचित्रवस्त्राण्यनेक यानानि
यस्याः प्रभावमहिमा कृष्णातीरेमम प्रादान्
(श्लोक ७)

कपिलेन्द्र नन्दनाऽहं तत्कृपामात्रलब्ध साम्राज्यः
स्वयमनुभूयतदीय माहात्म्यं
शास्त्रतो विदित्वापि पद्धतिमेतां करिष्यामि "

The Saraśvatī vilāsa states that Purushottama was successful in bringing his greatest enmy Hammīra to his knees.

योहम्भीरमहारिपुं समतनोत् पादाब्जपीठानतं
सोऽय श्रीपुरुषोत्तमो गजपतिमत्वाग् विलासास्पदम् 15

The fight between Hammīra and Purushottama Deva for the throne of Orissa is vividly described in the Mādalāpāñji (16).

Traditions regarding this work :—According to tradition recorded in the Madalā Pāñji the recitation of the Gītagovinda was introduced as a daily sevā of Lord Jagannātha by Kavi Narasiṃha Deva, (17) who is identified with Narasiṃha II of the Gaṅga family (1278-1307 A. D.). Since that time the Gītagovinda became immensely popular in Orissa. Being emulated by the noble example set by Jayadeva, imitations of his famous Gītagovinda were made in Orissa, of which, the earliest one known so far is the Abhinava Gītagovinda by Gajapati Purushottama Deva. The exact date of composition of this work can not be ascertained at present. But the date of copy of the manuscript being the 6th April, 1494 A. D. it must have been composed some years before (1494 A. D.) and some years after his accession (1466-67 A. D.) on the throne. So to the composition of this work may tentatively be assigned to c. 1480 A. D.

The real author of the A. G. G. was Kavichandra Rāya Divākara Mishra, a famous poet of the court of Gajapati Purushottama Deva and his son Pratāparudra Deva, who attributed its authorship to his first patron Purushottama, as a token of gratitude for the kind patronage shown to him (18). But the name of the real author was lost into oblivion and his royal patron Purushottama, whose name occurs at several places of this work as its author became widely reputed not only in Orissa but all over India, within a few years after its composition.

The intention of the author was obviously the introduction of its recitation in the temple of Lord Jagannātha in place of the Gītagovinda by Jayadeva, the recitation of which had formed a part of the daily sevā of the Lord since the reign of Gaṅga Narasiṃha II.

But this attempt of the King was not crowned with suceess, as this innovaion was strongly objected to by the learned Pandits of his age, at which the king was overwhelmed with sorrow and prayed to Lord Jagannātha, to save him from humiliation. The Lord taking mercy on his royal devotee ordered to interpolate twelve verses of his A. G. G in the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva.

This tradition is vividly described in the 'Bhaktavijaya' written in the Marathi language by Mahipati in a slightly different manner Some relevant lines of its English translation are quoted below " There was a king in Jagannātha whose name was Sātvika, He also composed a book similar to that of Jayadeva. He had copies made of his book, sent them to people and ordered it to be read by all. When the Pandits heard this news, they were very angry".

X X X

" The King replied bring both the books here at once, we will place them for the night before idol of Jagannātha ".

X X X

" On the next morning early all the Brāhmanas assembled together, and at the time of wick-waving all the priests also came into the temple. There they saw the superior book of Jayadeva. This book was placed near him, by the Supreme Being. The King's book was treated with contempt and tossed outside the temple. The assembled Brahmanas rejoiced and the king had to hang his head in shame.

X X X

" O, Jagannātha, you threw my book outside, I therefore shall now commit suicide. Thus spoke the King " XXXXXXX. At his pleading words, He was pleased and He (Jagannātha) took from the king's book 24 verses. The life of the world then wrote

them down in Jayadeva's book. By doing so the king was comforted' (19).

' In this story, the king of Jagannātha Puri is called Sātvika, instead of Purushottama Deva, as the Marathi poet living at a far-off place from Puri, recorded the tradition, which he had heard in his work, without trying to ascertain the real name of the king, because he was more concerned to glorify the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva. According to this tradition 24 verses of the king's work were interpolated into the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva.

According to Orissan tradition regarding Jayadeva as recorded in the Oriya work 'Dārḍhyatābhakti' by poet Rāma Dāsa of the 18th century,[20] twelve verses of the king's work were incorporated at beginning of 12th chapter of the Gītagovinda by Jayadeva. The work of the king is also called another Gītagovinda.

According to Pandita Shṛi Shiva Dutta Sharmā, the following verses of the Gītagovinda which are not commented upon by Mahāmahopādhyāya Shri Shaṅkara Mishra might have been composed by the Orissan monarch.

Gītagovinda

१- प्रथमः सर्गः, श्लोक १२
"रासोल्लासभरेण······हरिः पातुवः"
२- द्वितीयः सर्गः, श्लोक १२,
"साकुत स्मितमाकुल हरतुः वः कृशं नवः केशवः'
३- तृतीयः सर्गः, श्लोक १६
'तिर्यक्कण्ठ विलोल······क्षेमं कटाक्षोर्मयः'
४- चतुर्थः सर्गः श्लोक १३
'वृष्टिव्याकुल गोकुलावन······श्रेयांसि कंसद्विपः'
५- पञ्चमः सर्गः श्लोक ७
'राधामुग्ध मुखारविन्द मधुप···त्वां देवकीनन्दनः'

६- षष्ठः सर्गः, श्लोक ४

'किं विश्राम्यसि कृष्णभोगिभवने···प्राशस्त्यगर्भा गिराः'

७- सप्तमः सर्गः श्लोक १०

'प्रातर्नीलनिचोल मच्युतमुर···जगदानन्दायनन्दात्मजः:'

८- अष्टमः सर्गः श्लोक ३,

अन्तर्मोहनमौलि घुर्णनचल···वः श्रेयांसि वंशीरवः'

९- नवमः सर्गः श्लोक ३

"सान्द्रानन्दपुरंदरादिदिविषद्···शुभस्कन्दाय वन्दामहे"

१० दशमः सर्गः श्लोक ८

'स प्रीति तनुतां हरिः···कंसस्य कोलाहलः'

११ एकादशः सर्गः श्लोक १०

"सानन्दं नन्दसूनुर्दिशतु···वलितग्रीवमालोकयन्वः'

१२ द्वादशः सर्गः, श्लोक ११

'जयश्री विन्यस्तेर्महित···भुजदण्डा मुरजितः'

१३ एकादशः सर्गः श्लोक १२,

'सौन्दर्यैकनिधेरनङ्गललना···देयात् मुकुन्दोमुदम्'

१४ द्वादशः सर्गः श्लोक ६

'व्याकोशकेशपाश···मुग्धकान्तिर्धिनोति'

१५ द्वादशः सर्गः श्लोक ७

'ईषन्मीलित दृष्टि···धयत्याननं'

१६ द्वादशः सर्गः श्लोक १३

'इत्थं केलिततीं विहृत्य यमुनाकुले समं राधया

X X X X

र्यापाराः पुरुषोत्तमस्य ददतु स्फीतां मुदां संपदम् 21

It may be noted here that out of the 16 verses quoted above, verses 10 and 12 of the 11th Sarga e. g. 'Sānandaṃ' and 'Saundaryaikanidhe' and verse 13 of the 12th Sarga e. g. इत्थंकेलिततीं··· मुदांसंपदम्' are not found in the Gītagovinda translated into Oriya

verses by Dharaṇīdhara Miśra, who may tentatively be assigned to the sixteenth century. Dharaṇīdhara has translated one (verse 6 of 12th sarga) out of the above sixteen verses, which are not found in the text of the Gītagovinda commented upon both by Rānā Kumbha and Saṅkara Miśra, but are found in the foot notes of pages 164 and 170 of the book published by the Nirṇaya Sagara Press. Thus in the Gītagobinda, which was in circulation in Orissa, by the time of Dharaṇīdhara, we come accross 13 verses which are also found in the text used by Rānā Kumbha, whereas the Oriya text gives two additional verses which are quoted below.

The Sarvāṅgasundārī Tīkā on the Gītagobinda written by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, the great great grand father of Viśvanātha Kavirāja(C 1390-1420 A. D.)is the earliest known commentary on the Gītagobinda , so far noticed.[22] As he was a court-poet of king Narasiṃha Deva of Orissa (either Narasiṃha I or Narasiṃha II) he may definitely be assigned to the second half of the 13th century A. D.[23]. In this hither to known earliest commentary the following eighteen verses[24] commented upon by Rānā Kumbha Karṇa are not found.

प्रथमः सर्गः श्लोकः ११—"नित्योत्सङ्गः···पिकानां गिरः"
,, ,, १२—"रासोल्लासभरेण···पातुवः।"
द्वितीयः सर्गः श्लोकः १२—"साकुतस्मितमाकुलः···क्लेशं नवः केशवः'
तृतीयः ,, ,, १६—'तिर्यक्कण्ठविलोल···क्षेमं कटाक्षोर्मयः'।
चतुर्थः ,, ,, १३—'वृष्टिव्याकुलगोकुल···श्रेयांसिकंसद्विषः'।
पञ्चमः ,, ,, ७—'राधामुग्ध मुखारविन्द···देवकीनन्दनः'।
षष्ठः ,, ,, ४—'किं विश्राम्यसि···प्राशस्त्यगर्भागिरः'।
सप्तमः ,, ,, १०—'प्रातः नील नीचोल···नन्दात्मजः'।
अष्टमः ,, ,, २—'तवेदं पश्यन्त्या···किमपिलज्जांजनयति'
३—'अन्तर्मोहन मौलि···श्रेयांसि वंशीरवः'
नवमः ,, ,, ३—'सान्द्रानन्दपुरन्दर···शुभस्कन्दायवन्दामहे'।
दशमः ,, ,, ८—'स प्रीति तनुतां···कंसस्य कोलाहलः'॥

एकादशः ,, ,, १०—'सानन्दं नन्दसूनु···आलोकयन् वः' ।
,, ,, ११—'जय श्री विन्यस्त···मुरजितः' ।
,, ,, १२—'सौन्दर्यैकनिधे···देयान् मुकुन्दो मुदम्' ।
द्वादशः सर्गः श्लोकः ६—'व्याकोश केशपाश···मुग्धकान्तिधिनोति' ।
द्वादशः सर्गः श्लोकः ७—'ईषन्मीलितदृष्टि···धयत्याननम्' ।
द्वादशः सर्गः श्लोकः १३—'इत्थं केलिततीर्विहृत्य यमुनाकूले समं राधया

X X X X

व्यापाराः पुरुषोत्तमस्य ददतु स्फीतां मुदां संपदम्'[24]

The famous Rāṇā Kumbha, who is reputed as the author of the Rasikapriyā commentary wherein above 18 verses are found, died in 1468 A. D. [25] This commentary was written during the last ten years of his reign, which were peaceful. [26] Gajapati Purushottama ascended the throne in 1466-67 A. D. and the first three years of his reign were not peaceful due to strong opposition of Kumāra Hammīra Mahāpātra, who was a claimant for the throne of Orissa. Thus Abhinava Gītagovinda was written after the death of Kumbha Karṇa and the authorship of these 18 verses found in Rasikapriyā commentary can not be attributed to Gajapati Purushottama Deva. In that case they were composed by some other king of Orissa, prior to his reign, and after the composition of the Sarvāṅga sundarī Ṭīkā, which may tentatively be assigned to 1285 A. D.

This conclusion is supported by the examination of two original manuscripts of A G. G. where none of following eighteen verses is found. One of these two manuscripts belongs to the Manuscript library of the Orissa State Museum, which is the matter of this paper and the other one belongs to the Manuscripts library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal [27]

According to another tradition current in Orissa, one Purushottama Deva, of the Gaṅga family tried to introduce the recitation of his work in the Jagannātha Temple at Puri in the place of the famous Gītagovinda by Jayadeva. [28] In the imperial Gaṅga

family there is no king who is well-known by his name ' Purushotatma. ' But in some inscriptions of Bhānu Deva II (1309-1328 A. D.) the Aṅka years of the king have been calculated in the name of the Purushottama Deva (in this case Lord Jagannnātha of Puri, whose deputee he was) [29] which might have been taken as his second name by the common people, who were ignorant about the significance of this expression used in his epigraphic records.

In his Punjabi Maṭha copper plate grant, this king is described as a great devotee of Govinda (Govindasya padāravindarajasā sāndrīkṛtānadanān) and Shīpati. the consort of Shrī (Bhaktyāyuto Shrīpatau Viśvarūpe) and a great scholar and patron of scholars.

'पाण्डित्यमण्डित महाकविमण्डलस्य
कीदृक् सहस्र विपये कुशलत्वमस्या'
वीर श्रीश्रवणागतो स महिमा वाग् देवता भूपणः (३०)

Therefore it might be possible for the king, who was a devout worshipper of Govinda, and himself very learned and whose court was adorned by great poets (Mahākavimaṇḍala) to write some work, the name of which is not yet known, in imitation of the Gītagovinda, the recitation of which in the temple of Jagannātha was introduced by his father Kavi Narasiṃha or Narasiṃha II (C 1278-1307 A. D.)

This is supported by the last line of the last verse "व्यापारा: पुरुषोत्तमस्य ददतुस्फीतांमुदां संपदम्" of the text of the Gītagovinda commended upon by Kumbha Karṇa [31], which contains a veiled reference to a king Purushottama, ruling prior to him, who might for the present be identified with the above Gaṅga king. Elsewhere Kumbha Karṇa also refers to a work written by some king "प्रबन्धः पृथ्वीभर्त्तुः प्रबन्धः प्रीतये हरेः" [32] while commenting on the 13th verse of the 4th Sarga. But no definite conclusion can be made in this matter, until and unless the manuscript of this work by Purushottma, a Gaṅga king of Orissa, is available for study and research.

Review of Abhinava Gtiagovinda :—

This work as its very name indicates was a new Gitagovinda or its imitation and as such the theme and arrangement are practically similar in both the works, the only difference being that G. G. has 12 sargas whereas A. G. G. is divided into 10 sargas as noted below :—

इति श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेव गजपति महाराज कृते अभिनव गीतगोविन्दमहाकाव्ये विरहिणी वर्णने विधुराराधो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥

इति श्रीपुरुषोत्तम······नायिकाभिलाष वर्णने सोत्कण्ठ वैकुण्ठो नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः ।
अभिसारिका वर्णने मुदितराधो नाम तृतीयः सर्गः ॥
कलाहन्तरिता वर्णने मूढाराधो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः ।
विप्रलब्धा वर्णने विदग्धमाधवो नाम पञ्चमः सर्गः ।
वासक सज्जावर्णने सक्षुब्धराधो नाम षष्ठः सर्गः ।
खण्डिता वर्णने विलक्षपुण्डरीकाक्षो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः ।
मानिनीवर्णने सोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठो नामाष्टमः सर्गः ।
प्रोषितभर्त्तृका वर्णनेऽनुकूलराधो नाम नवमः सर्गः ।
स्वाधीनभर्त्तृका वर्णने नन्दमुकुन्दो नाम दशमः सर्गः ॥

As regards the use of 'Rāgas' we find only these ten rāgas, e. g. कर्णाटक, गुज्जरी, गोण्डकरी, देशी वराडी, वराडि, वसन्त, विभास, भैरव, मालव, रामकेरी used in the Gitagovinda, where the number of rāgas in the A. G. G. is 58. They are arranged alphabetically below and the number of the Sarga in which each rāga is used is given within brackets ('S' indicating sarga,). Scholars interested in the study of the development of rāgas in Orissa will find ample new materials in this work.

अमर पञ्चम (S-9), आभिरि (S-3) ककुभ (S 5-9) कर्णाट (S 3-8)
कर्णाट वङ्गाल(S-7); कलहंस or वलहंस ? (S. 2-6)कल्याणनाट(S-4)
काम्बोजी(S-4); कुरुञ्जी(S-10); केदारगौडा (S-4); कोलाहल (S-6)

गान्धार (S-7); गुजरि (S, 1-9); गोण्डकिरि (S-1); गौडी (S; 3-7) घण्टारव (S-6); चिन्तादेशी (S-3), छायानाट (S-5), तोड़ी (S-7) दीपक (S-5), देशाख्य (S-6), देशी (S, 4-7) धनासी (S-7), नटनारायण (S-7), नादरामकिरि (S, 1-7), नायायण गौडा (S-2), नारायण देशाख्य (S-5), पुरवी (S-10), बङ्गाल गौडा (S-3), बङ्गाल वराडि (S-9), वसन्त (S-1), वहुलि (S-2), वेलावलि (S-10) भिन्नषड्ज (S-10), भूपाल (S, 2-4) भैरव (S-5) भैरवी (S, 1-8) मङ्गलगुज्जरी (S-10) मध्यमादि (S-10) मल्लहरि (S-7) मल्लार (S, 5-7) मालव गौडा (S-1) मालश्री (S-3) मुखारि (S, 2-9) रामकिरि (S-1) रेहगुप्ति (S-6) ललित (S, 2-4) शङ्काराभरण (S-6) श्री S-6) शुद्धनाट (S-4) शुद्धवङ्गाल (S-10) शुद्धवराडि (S, 5-7) शुद्धवसन्त (S-3) सालकर्णाट (S-9), सामवराडि (S-10) सोम (S-6) सौराष्ट्र गुज्जरी (S-2) हिन्दोल (S-7)

Most of these rāgas began to be used in the Oriya Kāvyas from the beginning of the 16th century.

Like the famous 'Daśāvatāra stuti' or prayer to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu of the Gītagovinda, we find a similar hymn in the first chapter of the A. G. G. the only difference being that Lord Buddha, the nineth incarnation prayed to by Jayadeva has been substituted by Kṛshṇa, in this imitation which indicates the total decline of Buddhism and strong hold of Kṛshṇa worship over the classes and masses in Orissa by his time. The Daśāvatāra stuti is repeated in an abridged manner in the last chapter of the A. G. G. which is absent in the Gītagovinda. Lord Jagannātha worshipped over the blue mountain (Nīlāchala) who is described as Jagadīśa (the synonym of Jagannātha) by Jayadeva in this above 'Daśābatāra stuti' is given more prominence in this work as the royal author was a great devotee of Jagannātha.

The royal author has tried to make the language of his work as simple, sweet and melodious as that of the Gītagovinda, but he

attained succes in this matter to a great extent as will be evident from the quotations made from this work below. This new Gītagovinda, by the celebrated Gajapati Purushottama Deva, which can stand comparision with the well-known Gītagovinda, deserves publication, so that it can win the approbation of the world of Oriental scholars.

श्रीगणेशाय । नमः सरस्वत्यै । गुरवे च

कालिन्दीजलकेलिलोल तरुणीराजीत नीलाम्बरा
निर्गत्याङ्गजलनिसारितवती रालोक्यसर्वादिशः ।
तीरोपान्तमिलन्निकुञ्जभवने गूढं चिरात्पश्यतः
शौरेः सम्भ्रमयन्निमा विजयते साकूत वेणुध्वनिः ।१।

यस्या कृपामृत निषेक मृतेन वर्ण—
वीजानां चित्तभूवि सन्यापि निर्मलायाम् ।
नूनं भवति वहुपल्लववन्ति तस्याः
पादौ नमामि वचसामधि देवतायाः ।२

शृणुत सुकृतिमेतां वल्लवी वल्लभस्य
प्रचुर रासनिवन्धां नो खलामामकीनां ।
अपिविनमित वक्त्रो गूढमुत्कण्ठकोऽयं
सपदिह विषपुच्छो वृश्चिकोहन्ति गाढम् ।३।

निन्दन्तो नितरां खलाः पराकृति यत्पातका नांस्तुतिं
कुर्वतो मुद मुद्वहन्ति न तथा तेषां पुनः सन्निधौ ।
निन्दामात्रपरायणां प्रतिपदं येतान् विहायाधुना
सम्मोहं दधतां सतां पराकृतौ तृप्तौ विधास्येकृतः ।४

राधामुरारि रमणीय रहस्यलीला-
सन्दोहसुन्दर ममन्द गुणाभिरामम् ।
साहित्यसार समुदाय बुधः प्रवन्ध
मेतं तनोति पुरुषोत्तम भूमिभर्त्ता ॥५

मालवगौडा रागेण गीयते

वरिपूरित गगनकन्दर जलधिमग्नमहासुरं
शङ्खनामक माशु भित्त्वा कलितवेदमनान्तरम् ।
नमतमीन शरीर मद्भुतमखिला मुनिजनवन्दितं ।

जनन पालन नाशकारण नीलगिरिपतिमच्युतम् । ध्रुवपदमिदम् ।
विपुल गिरिवर नगर कानन जलधि संचयसंचितं
धरणिमण्डल महद्दधतं चरमकीय निवेशितम् ।२

नमत कूर्मशरीरमद्भुतमखिल मुनिजन वन्दितं
जनन··· मच्युतम् ।
राहुकवलित शिशुशशधरकोटिलीन शतद्युति
जलधिमग्नां दधतिमवनीं दशनशेखरसङ्गतम् ।३

नमत कोलशरीर··· वन्दितं
जननः··· ··मच्युतम्
रुचिरकिंशुकमुकुलकोटि विलीनमधुकरमञ्जुलं ।
दारयति मुदग्रनखरालीढं दितिसुत मतिवलम् ।।४

नमत नरहरिरूप··· वन्दितं
जनन... ...मच्युतम् ।
पाद नखर स्पर्शनतुट दण्डजातसुरापगं
मृदुलचरण स्पर्शन क्षणदमित दितिज सर्वङ्गम् ।५
नमत वामन... वन्दितं
जनन... ...मच्युतम् ।
धरणीपतिकुलकन्धरोत्थितरुधिरधाराभिप्लुतं
धरणीमण्डलमनिश सन्ध्याकालमयमिवसन्धितम् ।६
नमत भृगुसुतमद्भुत ...वन्दितं
जनन··· मच्युतम् ।

त्रिदशमुनिगणनाशहेतुं त्रिपुरहरवरदर्पितं
रावणं हत्वा शिरोभिः कन्दुकैरिव खेलितम् ।७
नमत दशरथतनय मद्भुत···वन्दितम्
जनन···   मच्युतम् ।
लाङ्गलायुधकोटिदर्शित नागसाह्वय पूर्त्तनं
मुष्टिपातन विहृनमत्त प्रलम्बासुर चूर्णनम् ।८
नमत हलधर रूपमद्भूत···वन्दितं
जनन पालन···   मच्युतम् ।
गोपगोकुलरक्षणक्षणधारितातुल भूभृतं
नीलमणिमयदण्डसङ्गतमातपत्रमिवोद्धृतम् ।९
नमत कंसासुर निसूदन···वन्दितम्
जनन···   मच्युतम् ।
तुरग खुरपुट वलविदलित मतल खड्ग विखण्डितं
म्लेच्छकुलगलनालमविकल माशुगेन सुसंहितम् ।१०
नमत कल्किनमुग्रमद्भुत···वन्दितं
जनन पालननाशकारण···मच्युतम् ।
नीलगिरिपति चरणसरसिजमत्तमधुकर रूपिणा
रचितमेतन् पुरुषोत्तम भूभुजामतिचारुणा ।११
नमत दशविध रूपमद्भुतमखिल···वन्दितं
जनन···   मच्युतम् ॥

गोपीजनालिङ्गितमध्यभागं
वेणुं धमन्तं भृशलोलनेत्रम् ।
कलेवरे प्रस्फुट रोमवृन्दं
नमामि कृष्णं जगदेकपद्मम् ।
अधरे विनिहित वंशं
चम्पक कुसुमेन विरचितोत्तंसं ॥
विनतं धमन्तमंसं वामं
सतत भजामि जितकंसम् ।

Last part of the work :—

मङ्गल गुज्जरी रागेण गीयते ।

उद्धृतनिकाय शमतिकायं, धृतमीनाकृतिकायं
कच्छपवपुष मुदारं धरणीधरं गुरुसारम् । १
निपतन्निह संसारे, कल्मषमलिनाचारे
नौमि भगवन्त मपारे जय जय देव मुरारे । ध्रुवपदमिदम् ।
दशनशिखर धृतगोत्रं कोलमुदंचित पोतं
नरहरितनुमतिचितं नखरदलित दितिपुत्रम् ।२
भूसुतमद्भुतखर्वं चलपरिहृत बलिगर्वं
विरचित कुवलय दान भृगुपति तनु सम मानम् ।३
आराधित शितकण्ठं राम हृतदश कण्ठं
मधुर सुरारसमत्तं हलधर मुद्गत वृत्तम् ॥५
करधृतमन्दरशैलं नन्दगोपवरबालं
करसमुदितकरवालं कल्किकनमरिकुलकालम् ।।६
दशविधभवदवतारं भवजभयादवितार
नृपपुरुपोत्तम गीतं सुखयतु सज्जनचित्तम् ।७
नित्यानन्दचिदात्मकाय सहज प्रज्ञ तमानत्विपे
हृद्पद्मन्तर वासितेऽखिलजगत् सृष्टिक्रिया हेतवे ॥
विश्वत्राणपरायणाय समये तस्यैव संहारिण
माया कल्पित मूर्त्तये भगवते देवाय तुभ्यं नमः ।। ६

इति श्री पुरुषोत्तम देव गजपति महाराज कृतेऽभिनव गीतगोविन्दे
महाकाव्ये स्वाधीन भर्त्तृकावर्णने नन्दमुकुन्दो नाम दशमः सर्गः ॥
सकल ··· ··· स्समाप्तमिदंपुस्तकम् ॥ (noted before)

SUMMARY OF THE PAPER

The date of copy of the Abhinava Gītagovinda by Gajapati Purushottama Deva is the 6th, April, 1494 and as such it was copied during the reign of the royal author. The colophon of this manuscript is very important as it gives a lot of information about its

autor Gajapati Purushottama Deva, which is corroborated by informations elicited from other contemporary literary and epigrabhic sources.

According to different traditions a certain king of Orissa tried to introduce the recitation of his work in place of the Gītagovinda by Jayadeva which had formed a part of the daily 'Sevā' of Lord Jagannātha since the reign of the Gaṅga King Narasiṃha II of Orissa (1278-1307 A. D.)

This Abhinava Gītagovinda was most probably composed for being recited in the temple of Jagannātha. But his attempt was not crowned with success,

The last verse of the Rasikapriyā commentary written by Kumbha Karṇa of Mewar, who died in 1468 A. D. speaks of a king Purushottama, who can't be indentified with the author of Abhinava Gītagovinda, who wrote his work after 1468 A. D. Therefore this Purushottama may be identified with the Gaṅga Bhānu Deva II (1309-1328 A. D.) who ruled his realm in the name of God Purushottama, with whom he was perhaps confused.

The Sarvāṅgasundarī Tīkā written on the Gītagovinda by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa in the last quarter of the thirteenth century does not contain 16 verses which are commented upon by Rāṇā Kumbha in his commentary of the Gītagovinda. Thus these verses were interpolated in to the text of the celebrated Gītagovinda some time between 1290—1460 A. D. The real author of this work can not be ascertained without examining the work from which they were selected.

Abhinava Gītagovinda, which is an exact prototype of the famous Gītagovinda used 58 Rāgas for its verses, while in the Gītagovinda only 10 Rāgas are used. In the 'Daśāvatāra stuti' of this imitation the nineth incarnation Buddha of the G. G. is substituted by Shree Kṛshṇa as Buddhism had completely disappeared and the worship of Kṛshṇa had gained immense popularity by the time of composition of this work.

Reference

1 A Descriptive Catalouge of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, Kavya Manuscripts, No. 5180 pp, 144-145,

2 'Abhinava Gitagovinda' is hereafter abbreviated as A. G. G.

3 'An Indian Ephemeris' by Swami Kannu Pillai, Vol, VP. 190

4 Warangal Inscription of Raghu Deva, Kali year 4541, B. J. Vol. XXXIII, P III. p-129.

5 Edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar E. Vol, XXXIII Pt. VII,

6 Sarasvativilasa—Edited by Dr. Shama Sastri P. 7.

7 Quoted in the ' The Suryavamsi Gajapatis of Orissa ' by R. Subrahmanyam p, 87.

8 List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras by Robert Sewell. Vol, I P-119.

9 Historical Inscriptions of Southern India - p. 194

10 Printed in Oriya characters by Sri Sudhakara Pattanaik, B, A, pp 54-55.

11 -do- -do- -do- pp 30-31

12 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Edited by Mm. H. P. Shastri Vol. III, Smriti Manuscripts P. 720,

13 Inscrriptions of the Mradras Presidency by V. Rangacharya Vol, III p. 1684

14 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa compiled by me. Vol II Preface P. XCII.

15 Sarasvati Vilasa (p. 7) edited by Dr. R Shama Sastri,

16 ' Madala Panji ' published in Oriya characters by the Prachi Samiti, Cuttack pp, 47-49

१७- "एउत्तारु कविनरसिंह देव राजा हांइले । गीतगोविन्द शिलोउ कले । (शुभदेले)" Madala Panji. Prachi Edition-p. 36

18 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscriipts of. Orissa. Vol, II compiled by me, Preface pp-CV-CVII.

19 English translation of the story of Jayadeva in the Marathi ' Bhaktavijaya ' was kindly supplied to me by Pandita Sri Shiva Duttta Sharma of New Delhi in 1957.

२०- "गीतगोविन्द नामे पुणि, ग्रन्थेक रचि नृपमणि

X X X X X

"राजन शुणि ग्रन्थदुइ, प्रभु छामुरे देला नेइ
साधुर ग्रन्थ ततकाले, धइले प्रभु हृदस्थले
राजार ग्रन्थ पदे क्षेपि, देखि नृपति हेलातापि
चलिला अभिमान भोले, जीवनहारि सिन्धुजले
जाणिले प्रभु दुःखघेना, भकत हृदय वेदना
शुभिला आकाश वचन, तो ग्रन्थ कलि मुँ ग्रहण,
द्वादशसर्ग परिमाण, जयदेवर ग्रन्थ जाण,
बार सर्गर आद्ये तार, रहिब बार श्लोक तोर ।
राजा होइण एथे तोप, गमिला आपणा उआस"

Dardhyatabhakati, 55th Chapter p, 457,

21 Nirnaya Sagara Press Edition.
1st Sarga - p, 36; 2nd - S - 52; 3rd S - 62; 4th - p, 75; 5th - p, 87; 6th - p, 93 7th - p. 115; 8th - p, 121; 9th - p, 126; 10th - p, 136; 11th - p, 155, p, 156, p, 157; 12th - 165, 166, 193.

त्वामप्राप्य मयि स्वयंवरपरां क्षीरोदतीरोदरे
शङ्के सुन्दरि कालकूटमपि वन्मूढो मृड़ानीपतिः ।
इत्थं पूर्वकथाभिरन्यमनसो निक्षिप्यवामाञ्चलं
राधायाः स्तनकोरकोपरि चलनेत्रोहरिः पातुवः ॥

(N. S. P. Edition p, 164)

पर्यङ्कीकृत नागनायक फणाश्रेणी मणीनांगणे
संक्रान्त प्रतिविम्व संवलनया विभ्रद्विभु प्रक्रियाम् ।
पादाम्भोरुहधारि वारिधिसुतामक्ष्णां दिदृक्षुः शतैः
कायव्यूहमिवाचरन्नपचितो भूयो हरिः पातुवः ॥

(N. S. P. Edition p, 170)

In the Oriya text their position has been altered.

22 First noticed by Mm. H, P, Shastri vide Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss, Vol VII; Kavya Manuscripts p. 13 No, 5160 & 5161

23 For detailed information about Narayana Dasa, please see P, LXX of the Preface of 'A Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.,of Orissa' Vol II compiled by me.

24 Compared with the palm-leaf manuscript' of the Sarvangasundari Tika preserved in the Manuscripts Library of the O. S. Museum

25 The Delhi Sultanate. Bharatiya Vidyabhavan) series Vol. VI P 814.

26 Ibid -pp 336-337,

27 I am grateful to Sri Nibarana Chandra Chaterjee, Sanskrit Professor, S. N. College, Calcutta, who gave me a chance to examine this manuscript, which he intends to edit.

28 Prachina Utkala (Oriya) by Jagabandhu Simha p. 49.

29 S. I. Inscriptions Vol VI Nos. 714, 938,

30 Punjabi Matha C. P. inscription of Bhanu II edited by Sri S. N. Rajaguru. O. H. R. J. Vol. IX Nos. I & 2 pp. 22-24.

31 Nirnaya Sagara press edition p. 173.

32 Ibdid—p, 75.

SANGITA NARAYANAM

BY

GAJAPATI NĀRĀYANA DEVA

Date of the work :—

Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇaṃ by Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva, an enlightened and powerful ruler of the Parlakhemdi Raj family, was an important and popular treatise on Indian music, which had large circulation not only in Orissa, but also in the adjoining states of Andhra and Bengal. This work was very briefly noticed for the first time by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, as a work by Purushottama Mishra. [1] Nearly half a century after this, reference was made to this work by M. Rama Krishna Kavi M. A. in his valuable paper ' Literary Gleanings ' in which he tentatively fixed its date at 1750 A. D. [2] While writing on the works of Gajapati Jaganātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, I also assigned this work to the middle of the eighteenth century. [3] But now it is definitely known that this was not the work of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, who ruled in the middle of the eighteenth century, but was written by his forefather Nārāyaṇa Deva, who can definitely be placed in the middle of the seventeenth century, when his Guru Kaviratna Purushottama Mishra flourished [4] My friend Shri Sudarsana Acharya, M. A. has cited a verse in his paper on ' Kaviratna Purushottama Mishra' [5] which fully corroborates the fixation of date of Nārāyana Deva made above. This verse quoted below cleary states that not only Purushottama Mishra,but even his father Ānanda Mishra was being patronised by Nārāyana Deva, but left the court of this enlightened ruler, for the holy Purushottama Kshetra or Puri to pass the last days of his life in piety and deep devotion to Lord Jagannātha, e. g

"श्रीनारायणभूमिपेन्द्र विहितां त्यक्त्वा परां संपदं
क्षेत्रं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं सुकृतिना गोलोक बुद्ध्या श्रितम् ।
येनाऽभून् स विरञ्चि संघाशिरसा मानन्दमिश्रोमणि
स्तन्पुत्रीय मुरारिकाव्यविवृता अङ्कोगतः सप्तमः" ॥

This verse is found in the portion of the commentary on the seventh act of the 'Anargha Râghava Nâṭakaṃ' of Murâri, wherein another verse clearly states that this 'Tika' by Purushottama Miśra was finished in Śaka year 1550 or 1628 A. D. when Gajapati Narasiṃha Deva (1622-1647 A. D.) son of Purushottama Deva was the ruler of the Khurda territory. His Manohâriṇī Tikâ on Haṃsadūtaṃ was written in the 4th Aṅka of Narasiṃha Deva wich was courrent in 1624 A. D. Sri Sudarsana Acharya has also discovered and discussed in his paper referred to above, a new work by Purushottama Mishra named 'Nilâdrinâtha Śatakaṃ' a concluding verse of which quoted below states that this was composed during the reign of Gajapati Narasiṃha Deva son of Purushottama Deva, when the Shaka year Rasa (6) Kâla (6) Bâṇa (5) and Bidhu (1) or 1566 Śakha year was current. e. g.,

"नरसिंह वारणपतौ मह्योमिमं
चलितानया भवति पुरुषोत्तमे ।
रसकालबाणविधु सम्मिते शके
रचिताऽस्य माशु कविरत्न सूरेणा"

The corresponding year in the Christian era of Shaka year 1566 is 1644 A. D

From the concluding verse of his Tikâ on Anargha Râghava Nâṭakam, it is now definitely known that his father Ânanda Mishra was living at Puri at the fag end of his life, in the year 1628 A. D. when the Tikâ was finished, after leaving the patronage of Gajapati Nârâyaṇa Deva, ruler of Paralakhemidi. Purushottama Mishra wrote the following works in which the last Aṅka year of Gajapati Purushottama Deva and one Aṅka year of his son Narasiṃha Deva, and two Śaka

years current during the reign of Narasiṃha Deva are eulogistically mentioned. Purushottama stayed at Puri for about 25 years. So it may be presumed that he also wrote the Tīkā on Naishadha charitaṃ, Yamaka Bhāgabata Mahākāvyaṃ, and Rāmachandrodaya, etc, during this period.

Name of the work	Aṅka year of the Khurda Gajapati
(I) Subanta Pradīpikā	24th Aṅka of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, 1621-22 A. D.
(2) Manohāriṇī tīkā of Haṃsadūtaṃ,	4th Aṅka of Gajapati Narasiṃha Deva, 1624-25 A. D.
(3) Tīkā on Anargha Rāghava Naṭakaṃ,	Śaka year 1550 or 1628 A, D. when his father was living at Puri and Narasiṃha son of Purushottama was the ruler.
(4) Nīlādrinātha shatakaṃ ...	Shaka year 1566 or 1644 A. D. when Narasiṃha son of Purushottama was ruling.

The dates of his other works are not yet known. His old father's stay at Puri, the eulogistic way of counting the Aṅka years of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, (his last Aṅka is only counted) and his son Narasiṃha Deva, composition of very important works in quick succession reasonably leads one to conclude that he also stayed at Puri with his father and even after his death for getting the patronage of Gajapati Purushottama Deva and Narasiṃha Deva, which enabled him to produce nearly half a dozen works of a high standard within a quarter of a century By the time of spontaneous composition of Nīlādrinātha Shatakaṃ, he had been honoured with the dignified title of 'Kaviratna' which was undoubtedly conferred upon him as also on other deserving poets by the Rulers of Khurda, who were being held in high esteem in those days throughout the Oriya-speaking tracts. Most probably due to the death of his patron Narasiṃha Deva caused by the terrible invasion of the Khurda territory by the Moghul Subadar of Cuttack in 1546 47 he left Puri to live

under the patronage of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva of Pāralākhimedi who accepted him as his Guru or preceptor , as respectfully mentioned in his Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇaṃ. So the date of compilation of this work may tentatively be fixed after 1646 and near aboot 1650 A. D. It is significant to note here that the following verse which is found in the maṅgalācharaṇaṃ of his two works namely 'Yamaka Bhāgavata Mahakāvyaṃ' and Nīlādrinātha Śatakaṃ' at Puri, is also found as the first verse of the 'Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇaṃ' compiled at Paralakhemdi in the name of his new patron Nārāyaṇa Deva.

"नीलाद्रिकन्दरानन्द मन्दरालय वन्दितम् ।
वन्दे वन्दारु मन्दार मिन्दरामन्दिरंमहः" ॥

Review of this work :—

This treatise on music which is mostly a brilliant and exhaustive compilation refers to the following works and authors, whose names are arranged below alphabetically indicating the number of times referred to within brackets against each name.

अलङ्कार चन्द्रिका (१) (Written by the author, मत्कृतालंकारचन्द्रिकायां प्रपञ्चिताः ।) कल्पतरु (२) (perhaps सङ्गीत कल्पतरु), कलाङ्कुर (३), कविरत्नमिश्र (२) Guru of Narayana Deva, अस्मद्गुरु कविरत्न मिश्राणां रामचन्द्रोदयप्रबन्धे etc.

कविरत्न पुरुषोत्तम मिश्र (२) काव्यप्रकाश (१), कृष्णदत्त (१) (इयमेव शुद्धवसन्त इति कृष्णदत्त) कृष्णदास (२) कोहल (११) कोहलीय (८) कौमुदी (१०) perhaps सङ्गीत कौमुदी, गीतकौमुदी (२) perhaps सङ्गीत कौमुदी, गीतगोविन्द टीका (गीतगोविन्द टीकायां लक्ष्मणभट्टः) (१) गीत प्रकाश (१०) गीतप्रकाशकार (११) गोपगोविन्द (१) गोपगोविन्द टीकाकार (१) चन्द्रमौलि (१) चन्द्रिका (४) चूडामणि (१) (तालस्तुचूडामणौ)छन्दोरत्नाकर (१) तानाधिकार (१) (तदुक्तं तानाधिकारे), तालसंग्रह (१) तालार्णव (१) दामोदर (१५) perhaps संङ्गीतदामोदर, दर्पण (१) नाट्यदर्पण (१) नारद (२) नारदसंहिता (११) पञ्चमसार संहिता (३) परशुरामसंहिता (१) बलभद्रोदय (१) work of the author.

"बलभद्रोदय नाम नवरागबद्धं शुद्धं प्रबन्धम् ।
श्रीनारायण देव महीपति विरचितवानिति"

भरत (२) भट्टीटीका (१) मम्मटाचार्य (२) मम्मटाचार्यकृत संङ्गीत रत्नमालायाम् (१) माघ (१) रत्नाकर (१) perhaps सङ्गीरत्नाकर, रत्नमाला (१० perhaps सङ्गीत रत्नमाला by हरिनायक, रामचन्द्रोदय प्रवन्ध by कविरत्न पुरुषोत्तम मिश्र (१) रामानन्दराय (१) रागविवेक (१) (दाक्षिणात्य निवन्धे रागविवेके) विश्वकर्मा, विष्णुपुराण (१) विष्णुप्रकाश प्रवन्ध (१) (विष्णुवर्णने विष्णु, प्रकाश प्रवन्धः) शार्ङ्गदेव (४) author of सङ्गीतरत्नाकर, शिरोमणि (३) perhaps संगीत शिरोमणि, श्रीरामायण (१) सङ्गीतकल्पतरु (१) सङ्गीत कौमुदी (३) सङ्गीतरत्नमाला (२) सङ्गीतसार (१२) संहिता (२) हरिनायक (१७) हरिनायक रत्नमाला (१)

The first of the above list is Alaṅkāra Chandrikā, which was written by the author himself e. g. 'मत्कृतालंकार चन्द्रिकायां सर्वे प्रपञ्चिता' Kalpataru, is perhaps identical with Saṃgīta Kalpataru, the authorship of which is not known, Kalāṅkura nibandha according to M. Rama Kṛshṇa Kavi is a work of the Andhra country.7 But no manuscrit of this work has yet been discovered. Kaviratna Miśra or Kaviratna Purushottama Miśra was his guru whose work Râmachandrodaya Prabandha has been cited e.g. 'अस्मद्गुरु कविरत्नमिश्राणां रामचन्द्रोदय प्रवन्धे' He was also the author of a famous work called 'Tālasaṃgraha' which is cited once e. g. अत्रास्मद्गुरु कविरत्न मिश्राणां प्रसिद्ध तालसंग्रहादौ' No comment is necessary on the famous work 'Kâvyaprakāsa'. Kṛshṇa Datta mentioned in this work may be identified with his Maithila name sake, son of Bhaveśa, who became famous for his Shaśilekhā commentary on the Gitagovinda. Kṛṣna Dāsa (cited twice) was the author of the Gītaprakāśa (referred to ten times) and called Gītaprakáśa-kára, at eleven places. This was accepted as an authority on music in Orissa. [9]

Thus the second largest number of reference(23 times in all)are made to this work. Kohala (cited eleven times) the pupil of the celebrated Bharata, father of Indian music and drama and his work 'Kohalīya' has been quoted at eight places. Kaumudi, also known as Saṅgita Kaumudi was most paobably written by an Orissan author whose appelation Viravara Narapati is found at several places of this unpu-

blished work [10] Gitakaumudi is perhaps identical with Saṅgitakaumudī. 'Gitagovinda' a celebrated work in Sanskrit needs no comment. Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the commentator of the Gitagovinda e. g. 'गीतगोविन्दटीकायां लक्ष्मणभट्टः' belonged to the court of Kṛshṇadeva Rāya, the greatest king of Vijayanagara. [11]

Nothing is known about Gopigovinda and its commentary. This work is also cited in the Orissan work 'Nāyṭa Manoramā' written in 1697 A. D. This work cited exclusively in the Orissan works was most probably written in Orissa, but no manuscript of it has yet been discovered. Chandrikā is an unknown work on music, Chūḍamaṇi is the short from of Saṅgita Chūḍamaṇi, which was a work of Pratāpa Chakravarti Jagadeka Malla (1138-1150 A. D.) a Calukyan king of Kalyana. [12] No information is obtained about Chandramauli,Chhandoratnākara,Tānādhikāra and Tālārṇava. Dāmodara, cited fift en times perhaps stands for 'Saṃgita Dāmodara' by Shubhaṅkara. Similarly Darpaṇa is the short form of Saṃgita Darpaṇa, which was a work of Chatura Dāmodara. [13] Nāṭyadarpaṇa may be itentified with the work of the same name, written by Rāmachandra, a pupil of the famous Hemachandra (1038-1172 A. D.) who was helped by Guṇachandra. [14]

Both Nārada and his work 'Nārada *Saṃhitā*' referred to in this work belong to a very old age. Like Nārada Saṃhitā, Pañchamasāra Saṃhitā' and 'Parashurāma Sāṃhitā' are classical works of great antiquity. 'Balabhadrodaya' was a work written by the author himself,e. g. बलभद्रोदयं नाम नवरागवद्धं···श्रीमन् नारायणदेव महीपति विरचितवानिति'॥ written in imitation of 'Rāmacandrodaya' of his guru Kaviratna Purushottama Mishra. Vāchaspati referred to twice, was perhaps the lexicographer of ancient times. Bharata the author of the celebrated 'Nāṭyaśāstram' is well known. It cannot be ascertained which 'Bhaṭṭi-ṭikā is cited in this work. Mammata, or Mammaṭāchārya author of 'Saṅgita Ratnamālā' is perhaps identical with the author of the famous 'Kāvya Prakāsha' who lived about 1100 A. D. Māgha, the author of 'Shishupāla Vadha Mahākāvyam' is a well

known figure in Sanskrit literature. Ratnākara is the same as 'Saṃgīta Ratnākara', which was written by Shārṅgadeva, under the patronage of theYādava king Singhana (1132-1169 A. D.) 15.

Ratnamālā cited ten times is most probably the work of Hari Nāyaka,which was one of the three important works, mainly followed by him, (e. g. Saṅgītasāra, Gītaprakāsha and Hari Nāyaka Ratnamālā). Elsewhere it is clearly called as 'Hari Nāyaka Ratnamālā' and its author Hari Nāyaka is respectfully referred to at 17 places in this work, this being the largest number of references to a single author Hari Nāyaka, who is also taken as an authority by Kṛshna Dāsa (1560-1600) and other later Orissan writers, most probably belonged to Orissa, and another work written by him namely 'Vishnuprakāsha Prabandha' is mentioned in the 'Gītaprakāśa' of Kṛshna Dāsa. Rāmānanda Rāya, bceame famous for his work 'Jagannātha Vallabha Nāṭakam' which was written to gain the good will of his patron Gajapati Prātāparudra Deva, some time near about 1500 A. D. 'Rāgaviveka' is specifically called a work of the south e. g., ' Dākṣiṇātya nibandhe Rāgaviveke ' the author of which is not konwn

Vishvakarmā, is a renowned sage of the days of yore, whose work on music yet remains to be discovered. 'Vishṇu Purāṇa' is well known in Sanskrit. Shārngadeva, author of 'Saṃgīta ratnākara' has been discussed above. No information is available about Shiromaṇi or Saṃgīta Shiromaṇi. Shrī Rāmāyaṇa is perhaps identical with the great epic Rāmāyana. Saṃgītasāra (quoted ten times), also called Sāra at two other places was a work of the famous Vidyāraṇya 16, identified with the celebrated Mādhavāchārya 17 who flourished about 1350 A. D.

The exmination of the above list clearly indicates the vast range of study of the author who tried to utilise all available works in his age,on different branches of music to make this treatise as authoritative as possible. But in a verse of the first section of this work quoted below, he has clearly stated that he was able to compile this work by following the path shown by Saṃgītasāra, Ratnamālā and Gītaprakāsha, the famous trio in music of his days e. g.

"सङ्गीतसार हरिनायक रत्नमाला
गीतप्रकाश मुखदर्शित वर्त्मनैव
सद्वर्णिकैः सहविचार्य तथानुभूय
देशानुगुण्य विधिनाहि विविच्यते तत् ।"

In the above verse instead of simply saying Ratnamālā, he has clearly stated Harināyaka Ratnamālā or Ratnamālā by Hari Nāyaka so that the readers may not confuse it with Saṃgita Ratnamālā by Mammatāchārya.

This work is divided into four Parichhedas or sections as noted below :

(क) इति श्रीमन्निखिलान्ववायोत्तुङ्ग चोडङ्गवंशावतंसाशेषगुणसद्म पद्मनाभ भूमिपति तनुजन्मनो महाराजाधिराजस्य साहित्यसङ्गीतार्णव कर्णधारकमणे गजपति वीरश्री नारायण देवस्य कृतौ सङ्गीतनारायणे गीतनिर्णयो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

(ख) इति श्री······वाद्यनिर्णयोनाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।

(ग) इति श्री······नाट्यनिर्णयो नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।

(घ) इति श्री······शुद्धप्रवन्धोदाहरणं नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

In one manuscript भाषानिर्णयोनाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

The work was named Saṃgita Nārāyaṇaṃ after the name of its royal author Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva of the famous Gaṅga family. Its importance as a treatise on music can be fully assessed by intensive study of the topics discussed elaborately in this work. But its special feature lies in the unmistakable evidence, that it furnishes regarding the development of Oriya music which though originally derived from and nourished by Sanskrit music had attained a separate existence at least from the time of the author of Gitaprakāśa (1550-1600 A. D.) This began to be called 'Oḍiśi' music, as distinguished from 'Karṇatic' and 'Hindusthani' music which are in vogue in South India and North India respectively and retains its separate entity. Though I am quite ignorant about the science of music, still I quote below five examples from this work, so that

scholars interested in the birth and growth of 'Oḍiśī' music may study this work critically to their own advantage.

(क) पावड़ इत्युत्कलभाषा लाहृडि अतो गीतप्रकाशकारेणोक्तम् ।

(ख) सम्प्रति तदुत्कलभाषा प्रवन्धेऽप्यन्य तालेनापि प्रथमं यद्गानं दृश्यते तदनाकरमिव प्रतिभाति ।

(ग) अस्यैवोत्कलेषु दोआडमानेति प्रसिद्धम्

(घ) अयमेव सरिमान इति लौकिकी प्रसिद्धिरुत्कलेषु अमुमेव पढिताल कथयन्ति इति गीतप्रकाशकारः ।

(ङ) उत्कलभाषायां टाङ्कमान इति प्रसिद्धः अनयोरुदाहरणं गीतप्रकाशेऽनुसरणीयम् ।

All these examples taken from the first chapter 'Gita nirṇaya' of this work are cited from 'Gītaprakāśa' which leads one to conclude that its author Kṛshṇa Dāsa may be taken as the father of 'Oḍiśi' music or Oriya music.

POPULARITY OF THIS WORK

This work gained much popularity among the musicians of Orissa, on account of which translation of the complete text into Oriya prose was made by one Sadāśiva in the 18th century. Quotations are made from this work in the 'Kavichintāmaṇi' by Kavibhūshaṇa Gopinātha Patra, written in the middle of the eighteenth century. Being highly impressed with its popularity, Narahari Chakravarti alias Ghanaśyāma Dāsa, a notable Bengali poet of the second half of the eighteenth century compiled a work called 'Saṃgitasāra saṃgraha'[18] in which the entire first four chapters of this famous 'Saṅgita Nārāyaṇa' have been incorporated with slight additions and alternations here and there. There are two new chapters in this work which also bear the stamp of indebtedness at some other work written in Orissa, because the words given as examples are pure Oriya words like 'Rakha' 'Pherantā' etc. All these clearly indicate that Narahari Chakravarti wrote this work (which is perhaps the only treatise on music written in Bengal in the pre-

British period) with a view to eclipse the importance and popularity of Sangīta Nārāyaṇa. In spite of this attempt, the influence of Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇa remained as deep rooted and wide spread as before. The importance of this work can be fully assessed only after its publication by some learned institution like Saṅgīta Nāṭaka Akademi or Sāhitya Akademi of the State or of the Central Government.

Reference

1 Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts No. II, 1870, P, 180. No 318.

2 J. A. H. R. Society Vol. III pp 204—2(6.

3 'A Descriptive Catalouge of Sanskrit manuscripts of Orissa' Vol. II written by me and published by the O. S. Akademi. Bhubaneswar, Preface p. CXCIV.

4 Vide my artile " Tikakara Kaviratna Purushottama Mishra " published in O. H. R. J. Vol. VIII, Nos, 3 & 4, pp, 204-208.

5 Konarka (Oriya quarterly journal) Published by the O. S. Akademi. Vol. II No. II

7 I. A. H. R Society, Vol. III. p 205

8 History of Sanskrit literature by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De., Vol. I, p. 392

9 Please see my paper " Krishnadasa Badajena Mahapatra etc.," O. H. R. J. Vol., VII part II, July, 1958, pp. 73-76.

10 From its manuscript preserved in the Manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum.

11 J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III, p, 203.

12 J. H. Q. Vol. XX, p. 37

13 A History of Sanskrit literature by V. Varadachari, M, A. p, 215

14 Ibid—p. 213

15 Ibid—p. 214
(J. A. H. R. S. Vol III, p. 204)

16 सगीतसारसमवेक्ष्य विद्यारण्यमिव श्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।

17 Varadachari, page-214

18 Published by the Ramakrishna Vedanta Matha, and edited by Swami Prajnananda. I am indebted to Sri Nilamadhava Panigrahi, for information about S. S. Samgraha, as published in his Oriya article in the Jhankara ,Vol, IX, pp. 1010-1016.

PURANIC LITERATURE OF ORISSA

After the Muslim occupation of the whole of North India by 1200 A. D. Orissa which could stem the tide of Muslim aggresion for more than three and a half centuries by its powerful militia, offered peace and patronage to scholars and reformers, who did a lot for the upkeep of Hindu religion and culture. It is known from epigraphic records that Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-1238 A. D.) a power-full monarch of the Gaṅga dynasty, who could completely defeat the Muslim invaders from Bengal, was a great devotee of Purushottama Jagannātha and had deep regard for the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. Even while making land grants, he was strictly following their injunctions, which wiil be evident from the quotations given below.

(क) दानसागरे भूमिदानावर्त्ते महाभारतोक्तां, (ख) वामनपुराणोक्तं (ग) वृहस्पत्युक्तां (घ) आदित्य पुराणोक्तं (च) दानसागरे विष्णुधर्मोक्तां [1]

Through the efforts of his able minister and general Vishṇu Āchārya, who also was proficient in Nyāya,three Vedas, Vārtā (Ethics) and Daṇḍanīti (State craft) as per verse 21 of the above prasharti, a new recension of the Purāṇas was made in Orissa, e. g.,

"उदग्रदोषादपथप्रवर्त्तन स्खलद्गतीनि श्रुतिदृष्टिविभ्रमैः
चकारतत्त्वप्रतिपत्तसंपदास्वदं पुराणानि पुनर्नवानि यः ॥

But we do not get any accurate information [2] about the names of the Purāṇas, a new recension of which was made under the patronage of this able minister. It is definitely known that most of the eighteen Purāṇas named below [3] contained brief descriptions of the sacred places of Utkala like Virajā Kshetra (Jājapura), Ekāmra Kshetra (Bhubaneswar), Arka Kshetra (Koṇārka), Purushottama Kshetra (Puri) and Mahendra when their texts were revised in the pre-Gaṅga period (before 1100 A. D.) But separate chapters, at

times independent books giving elaborate description of these holy places, began to be incorporated into the texts of some of these Purāṇas, when their recension was made during the Gaṅga period (1100–1435 A. D.) This is clearly illustrated by the 'Prusottama Māhātmya' of the 'Viṣṇukhaṇḍa' of the 'Skandapurāṇa' where this Māhātmya occupies about one third of the book. [4]

Purushottama Māhātmyam :—

In the absence of any definite evidence, the age of Purushottama Māhātmya can be tentatively fixed on the basis of internal evidence furnished thereby. In it we find the description of Gunḍichā manḍapa (p. 971 and p. 1001) which is meant for the temporay (seven days) residence of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā at the time of the car festival. One Gonḍa Choḍa is described as the Paṭṭamahādevī (chief queen) of Choḍagoṅga Deva in a Draksharama temple inscription of Śaka year 1050 (1128 A. D.) e. g.

"श्रीमदनंतवर्म्मदेवर पट्टमहादेवि कलिङ्गमहादेवि यॆन जयं गोंडचो (ड) यं वारु शकवर्षमुलु १०५०" [5]

There can be no doubt that this chief queen Gonḍa Choḍa built this manḍapa, after her husband Choḍagaṅga Deva had built the present magnificent Jagannātha temple, with a view to commemorate her name. The name of this famous queen was pronounced as Gunḍichā in Oriya and the car festival began to be called Gunḍichā Yātrā after her name.

Purushottama on the bank of Vindusarobara, mentioned in this work (page 902) can definitely be identified with Ananta-Vāsudeva, who is the only Vaishṇava deity at Bhubaneswar, e. g.

"विन्दुतीर्थे नृपः स्नात्वा तीरस्थ पुरुषोत्तमं
संपूज्य विधिवद्यातः कोटीश्वर महालयम्"

From the inscription originally attached to the Ananta Vāsudeva temple [6] it is definitely known that this was built in Śaka

year 1200 (Vyoma, Viyat,Phaṇīndrarasanā) or 1278 A. D. by Chandrikā Devī, daughter of Anaṅgabhīma III. So the 'Puruṣottāma Māhātmya' of the Skanda Purāṇa must have been written some time after 1278 A. D. The undue prominence given to the deity Narasiṃha at Puri in this work perhaps was meant to please the powerful king Narasiṃha II of Orissa, a great patron of learning, during whose regin (1278-1307) the work might have been completed. Purushottama Māhātmyam forming parts of 'Viṣṇurahasya'(No. 68 of this Catalogue) and 'Vṛhannāradīya purinā' (No. 70 of this Catalogue) were perhaps posterior to that of Skanda purāṇa which was very popular in Orissa.

Kapila Saṃhitā :—

Kapila Saṃhitā, the manuscripts of which are found in different parts of Orissa describes the sanctity and importance of the river Mahānadī, Nilāchala or Puri, [3] Maitreya vana or Koṇārka, [4] river Chandrabhāgā flowing near the Sun temple, [5] Virajā Kshetra or Jājpur, [6] Kailāsa or Kapilāsa mountain and the temple of Sikhareshvara over it. [7] Ekāmrakānana or Bhubaneswar and lastly of the rivers, the Bhārgavaī, the Puspabhadrā (modern Kushabhadrā), the Dadhisravā (modern Dayā) and the Prāchī. The special feature of this book is the glorification of the Kapilāsa and the Shikhareshvara temple over it which is not yet found in any other Purāṇa or Upapurāṇa. The description of the Anantavāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar definitely places its author after 1278 A. D. He though a staunch Vaishṇava has devoted more than half of his work (60 pages out of 112 pages of the book printed in Oriya characters) for singing the glory of Bhubaneswar, which indicates that it was an earlier work.

Muktichintāmaṇi :—

Muktichintāmaṇi was compiled by the famous Gajapati Purushottama Deva of the solar dynasty (1466-1497) who was a great devotee of Jagannātha. Though this work is very small, it has quoted

from a number of works,[7] cited below, the recension of which was made during the Gaṅga period to incorporate up to date accounts about Jagannātha and the Purushottama Kshetra. The work being dated is very helpful for research on the development of Purāṇic literature in Orissa.

Nīlādrimahodaya :—

Nilādrimahodaya was compiled after the model of the Purushottama Māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa. But its speciality lies in giving detailed description about the various festivals of Lord Jagannātha and the mode of their observance. It also supplies a lot of information about the daily Pūjāpaddhati or mode of worship of Jagannātha and other subsidiary deities.

Like most Purāṇic works, the date of composition of this big work covering about 536 printed pages is no where 8 given. But the reference to the rites of purification to be observed for the entry of any Yavana (Muslim) into the temple indicates that this was perhaps written sometime after 1568 A. D. when the Muslim army first entered into the compound of this great Hindu temple.

Ekāmra Purāṇa :—

The text of Ekāmra Purāṇa is regarded as an authority regarding the glory and sanctity of Ekāmra kshetra or Bhubaneswar which are sung in some of the eighteen Purāṇas and also in the epigraphic records of the past ages :—

(क) 'एकाम्रे सिद्धतीर्थे चतुरमरकुलो (चारु) शालासमेतः
कोलावत्या तयैपः क्षितिमुकुटनिभः कारितः कीर्त्तिराजः[9]

(ख) 'श्रीचोडगङ्ग देवस्य प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्य
सम्वत्सरे ६७ X X X एकाम्रे विनयदेवी'[10]

(ग) "तत्र च क्षेत्रमेकम्रमाम्रारामशताश्रितं
एकदेवकुलं देवकुलै राकुलमद्भुतम्"

(घ) "एकाम्राह्वयवेदिते सुमहसि श्रीकृतिवासः प्रिये
क्षेत्रे पुण्यवले श्रुनामृतफले सर्वर्त्तु: पुष्पोज्ज्वले

Mention of the temple of Anantavāsudeva at pages 149 and 186 of the printed text [12] of this work definitely places it after 1278 A.D. The forty-second chapter of this book deals about Kapileshvara Māhātmya or the golry of the Kapileshvara temple which was built by great Gajapati Kapileshvara Deva, after his coronation at Bhubaneswar in 1435 A. D. On the basis of this fact, its date can be fixed near about 1450 A. D.

Svaṇādri Mahodaya :—

Svarṇādri Mahodaya is posterior to Ekāmra Purāṇa and as such its date can be fixed tentatively in the second half of the 15th century. Though this work is small in volume, [13] its treatment of the subject matter is more scientific as its author having divided Bhubaneswar into eight units 'Aśṭāyatana' has described briefly all the big and small temples and tanks existing in each unit. It also supplies information about different festivals observed at this holy place and the mode of worship of the chief deities. So as a guide book it is very helpful for research.

Ekāmrachandrikā :—

Ekāmra Chandrikā, a small work was compiled in imitation of Ekāmra Purāṇa and Svarṇadri Mahodaya. [14] Even the maṅgalā charaṇa verse of Ekāmra Purāṇa has been used as such in this work. The authorities quoted in this work are as follows:—

स्कन्दपुराणम्, ब्रह्मपुराणम्, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणम्, पद्मपुराणम्, शिवपुराणम्, लिङ्ग पुराणम्, कूर्मपुराणम्, एकाम्रपुराणम्, शिवरहस्य, महाभारतम् & कपिल संहिता ।

The author can be assigned to the last part of the sixteenth century or even later, as he has described very small and unimportant temples built towards the close of the Gajapati rule (1568 A. D.) at this sacred place. The posterior limit for this work is 1765 A. D. the date of copy of the Museum manuscript (No. 42 of this Catalogue). It is perhaps the last among the works describing tho glory and sanctity of Ekāmra Kshetra or Bhubaneswar.

Prāchī Māhātmyaṃ :—

The Navākshari Oriya translation of the Prāchī Māhātmyam [15] made in the 18th century is very popular in Orissa. But the original Sanskrit tex has now become very rare. The special feature of the Prāchī valley civilisation is the existence of very old (7th-8th century) temples for Śiva and Vishṇu (Mādhava) side by side,at the end of each krośa (two miles) on its bank. Besides these, we also find a large number of Vajrayāna deities and various female Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, near these old shrines. The number of Vishṇu (Mādhava) images found in this valley is perhaps the highest in India. In and about the Śobhaneshvara temple (1190-1200 A. D.) alone, we find eleven Vishṇu images carved in chlorite stone For the existence of a large number of religious edifices, in its valley, the river Prāchī, is regarded as holy as the Gaṅgā and its Triveṇi ghāṭa near the birth place of the celebrated poet Jayadeva is a famous tīrtha of Orissa. The original Prāchī Māhātmya describing the famous Dvādasha Śambhu, Dvādaśa Mādhavas and the glory and sanctity of the Triveṇi ghāṭa was compiled after the construction of the Sun temple at Konārka near the mouth of the Chandrabhāgā, a branch of the Prāchī. As such it can tentativly be assigned to the early part of the fourteenth century.

Arkakshetra Māhātmyaṃ and Saura Samuchchaya :—

'Arkakshetra Māhātmyam' and 'Saura Samuchchaya' are two unpublished works, which describe the glory and sanctity of Maitreya vana (old name of Konārka) and its temples the chief of which are the word-famous Sun temple and those of Aṣṭashaṃbhu or eight Shivas and also of Sūryagaṅgā, the Chandrabhāgā and Arkavaṭa, existing within the limits of this sacred tīrtha. They also give information about the various fairs and festivals of this place, especially of the Ratha Yātrā, which was once being performed with much pomp and ado in the days gone by, but now has become a thing of the past after the removal of the deity of the Sun God from

the sanctum to Puri in 1628 A. D. Of these two works the first may be assigned to the Gaṅga period while the second is a later work.

Virajā Māhātmyaṃ :—

The diety of Virajā attained great fame and prominence in Orissa long before Jagannātha & Liṅgarāja came into picture. The name of Virajā Nagara finds mention in the Parlakimedi plates of Shree Pṛthivī Mahārāja[16] who has been assigned to the last part of the sixth century.

"स्वस्ति श्रीविजय स्कन्धावारान् विरजा (ज्ञा) नगराधिवासकान् X X श्री पृथिवी महाराजः"

The name of this city again finds mention in the Soro plates of Bhānudutta[17] who belonged to the seventh century e. g.

"ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीविरजावासकान्महाप्रतिहार महाराजभानुदत्तः कुशली"

During the Bhauma rule over the whole of Orissa, extending from the Mahendra mountain in the south to the Gaṅgā in the north (Circa 650 to 830 A. D.) Virajā Nagara was the capital of Orissa, description of which is found in the introductory verses of some Bhauma records. It is mentioned as the capital of the Bhaum sovereign Unmatta Keśarī in the Baḍa Khimedi plates of his Gaṅga vassal Jayavarma Deva.[19] This grant dated in the Bhaum era 50 can be assigned to the last part of the seventh century. In the Dhauli cave inscription of Shāntikara, Bhauma sovereign, dated in the year 93 (first half of the eighth century) mention is made of Virajā 'विरजावास्तव्य वद्यनन्नट पुत्र भीमसेन[19] Two Bhauma inscriptions still exist at Jajpur town which state(a) Mādhavi Devi wife of Subhākara I built a temple named Mādhaveśvara at Jājapur (b) Queen Vatsa Devī got an image of the Goddess Chāmuṇḍā carved there.[20]

After the fall of the Bhaumas, it lost its importance as the capital city of Orissa, as the Somavaṃśī rulers, who succeeded them located their headquarters at Yajāti nagara on the bank of the Maha-

nadī. But its glory and sanctity as a holy tīrtha was enhanced by Yajāti Keśarī, who can be indentified with the powerful king Yajāti II of the Soma dynasty who built the Daśāśvamedha ghāṭa on the bank of the Vaitaraṇī after performing ten horse sacrifices, in which according to tradition were engaged ten thousand Brāhmaṇas, well versed in vedic rites who were settled in and arround Virajākshetra. During the Gaṅga and Sūryavamśī rule over Orissa (1112-1533) present Cuttack remained as the capital of Orissa. But due to the prominence of Jajpur, the State of Orissa began to be called as kingdom of Jājnagar in the Muslim accounts regarding Orissa. The temple of Varāhanātha at Jajpur, was built by Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva (1497-1533 A. D.) Virajā kshetra Māhātmyam which mentions Varāhanātha[21] may be assigned to the middle of the 16th century. Of all the holy places of Orissa Jajpur became the greatest victim of Muslim iconoclasm and vandalism as a result of which, almost all its old religious edifices have now gone out of existence.

KESHARA KSHETRA MĀHĀTMYAM

(केशरक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यम्) pubished in Oriya characters in 1961 sings the glory of Chaṇḍeśvara and the subsidiary deities existing in the village of Chaṇḍeśvara, near Tāṅgi Police Station of the Puri district. It is a work of the 17th or 18th century. Unfortunately the beautiful temple of Chaṇḍeśvara, which could vie with the famous Liṅgarāja temple was broken by a heavy cyclone on the night of 29-10-55.

The Puraṇic literature of Orissa like that of other parts of India will baffle the attempts of the students of history engaged in determinig the age of the temples and tracing the development of temple architecture in Orissa through the centuries as nowhere in these works mention is made about the builders of the temples or the ages of their construction. On the other hand their authors have deliberately tried to show that the religious edifices described by them have been existing from very ancient times. The Lakshmaṇeśvara group of temples of Bhubaneswar (oldest temples

so far known) have been placed in the same category with Bhīmeśvara and Kukkuṭeśvara temples belonging to the 16th or 17th century.

In spite of these defects judged from the mordern conception of history these guide books are helpful to research scholars as they supply the names and locations of many temples which have now completely gone out of existence due to repeated human vandalism as well as influence of the destructive forces of Nature. They also give a lot of information about the fasts and festivals observed in the sacred places and the mode of worship of the important deities. By proclaiming the glory and sanctity of the temples, they have been attracting thousands of pious pilgrims from every part of India to these holy places through out the ages, whose contributions have been utilised in their upkeep and development.

Popularity of the BHĀGAVATA PURĀNA :

The discussions made before clearly indicate that Shaivism Shaktism, and Baishṇavism were flourishing side by side in Orissa from the 4th century upto the 12th century. But of these Saivism was predominant as most of the rulers of different royal dynasties were 'Paramamāheśvara' of devotees of Shiva. But there was vigorous revival of Vaishṇavism in Orissa in the twelfth century due to the preachings of Sri Rāmānuja, Srī Vishṇusvāmī. Sri Nimbārka and Srī Mādhavāchārya, all from the south, who made Puri the centre of their activities and established maṭhas there for the propagation of their respective religious faiths. Of these four reformers, Vishṇusvāmī, who had three maṭhas at Puri, wrote the "Bhagavata bhāṣya" which enhanced the popularity of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in Orissa.

The tremendous influence and immense popularity of the Gitagovinda by Jayadeva of Puri, which was recognised as a holy book and daily recited in the temple of Jagannātha, steadily but imperceptibly influenced the minds of the people and inspired them with devotion for *S*rī Kṛshṇa whose glory it sings. This also indire-

ctly contributed towards increasing the popularity of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which vividly describes the life story of Srī Kṛshṇa.

In the pre-Gaṅga period, worship of the four handed figures of Viṣṇu was very popular in Orissa. But due to the influence of Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Gītagovinda images of Gopīnātha Kṛṣṇa standing in a tribhaṅgi pose, playing on the flute (vaṃṣidhārī) surrounded by the Gopīs (Gopastrīparivesṭita) ahd tending cattle (godhanachārana) began to be worshipped in important villages of Orissa, especially in Brāhmaṇa villages, founded by the kings and their officers. But Rādhā could not be deified in this age, as it was not sanctioned by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

Shrīdhara Svāmī

The supremacy of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa was established due to the wide circulation of its Bhāvārtha dīpikā ṭīkā written by the saintly poet Srīdhara Svāmī. Srīdhara was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in Maraigān situated in the present Nilagiri sub-division of the Balasore district of Orissa. According to tradition, he led the life of a Sannyasī for some years in the Kapilāsa hill, with beautiful natural surroundings, where he earned mastery over the Shāstras and Purāṇas. For his vast learning and saintly character, he was selected as the Mahanta of the Govardhana pīṭha, a famous Saṃkarite monastery at Puri, where he wrote some notable works, chief among them being his 'Bhāvārtha dīpikā ṭīkā' on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which was accepted as the most famous commentary throughout India. Though a profound scholar he has very humbly stated in many places of this commentary that he could achieve success through the grace of God Nṛsiṃha of whom he was a great devotee, and the blessing of his preceptor Paramānanda e. g.

"वागीशास्य वदने लक्ष्मीर्यस्य च वक्षसि
यस्यास्ते हृदयं सम्वित्त नृसिंह महंभजे
विश्वसर्गविसर्गादि नवलक्षण लक्षितम्
श्रीकृष्णाख्यं परंधाम जगद्धाम नमामि तत् ।।

माधवोमाधवा X X सर्वसिद्धिविधायिनौ
वन्दे परस्परात्मानौ परस्परमतिप्रियौ ॥
सम्प्रदायानुरोधेन पौर्वापर्यानुसारतः
श्रीभागवत भावार्थदीपिकेय वितन्यते"

(Beginning of the 1st Skandha) (Cat. no. 161.)

At the end of the 5th Skandha he writes thus

"पञ्चमस्कन्धसम्बन्धि पदभावार्थदीपनैः
प्रीयतां परमानन्दनृहरिर्वालभाषितैः"

(Catalogue no. 174)

The concluding verse of the 12th Skandha runs as follows :—

"स्वबालचापलालापैः स्वलीलापरिवर्त्तितैः
प्रीयतां परमानन्दनृहरिः सद्गुरुः स्वयम् ।
श्रीपरानन्दसप्रीत्यै गुह्यं भागवतं मया
विवृतं तन्मतेनेव नतु सन्मतिवैभवान्"

(Catalogue no 200)

Besides, this Shrīdhara Svāmī also wrote the Subodhinī ṭikā on Bhagabadgītā, six manuscripts of which have been noticed in this volume (Catalogue Nos 142 144, 147, 150, 155, 166.) He is also known to have written Svaprakāśa or Ātmaprakaśa ṭika on Viṣṇu Puraṇa, Vedastuti ṭika and Vrajavihāra. One Dharmashāstra work, was written by Srīdhara Svāmi as will be evident from the quotation given below from the 'Kālasāra' of Gadādhara Rajaguru (1715 A. D.)

इति श्रीधरस्वामी वाक्यात् सर्वएत्र मरणोत्तरसस्कारा गृहस्थविशेषाः"

He is referred to twice in the कालसर्वस्व of महामहोपाध्याय कृष्णमिश्र (1740 A. D.). Narasimha Vājapeyī (1560 A. D.) and Vidyākara Vājapeyī (1360 A. D.) two great Smṛti writers of Orissa refer to Shrīdhara once each in their respective works. Srīdhara Svāmī is mentioned by Raghunandana in his एकादशी तत्त्व and मलमास तत्त्व as the author of a समुच्चय.

Date of Shrīdhara Svāmī :—

Dr. P. K. Gode has given the following data regarding the date of Shrīdhara Svāmi-(i) He refers to Bhāgavata bhāṣya of Viṣṇu

Svāmī who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, (ii) While writing Svaprakāśa ṭīkā on Viṣṇu purāṇa he has utilised the ṭīkā on the same work by Chitsukha (1220-1284 A. D.) (iii) He begins his Bhāvārth dīpikā ṭīkā with a distinct statement that the Bhāgavata purāṇa was not commented upon by great Vopadeva (1300 A. D.)[22] Thus the anterior time limit for him may be fixed at 1300 A. D. To this, I may add one more evidence here that Shrīdhara referred to by Vidyākara Vājapeyi, is identical with Srīdhara Svāmī, who is now definitely known to have written a Smṛti work. As Vidyakara flourished between 1330-1360 A. D.[23] Shrīdhara Svāmin may be assigned to the first half of the 14th century.

ORIYA BHĀGAVATA

The saintly poet Jagannatha Dasa of Puri, strictly followed the Bhāvārtha dīpikā ṭīkā while translating the Bhagavata into Oriya verse in 1509-1510 A. D. which will be evident from the quotation given below.

"श्रीधर नामे विप्रवर । कलियुगरे जन्म तार ॥
श्रीभागवत ये पुराण । अष्टादश सह्र श्लोकण ॥
ता टीका चउविंश सह्र । करइ श्रीधर प्रकाश ॥
विप्रकुले जनम होइ । जगन्नाथ नाम से वाहू ॥
प्राकृत वन्धे भागवत । काह्लेले सन्थ जन हित ॥

(Last chapter of Dvādasha Skandha.)

The high thoughts and noble ideas of Shrīdhara Svāmi, a great preceptor of Puri, could be understood by the common people of this land through the writings of Jagannatha Dāsa, another saint of the same place whose Bhāgavata in Oriya is the Bible of Orissa ahd has got highest circulation among its people, since the time of its composition up till to-day.

This discussion made in these few pages though not exhaustive, is expected to throw a flood of new light on the cultural history of Orissa which I hope, will show the path to young scholars, to collect more information about this interesting subject in future.

Reference

1 Nagiri Plates of Ananga Bhima III, E.I. Vol. XXVIII. pp. 256-257.

2 Chatesvara temple inscription, re-edited by Dr. Chhabra E. I. Vol, XXIX, pp, 121-123.

(३) आद्यं ब्राह्मं वैष्णवञ्च पाद्मं भागवतं तथा
कौर्मं मात्स्यं च वाराहं नारसिंह च वामन
मार्कण्डेयाग्नि वायुनि लैङ्गं शैवं भविष्यकं
ब्रह्माण्डं ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तंस्कान्दंचाष्टादश स्मृताः
एतानिच पुराणानि व्यासप्रोक्तानि धीमते ॥"

4 242 out of 768 printed pages of the book. Vangavasi edition.

5 S. I, I. Vol, IV. No. 1194 Rangacharya's Volume II. p. 733

6 O. H. R. J. Vol. I No. 4. pp 274-88. This is now preserved in the R. A. Society. London.

७ ब्रह्मापुराण, विष्णुपुराण, वृहद्विष्णुपुराण, लघुभागवत, स्कन्दपुराण, वामनपुराण, कूर्म-पुराण, गरुडपुराण, पद्मपुराण, नरसिंहपुराण, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, ब्रह्मयामल, वायुपुराण, तत्त्वयामल, शिवपुराण, वराहपुराण, आग्नेयपुराण ।

8 Printed in Oriya characters by the Late Maharaja of Sonepur Sir B. M. Singh Dev in 1922.

9 Brahmesvara temple inscription J. R. A. S. Vol XIII p, 70

10 Lingaraja Temple inscription.
'Inscriptions. of Orissa' by Rajaguru Vol, III p II. Page 210

11 (c) and (d)—Ananta Vasudeva temple inscription.
O. H. R. J. Vol I. pp 282-284.

12 Ekamra Purana published in Oriya charcters by the late Pandit R. K. Gargabatu.

13 Svarnadri Mahodaya printed both in Oriya and Devanagari characters by the late Pandit R. K. Gargabatu.

14 Printed in Oriya characters by the late Pandit R. Gargabatu in 1931.

15 Published by the late Pandita Govinda Ratha.

16 Inscription of Orissa, Vol, I, Part II by Sri S. N. Rajaguru

17 E. I., Vol. XXXIII., pp 203-4

18 J, H. Q. Vol. XII., pp, 489-93. ff,

19 E. I. Vol XIX, pp, 263-64,

20 Edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, E. I., Vol. XXVIII. pp. 183-185.

21 Printed and published in Oriya characters by the Late N. C. Mahapatra.

22 Date of Sridhara Svamin (between C. A. D. 1350-1450). A. B. O. R. I., Poona—Vol, XXX-pp 277-283.

23 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa Vol, 1. Smriti Manuscripts, by Sri K. N. Mahapatra. p IX XI, *

RAGHUNATHA DASA, A CELEBRATED AUTHOR
OF
SOME SANSKRIT WORKS OF ORISSA

Ragunātha Dāsa, a celebrated author of different Sanskrit works, was unknown to the world of scholars till 1958 when his 'Kālanirṇaya' a work on Dharmashāstra was first noticed by me in the first volume of the Descriptive Catalogue.[1] Gradually two other works written by the same author namely 'Utpāta taraṅgiṇī' and 'Bhaṭṭi ṭīkā' were brought to light when their manuscripts were acquired for the Manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum. The first is being noticed in the fourth volume of the Descriptive Catalogue, which will be printed and published very soon.

A manuscript containing the commentary on the first Sarga of his 'Bhaṭṭi ṭīkā' called 'Raghunāthāmṛta ṭīkā' has been noticed in the second Volume of che Descriptive Catalogue compiled and edited by me [2]

While discussing about the biography and the time of this renowned scholar, I arrived at the following conclusions :-

(a) 'That he (Raghunātha Dāsa) can be definitly assigned to first part of the eighteenth century.'

(b) 'Raghunātha, the author of 'Kālanirṇaya','Utpāta taraṅgiṇī' and 'Bhaṭṭi ṭīkā' might have written other works, which are expected to come to light by intensive search of manuscripts in different parts of Orissa''.[3]

Fortunately for us both the conclusions have now come true due to definite evidence furnished by his other works, the manuscripts of which were found in 1962-63 as a result of intensive search in the villages of the Prāchī valley.

This search has brought to light six other new works, besides the three already known, which are mentioned below :-(1) Sāhityabhūṣaṇam (2) Vṛttāvali (3) Nalodaya ṭīkā (4) Raghuvaṃsha ṭīkā (5) Nyāyaratnāvali (6) Amarakoṣa ṭīkā. Of these the first five have already been acquired by the Museum, while the last will be acquired in near future. A lot of new information is obtained about this famous scholar from these worthy acquisitions of the current year, and as such they are briefly noticed below.

Sāhityabhūṣaṇam :—This work was written in imitation of the well-known ' Sāhitya darpaṇa ' by the famous Vishvanātha Kavirāja of Orissa (C. 1410 A. D.) The dated palm-leaf manuscript of this work in author's own hand-writing acquired from one of his descendants now living in the village of Sundargram near the Prāchī river is a unique one,as manuscripts of works of the past ages written by the authors themselves are very rarely found. The manuscript of this work is a fairly big one, containing 194 folia (1'.6" × 1") on both sides of which are found three lines of clear and beautiful writing, on the average, in old Oriya characters. But it is worm-eaten on one side which has caused the loss of some letters on every leaf. It is divided in to ten 'Parichcheda' or sections.

The two benedictory and the two concluding verses of this work, contain the glorification of Nṛsiṃha, the God of his devotion which need not be quoted here. After the two (Maṅgalācharaṇa) verses he speaks of himself thus :—

"कौण्डिन्यकुलजातेन वासुदेवाम्बिकाभुवा ।
साहित्यभूषणमिदं रघुनाथेन तन्यते ॥ "

The name of his mother ' Aṃbikā ' is found for the first time in this work. From the last verse of the work, we get information about his birth place and patron.

"औड्रे नीवृति साइलोविषयके प्राच्युत्तरस्यां दिशि
ग्रामो यस्त्वतिराजते गड़गडा नामा चिरात्पालितः ।
नाम्ना चक्रधरेण दुर्गं विलसन् ? गङ्गेश्वरस्थायिना
तत्रस्थं रघुनाथ नाम विदितं विप्रं नृसिंहोऽवतु ॥

इति श्रीकौण्डिन्यकुलसम्भव वासुदेवात्मज श्रीरघुनाथदासविरचिते साहित्यभूषणनामालङ्कारशास्त्रेऽलङ्कारनिरूपणे नाम दशमः परिच्छेदः ॥ समाप्तोऽयंग्रन्थः"

Poet Raghunātha, a devotee of God Narasiṃha, was a resident of the village Gaḍagaḍā, standing on the northern bank of the Prāchī river in the Sailo circle (Viṣaya) of the Oḍra country (Orissa). It was in the estate of the land-lord Chakradhara, who had his head-quarters in the fort of Gaṅgeshvara. The Village of Gaḍagaḍā, which is now-a days called Garagarā and the ruins of the fort Gaṅgeśvara which is still now a predominantly Khanḍāyata (warrior class) villge, are still to be seen near the course of the Prāchī river. The village of Sailo, which was the head quarters of a Viṣaya or circle from the thirteenth century and finding mention as such in some copper plate grants of the Gaṅga Emperors of Cuttack [4] is still an important centre in this area. Chakradhara, the land-lord of the fort of Gaṅgeshvara, respectfully referred to in the above verse, was most probaly the patron of the author.

The exact date of completion of the work as given by the author in its colophon is quoted below :—

"श्रीमन् हरिकृष्णदेवस्य द्वितीयङ्के श्रावणे मासि शुक्लपक्षे नवम्यां बृहस्पतिवासरे रघुनाथदासेन लिखितमिद पुस्तकं । नमः श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः श्रीनृसिंहाय"

Harikṛshṇa Deva, whose Aṅka is referred to above was undoubtedly Rājā Harekṛshṇa Deva, the ruler of the Khurda territory (1715-1719 A. D). The exact corresponding date according to the Christian era is the 28th, July, 1715 A. D. [5] which fell on Shrāvaṇa, Shukla, Navamī, Guruvāra in the 2nd Aṇka or first regnal year of the above king. This gives a definite date not only for this renowned scholar, but also for Raja Harikṛshṇa Deva.

Vṛttāvali :—

This is a small work written on 24 folia (1'.8" × 1'.3") having on the average three lines of writing in old Oriya characters on each side, the manuscript of which is in a good state of preservation. The

work is complete and is divided into six 'Virachana' or sections. After a single 'Mangalācharaṇa' verse in praise of God Narasiṃha the author speaks of himself thus :---

"कौण्डिन्यकुलजातेन वासुदेवाम्बिकाभुवा
वृत्तावलिरियं यत्नाद्रघुनाथेन तन्यते ॥"

The above verse with a slight difference is also found in his 'Sāhityabhūṣaṇam' which indicates that the interval of time between the two works was very short. The colophon at the end of the work is quoted below :--

"इति श्रीकौण्डिन्यकुलजातेन वासुदेवाम्बिकासूनु रघुनाथदास विरचितायां वृत्तावल्यां गद्यनिरूपणं षष्ठ विरचनं । समाप्तेयं वृत्तावलिः"

Nalodaya ṭīka :--

The manuscript containing the commentary on 'Nalodaya Kāvya' by the greatest poet Kālidāsa has got 45 folia (1'.3½" × 1.3") on each side of which there are five lines of writing on the average in old Oriya characters, and in a fair state of preservation. The first two verses of this work being important are quoted below :—

"श्रीमन्नृसिंहचरणं शरणं विधाय
श्रीवासुदेवतनयः रघुनाथनामा
तत् कालिदासज नलोदयकाव्यटीका
मेतां यथा मतिमतां सुतरां तनोति (१)

श्रीमत्काश्यपवंशतंसकमहापात्रव्रजेन्द्राश्रय
श्रीपीताम्बरनामधेय धरणीगीर्वाणवाणीरितः ।
श्रीनारायणपादपङ्कजरजः स्वल्पाभिलाषी बुधा-
बोधध्वान्तनितान्ततान्त ततनु ? टिकामिमां प्रारभे ॥२

From the above two verses it is knwon that Raghunātha Dāsa, son of Vāsudeva, wrote this commentary on 'Nalodaya Kāvya' by the great Kālidāsa, through the blessing of God Nṛsiṃha, being encouraged by Shrī Pītāmbara Mahāpātra, a noted Brahmin of the Kāshyapa lineage, who was a devotee of Srī Kṛshṇa (Vrajendrāshraya).

Pītāmbara respectfully referred to in the above verse was perhaps the Patron of the author for some time. The colophon of the work runs as follows :—

"इति श्रीमन् कौण्डिन्यकुलसम्भव वासुदेवात्मज श्रीरघुनाथदासकृतायां नलोदय-टीकायां चतुर्थ उल्लासः । समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ।।

Raghuvaṃśa ṭikā—The Museum manuscript containing the incomplete text of the commentary on Raghuvaṃśa (first two sargas only) by this author , covers 48 folia (1'2½ X 1.2") having four lines of writing on the average on each side in old Oriya character. The first two verses of this work having some importance are quoted below.

दैत्येन्द्रदन्तावलमत्तसिंहो
ब्रह्मेन्द्रपूज्योऽखिलदेवसिंहः ।
वेदान्तकान्तारनिवासिसिंहो
ज्ञानप्रदस्तान्मयि दिव्यसिंहः ॥
पौत्रेण नारायणसिद्धनाम्ना
संप्रार्थितोऽहं शिशुना सुबुद्ध्यै ।
करोमि टीकां रघुवंशकाव्ये
नृसिंहभक्तो रघुनाथनामा ॥

The first verse contains the prayer to God Narasiṃha. From the second verse, it is known that he wrote this commentary on Raghuvaṃśa in compliance with the request of his grand son (son's son) Nārāyaṇa for the clear understanding of this famous kāvya. Hence this ṭikā must have been written when he was fairly old, might be above sixty. More information may be obatained in future after this discovery of the complete text of this ṭīkā.

Amarakoṣa ṭīkā— Recently a manuscript containing the complete ṭīkā on Amarakoṣa by Raghunātha Dāsa has been discovered.

This is a big manuscript having 185 folia (1'.7' X 1.7") on both sides of which there are 8 lines of writing on the average in Oriya characters. This is in a fair state of preservation. Strangely enough it has got no Maṅgalácharaṇa verse excepting 'Shrī Nṛsiṃhāya namha', 'Avighnamastu'. The concluding verse states that it was also written by the author in his old age for the quick and clear understanding of his two grandsons Nārāyaṇa and Sadāśiva like the Raghuvaṃśa ṭikā noted above e. g.

'मदीय सूनो जयदेव नाम्नः पीताम्बरस्यापि सदाशिवस्य
कृते कृतेयं जयदेवसूनो र्नारायणस्यामरकोषटीका ॥"
अपिशब्दः सदाशिवनारायणयोः सम्बन्धनीयः"

Colophon

"इति श्रीमन् कौण्डिन्यकुलावतंस वासुदेवात्मज श्रीरघुनाथदास विरचितायाममरकोष टीकायां लिङ्गादिसंग्रहवर्गः ।

वीरकेशरीदेवस्य त्रयोविंशाङ्क माधवे
जयदेवेन पुस्तस्य समाप्ति लेखनं गतः ।
नारायणाभिधेयस्य पुत्रस्य पठनाय सः
सटीकोऽमरकोषोऽय लिखितो वहुयत्नतः ।
पीताम्वरेण तत्भ्रात्रा कनिष्ठेनाच्युतात्मना ?
अन्ते पत्रत्रय त्वत्र लिखितं भ्रातृवाक्यतः ।"

It is known from the concluding verse and the colophon quoted above that the author had two sons named Jayadeva and Pītāmbara. Nārāyaṇa was the son of the elder brother Jayadeva & Sadāśiva was the son of the younger brother Pītāmbara. This ṭikā was written for the benefit of both Nārāyaṇa and Sadāśiva. The manscript was copied by Jayadeva in the month of Mādhava or Vaiśākha in the 23rd Aṅka year of Gajapati Vīrakeśarī Deva a ruler of Khurda(1736-1793 A.D.)His 23rd Aṅka was calculated from

28-8-1754 to 7-9-1755 A. D.[6] This being the year of copy of the manuscript by the eldest son of the author the date of composition may be tentatively fixed near about 1750 A. D. or even earlier.

श्राद्धनिर्णयः—Some discussion has been made about Kālanirṇaya by Raghunātha Dāsa in the first volume of the Descriptive catalogue.[7] श्राद्धनिर्णयः is another धर्मशास्त्र work by the text of which covers 240 folia (1'2" X 1.6") of the Museum manuscript, having five lines of writing on the average in Oriya characters on both sides of each leaf. The manuscript is in a good state of preservation. The first verse of work runs as follows—

"श्रीनृसिंहं नमस्कृत्य सर्वाभीष्टफलप्रदं
श्रीमता रघुनाथेन क्रियते श्राद्धनिर्णयः"

It has got seven prakaraṇas or sections whereas his Kālanirṇayah is divided into five prakaraṇas or sections. The colophon of this runs as follows :

इति श्रीवासुदेवात्मज श्रीमद्रघुनाथदास विरचिते श्राद्धनिर्णये सप्तमं प्रकरणं । समाप्तोऽयं श्राद्धनिर्णयाख्यो ग्रन्थः ॥"

The exact date of copy of the Museum manuscript of Kālanirṇayah is Sunday the 19th October, 1728 A. D. its copist Ananta Dāsa of the Kauṇḍinya lineage (कौण्डिन्यकुल सम्भूत) most probably belonged to the family of the author. The date of copy of this work being 1728 A. D. the year of compilation of this work may be fixed near about 1715 A. D. 'Shrāddha nirṇayah' which formed one of the series of Smṛti works written by the author may be assigned tentatively to the period between 1715-1730 A. D.

न्यायरत्नावली—Only three folia (1.'4½" X 1'.3") containing the beginning of 'Nyāyaratnāvali' by Raghunātha Dāsa are found strung

in a Museum manuscript of 'Mālatīmādhava nāṭakaṃ' by Bhavabhūti. The Maṅgalācharaṇa verse of this work is quoted below :

नमः श्रीनृसिंहाय

प्रणम्य परमात्मानं नृसिंहं सर्वकारणं
न्यायरत्नावली हृद्या रघुनाथेन तन्यते''

उत्पाततरङ्गिणी—The Museum manuscript of उत्पाततरङ्गिणी contains 101 folia (1'. 4½" X 1'. 4") having four lines of writing on the average on both sides of each leaf in old Oriya characters. The condition of this is not good as it is worm eaten. But this work is very important for studying the history of the learned family in which this celebrated author was born as he has described it in the introductory verses after the three benedictory ones, of the text, which are quoted below for ready reference.

''आसीत् पुरा पुण्ययशः प्रकाशः
कौण्डिन्यवंशे विबुधावतंसः ।
अशेषशास्त्राम्बुधिपारगन्ता
जनार्दनाख्यो रिपुवर्गहन्ता ॥
मीमांसान्यायवेत्ता समजनि तनयस्तस्य वेदाङ्ग वेदा-
ध्यायी वेदान्तवेदी प्रथितबहुयशा नाम वाचस्पति यः ।
भूमीवाचस्पतिर्वा प्रविनत सुमनोराजराजीव राज—
द्राज्ये विभ्राजमानो नृपसदासमहार्धारगम्भीरचित्तः ॥
तस्यात्मजो हरिहर सकलार्थविज्ञो
राजद्यशा हरिहराङ्कितचित्तवृत्तिः ।
तस्मादभूद् बहुगुणो भुवि देवदासः
तस्माद् गदाधर इवाथ गदाधराख्यः ।
सुधाकर स्तस्य बभूव पुत्रः
सुधाकरो येन जितः स्वकीर्त्या ।

सिद्धेश्वरः सिद्ध इवापराऽभूत्
तस्मात्ततः श्रीनरसिंह नामा ।
लोकैकवन्द्यः सुतपोऽभिलाषी
क्षेत्राधिवासी स पितामहो मे ।

श्री श्रीनिवासस्तनयस्ततोऽभून्
पुराणाशास्त्रागमपारगामी ।

ततः पिता मेऽजनि वासुदेवः
नृसिंहसेवा प्रसमस्तकामः ।

धोरः सुशान्तः स पुराणवक्ता
नीलाचले मौक्तिकमण्डपे यः ।

श्रीवृन्दारक वृन्द वन्द्य चरणः श्रीमन्नृसिंहाश्रयः
संभूतो रघुनाथ नाम विदितस्तस्मात् सुधीः भूसुरः ।

X X X

राज्ञां प्रजानामपि मङ्गलाय
विचार्य्य बुद्ध्याद्भुतसागरं तम् ।
तस्मान्मयोत्पाततरङ्गिणीयं
व्यातन्यते तेन सुपद्यबन्धे ॥

The colophon of this work runs as follows :—

"इति श्रीरघुनाथदासविरचितायामुत्पाततरङ्गिण्यामूनपञ्चितमस्तरङ्गः । श्रीसर्वे शुभमस्तु. समाप्ता उत्पाततरङ्गिणी"

Bhaṭṭi ṭikā— There were three manuscripts of the Bhaṭṭi ṭikā by this author in the Museum all of which contained incomplete texts of this commentary. The first containing the ṭikā on the first sarga only, the second having the ṭikā on the first four sargas and 41 verses of the fifth sarga, and the third ending with the ṭikā of the sixth sarga of the work. Recently a manuscript containing

the complete text of this ṭīkā has been discovered by Shrī Dāmodara Dāsa of Bhubaneswar, which is going to be acquired by our Museum. This has got 237 folia (1'. 4" X 1.3") having five lines of writing on the average on both sides of each leaf in old Oriya Characters. It is in a good state of preservation. The first two verses of this work having some importance are quoted below :—

"रौद्राद्रावङ्घिशोभे द्रुमवमति घने द्राघयत्युग्रशोभा
माद्रिद्रद्रुश्वनिद्रे ? द्रढयति वसुधां द्राग्भवत्कादि्वेये ?
शुभ्राभ्राम भ्रमेऽभ्र भ्रमर मुरुचिभे शोभआभानद्भ्र ?
भ्राम्यन् भ्रङ्गे भभूते भ्रुकुटिगतमुखे भूतरान्मां विभ्रतु ?

"श्रीश्रीनिवासज गुणाकर वासुदेव
मृतु नृसिंहचरणं हृदये निधाय
स्वप्नात्त वैष्णव शुभप्रद शुद्ध मन्द्र
टीकामिमां वितनुते रघुनाथदासः"

This is only work so far known, in which he has mentioned the names of his grand father Shrīnivāsa and father Vāsudeva in a single verse which leads me to make the conjecture that this was the first ṭīkā written by the author when his grand father was still living. In the concluding verse he claims that his ṭīkā was the best of all the ṭīkās on the Bhaṭṭi kāvya which describes the story of Rāmachandra e. g.

"श्रीरामचरितं" यत्तुभट्टिकाव्य प्रकीर्तितं
याः सन्ति टीका स्तस्यैयं तासु श्रेष्ठा मया कृता ।
नानार्थप्रतिपादिका खिलवुधामोदं सदा कुर्वता

नानालंकृतिसंयुता सुमधुरा सद्वृत्तकोषान्विता
टीकेयं भवता मया विरचिता मुक्ताफला कामदा
गङ्गा कल्पलता सुधा सुवनितातुल्या मनोहारिणी ॥

"इति श्रीकौण्डिन्यकुलसम्भव वासुदेवात्मज श्रीरघुनाथदास कृतायां भट्टिटीकायां द्वाविंशतितमः सर्गः । समाप्तोऽयंग्रन्थः ।

SEQUENCE OF HIS WORKS :

The chronological order of succession of his known works may tentatively be fixed as follows :

(1) Bhaṭṭikāvya ṭīkā written perhaps when his grand father was living.

(2) Sāhityabhūṣaṇam finished on the 28th July, 1715 A. D.

(3) Bṛttāvaliḥ both (2) & (3) describe him 'Vāsudevāmbikābhuvā'

(4) Kālanirṇayah Circa 1720 A, D. (A manuscript of this work was copied on Sunday, the 19th October. 1728)

(5 Shrāddha nirṇayah closely connected with no 4

(6) Utpātataraṅgiṇī c 1730—1740 A. D

(7) Nyāyaratnāvalī c 1730—1740 A. D.

(8) Raghuvaṃśa ṭikā written for his grand son Nārāyaṇa Dāsa c. 1750 A. D.

(9) Amarakoṣa ṭīkā written for the benefit of his two grand sons Nārāyaṇa and Sadāśiva. A manuscript of this was copied by his eldest son Jayadeva in 1754-1755 A. D.

TIME OF THE AUTHOR —Assuming that the author was about thirty years old in 1715 A. D. when he completed his Sāhityabūṣaṇam a worthy imitation of the famous Sāhityadarpaṇa by Viśvanātha Kavirāja, the year of his birth may be fixed near about 1685 A. D. Shrī Dāmodara Dāsa has recently obtained the manuscripts of three works copied by Raghunātha Dāsa namely (a) न्याय-सिद्धान्तमुक्तावली, (b) तर्कभाषा, (c) सिद्धान्तमञ्जरी from one of his descendants. In the colophons of these three the dates of copy are given as follows :

(क) श्रीदिव्यसिंह नृपते त्रयोविंशाङ्के श्रावण शुक्लपूर्णिमा सोमवार

(ख) श्रीदिव्यसिंह देवस्य १४ अङ्क पौष शुक्ल द्वादशी, गुरुवार।
(ग) ,, माघ, कृष्ण चतुर्दशी शनिवार।

The corresponding week-day according to Christian era for the first does not tally, where as the exact dates for the 2nd and the 3rd colophons are 21-12-1710 A. D. and 6-1-1711 A. D. respectivly both falling in the 24th Aṅka year (24-8-1710 to 12-9-1711) of Gajapati Divyasiṃha Deva of Khurdha. Supposing that he was about 20 to 25 years old in 1710 A D. then he was born some time between 1685 to 1690 A. D. and lived upto 1750 A.D. when his grandson Nārāyaṇa was able to understand Sanskrit Kāvyas by eminent poets. The exact years of birth and death of this great scholar are expected to be fixed definitely by the finding of authentic evidence in future.

Summary —Raghunātha Dāsa of Orissa was a celebrated author of many Sanskrit works only nine of which noticed above have so far been discovered. He was born in a learned family of Kauṇḍinya lineage having some reputation in this land, which inspired him to earn mastery in various branches of Sanskrit literature and write works on different subjects like Kāvya, Kosha, Alaṃkāra, Chhanda, Jyotisha, Smṛti, Nyāya etc. He might have written works on other sujects which may come to light in future. He may be assigned tentatively to a period ranging from 1610 to 1750 A. D.

He was a native of village Gaḍagaḍā near the Prāchī river in the Sailo circle of Orissa. His first patron was perhaps Chakradhara, a land lord of the area having his residence in the fort of Gaṅgeśvara the ruins of which are still found. Later on he was helped by a noted Brāhmin Zamindār Pītāmbara Mahāpātra having Kāsyapa Gotra. Nothing is known about his other patrons. He seems to be a prolific writer as he continued his literary pursuits for a long period of about forty years (C. 1710-1750 A. D.). After the discovery of the above works on different subjects, he can now be regarded as one of the great Sanskrit writers of Orissa, who made worthy contribution to this literature.

Genealogy of the author :

With the help of evidence furnished by the introductory verses of his Utpāta taraṅgiṇī and the concluding verse and colophon of his Amarakoṣa ṭīkā the genealogy of this great author can be drawn as follows—

Janārdana of the Kouṇḍinya lineage
|
Vāchaspati—Proficient in Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Vedānta, and Vedāṅga and was honoured by the ruler of the realm.
|
Harihara
|
Devadāsa
|
Gadādhara
|
Sudhākara — Siddheśvara
|
Narasiṃha
|
Shrīnivāsa Master in Purāṇa and Āgama. He lived at Puri.
|
Vāsudeva (Became the Purāṇa-paṇḍita in मुक्तिमण्डप at Puri.)
|
Raghunātha Dāsa (C. 1680-1750 A.D.)
|
Jayadeva — Pītāmbara
|
Nārāyaṇa — Sadāśiva.

Reference

1. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa Vol. I, Smrti manuscripts, No. 25, p 16.
2. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa Vol, II (Kavya Alankara and Sangita manuscripts) No. 111, p. 87.
3. ,, ,, ,, Preface, pp. CLXI-CLXII.
4. (d) Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, E. I. Vol. XXVIII. p. 256.
   (a) Alarpur plates of Narasimha II. E. I. Vol, XXXI, p. 22.
5. An Indian Ephemeris by Pillai Vol VI p 283
6. A series of 7 articles was published by me in Oriya in the 'Jhankara', a monthly Oriya magazine, on the Anka years and events of the reign of Virakesari Deva. The Jhankara Vol. X No. 9 p. 831-848.
7. A Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of Orissa, Vol. 1 Smriti manuscripts No, 25, pp. 16-17.



SARVANGASUNDARI TIKA ON THE GITAGOVINDA

There a is palm-leaf manuscript containing the complete text of the Sarvāṅgasundarī Tīkā on the Gītagovinda by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa in the Manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. The text is written in Oriya characters of the eighteenth century and the manuscript is in a fair state of preservation.

From the introductory verses of this work it is known that this commentary was written by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, who begins this work after paying his respects to Rādhā and Kṛshṇa.

"श्रीकृष्णाय नमः

सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी राधा कृष्णः सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरः

तयोरानन्दजननी टीका सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी ॥

नत्वा श्री हरिचरणं कुरुते सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी टीकां

श्रीनारायण दासः कविराजोऽय गीतगोविन्दे

आस्ते यदि हृदि वाञ्छा वांद्धुं तत्त्वेन गीतगोविन्दं

श्रीनारायणदासस्यादत्तमभिप्रायं जनाः शृणुतः ॥"

The last verse of this work runs as follows :—

"आतिविषमसुप्रीते गीतगोविन्दगीते

हरिचरणविशेषे वेदवेदाङ्गशेषे ॥

भवति गति विचित्रा हि कृतं कर्त्तुकामा

हरि हरि हरि शेषाल्लीश भूमामवाप्ताम् ॥

समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥"

The name of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa is also found at the end of each sarga.

इतिश्री कविराज नारायण दासकृतायां सर्वाङ्गसुन्दर्य्यां ॥

The author K. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa does not mention anywhere in the body of his S. S. T. anything regrding his native place, parentage, time or patron excepting that he bore the dignified title of Kavirāja.

Time of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa :—

The time of Nārāyaṇa Dāsa can be tentatively fixed on the basis of the age of the authorities quoted by him. The number of references to each of them is given within brackets against each.

1) Amarakosha (more than 40 times)
2) Āgama (1)
3) Utpalamālinī perhaps Utpalinī (1
4) Kavikalpalatā (1
5) Kāvyaprakāsha (2
6) Kāvyādarsha (4
7) Kāshikākāra (1
8) Kīchake ; perhaps Kīchakabadha (1
9) Kumārasambhava (2
10) Trikāṅḍaśesha (1
11) Dhṛtidāsa, a commentaror of the Gītagovinda (3
    a) Dhṛti Dāsādeh Samīkṣitābhidhānam p. 7
    b) Iti Dhṛti Dāsa prāha, p. 90
    c) Ityāha Dhṛti Dāsa, p. 151
12) Nāgarasarvasva (4
13) Nātyalochana (2
14) Pādasāgara (1
15) Baudhāgama (1
16) Bharatāchārya (3
17) Bharata Kavīndra (1
18) Bhāravī (1

19) Medinī Kara (3
20) Rasikasarvasva (3
21) Rudrabhaṭṭa (2
22) Rudra (1
23) Vishva and Vishvaprakāsha (15
24) Vishṇu Purāṇa (2
25) Vyaktiviveka (1
26) Shrinivāsa (1
27) Sṛngāratilaka (5
28) Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa (1
29) Smaradīpikā (3

Of the twenty-nine authorities referred to in this ṭīkā Vishṇu Purāṇa is a work of the early centuries of the Christian era. The names of the two works Āgama and Baudhāgama are two vague for determination of their age. Nothing is known about Pādasāgara.

Of the lexicons cited in this work, Amarakosha by the famous author Amarasiṃha was compiled during the 4th century A. D. [1] Trikāṇḍaśesha a supplement of the Amarakosha was written by Purushottama of Utkala who flourished in the 9th century. [2] Utpalamālinī which is either a mistake for Utpalinī or its other name is an old lexicon by Vyāḍi. This was used by Purushottama while compiling his Hārāvalī. [3]

"शब्दार्णव-उत्पलिनी-संसारावर्त्तइत्यपि
कोषाः वाचस्पति-व्याडि-विक्रमादित्यनिर्मिताः ॥"

Vishva or Vishvaprakāsha kosha was compiled by Maheshvara in 1111 A. D. Medinī Kara the lexicographer is assigned to a period prior to 1300 A. D. [4]

Kumārasambhava by the Great Kālidāsa and Kirātārjjunīya by Bhāravi can certainly be placed before 600 A. D. Nītivarman, author of the poem 'Kichakavadha' named as 'Kīchake' in this ṭīkā is assigned to the 9th century on the strength of a reference to this work by Bhoja (1005-1054).

Jayāditya and Vāmana, author of the 'Kāshikā' grammar flourished about 600 A. D.[6] Dandin, the writer of 'Kāvyādarsha' and Mammaṭa, the author of 'Kāvyaprakāsha' have tentatively been assigned to the first half of the eighth century [7] and the beginning of the twelfth century.[8] ' Saravatī Kanṭhābharaṇa ' is a work of Bhoja, the celebrated king of Dhārā (1005—10 4 A. D.). The date of Mahimabhaṭṭa, author of 'Vyakti-viveka' has approximately been fixed towards the last half or the end of the 11th century.[9] Kavikalpalatā was written by Deveshvara, whose father Vāgbhaṭṭa was a ' Mahāmātya ' or prime minster of some king of Mālava, whose name is not known. But he may be placed in the last quarter of the 13th century as in one of the ' Samasyā-shlokas ' of this work, there is a panegyric of ' Hammīra mahīmahendra', who is apparently the Chauhāna prince of that name, who reigned about 1283—1301 A. D. [10]

Bharatāchārya or Bharatakavīndra, the renowned author of the 'Nātyashāstra', is placed by different scholars between 200 B. C. to 200 A. D. The author of ' Naṭyalochana ' still remains unknown. But this old work on the science of dance and music was utilised by Jagaddhara, the famous Maithila poet and commentator (c. 1300 A. D.) while compiling his ' Saṅgīta sarvasva' e. g.

''नाट्यदर्पण-सङ्गीतवल्ली सङ्गीतशेखरम्,
नाट्यलोचन सङ्गीतकल्पवृक्षौ निरूपयन् ॥
दशरूपं रत्नकोषं भरतोक्तादिकं तथा,
सङ्गीतसर्वस्वमिदं तनोति श्रीजगद्धरः ॥ [11]

Of the works on erotics, ' Nāgarasarvasva ' was written by Padmashrī, a Buddhist author (C. 1000 A. D.) [12] 'Shṛngāra tilaka' cited fivetimes by K. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa is a work by Rudrabhaṭṭa or Rudra (referred to thrice), who flourished definitely before 1000 A. D. [13] ' Smara dīpikā ' a short treatise on erotics was written by Mīnanātha, which is known from a manuscript of this work preserved in the Orissa State Museum. 'Iti Shrī Minanātha virachitā Smaradīpikā

samāptā[14] Mīnanātha or Matsyanātha certainly lived before Srī Harsha, the author of 'Naishadha charita Kāvya' (C. 1100 A. D.) as some veiled reference is made to his teachings in a verse of this work (17th canto, verse 63).

" Matsyasyāpi upadeshān vah ko matsyānapi bhāṣatām "
According to Dr. Bagchi, Matsyendranātha referred to in the ' Haṭha yoga pradīpikā ' probably flourished towards the beginning of the 10th century A. D.[15] ' Rasikasarvasva ' is a work of the famous Maithila Paṇḍita Jagaddhara, who refers to this in his commentary on 'Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa' e. g. " yaduktam madrasikasarvasve. "[16] There was one Shrīnivāsa, the author of 'Haṭharatnāvalī' who is known from the second and third introductory verses of this work quoted below, to be a great sholar and a follower of the doctrines of Matsyendranātha, Gorakhanātha and Ātmārāma, the propagators of the Haṭha Yoga e. g.

"वेदे वेदाङ्गशास्त्रे फणिपतिरचिते शब्दशास्त्रे स्वशास्त्रे
तन्त्रे प्रभाकरीये शशधररचिते न्यायरत्नार्णवेन्दुः ।।
सांख्ये सारस्वतीये फणभुगविहिते तत्त्वचिन्तामणिज्ञो
श्रीमज्ज्योतिर्विदग्रेसरनरतनुजो राजते श्रीनिवासः ।। (२)
हठविद्यां हि मत्स्येन्द्र गोरक्ष्याद्या विजानते
आत्मारामोऽपि जानीते श्रीनिवासस्तथास्वयं ।। (३)

The date of Shinivāsa can be tentatively fixed in the 13th century as the date of Phaṇipati (prior to 1100 A. D. as cited in Naishadha). Prabhākara (610—690).[19] Nyāyaratnākara by Pārthasārathi Mishra (1050—1120)[20] the logician Shashadhara (c. 1125 A. D.[21] and Tattvachintāmaṇi by Gaṅgesha (C. 1150 A. D.)[22] are known with some certainty. Shrīnivāsa cited in S. S. T. may be identified with the above scholar bearing that name as K. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa has used 'Smara Dīpikā' a work of his Guru.

From the discussion made above about the authorities cited in S. S. T. this much can be said with certainty that K. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa

flourished after Jagaddhara who is the latest of all the authors, whose works he had utilised in writing this commentary. Thus he can be placed after 1300 A. D. the time of Jagaddhara. But his date can definitely be fixed, when the date of Dhṛtidāsa whose commentary on the Gītagovinda has been utilised in S. S. T. is determined with the help of authentic evidence

Identification of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa :—

Signnificance of the title of Kaviraja.

The title of Kavirāja borne by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa is significant as he feels pride and glory in using it in the second introductory verse and at the end of each sarga of his ṭīkā. It is known from the history of Sanskrit literature that the celebrated poet and scholar Rājaśekhara, who adorned the courts of Mihira Bhoja, Mahendra Pāla, (880-910) and Mahipāla, three powerful rulers of Kānyakubja and subsequently that of Yuvarāja Deva, the Kālachuri ruler of Tripurī (C. 940) takes pride in calling him Kāvirāja in his 'Karpūra manjarī' and 'Viddhashāla bhanjikā' e. g. Vāla kai kaīrāo= Valakavi kavirāja (Karpūra manjarī). This distinction was attainded by him, when he had become the author of many important works. Kavirāja is defined in the 'Kāvya mīmāṃsā' of this Rājashekhara,as one who is unrestrained and proficient in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments. Thus a Kavirāja is one stage higher than a Mahākavi and Kavirājas are rare e. g.

'योऽन्यतरप्रबन्धे प्रवीणः स महाकविः । यस्तु तत्र तत्र भाषाविशेषे तेषु प्रबन्धेषु तस्मिस्तस्मिश्चरसे स्वतन्त्रः स कविराजः । ते यदि जगत्यपि कतिपये '[23]

Jayadeva also calls himself 'Kavinṛpa' and 'Kavirājarāja' with pride in his immortal work Gītagovinda, e. g.

"कलियुगचरितं न वसतुदुरितं कविनृप जयदेवके"[24]

and

"विहितपद्मावतीसुखसमाजे
कुरुमु रारे मङ्गलशतानि
भणति जयदेव कविराजराजे"

Relation between Narayana and Vishvanatha Kaviraja

By applying the criterion prescribed by Rājashekhara which was followed by the poets and scholars of that age, it can safely be concluded that K. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa must have attained celebrity by the time he began his S. S. T. on the Gītagovinda. Such a celebrated poet of the age was 'Kavi paṇḍita mukhya' Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, who is respectfully mentioned by his descendant, the renowned Vishvanātha Kavirāja of Orissa, in his 'Sāhitya darpaṇa' and 'Kāvya prakāsha darpaṇa'.

From the quotations given below from the two works it is known that this Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, fore-father of Vishvanātha was adorning the court of Mahārājādhirāta Narasiṃha Deva, tee emperor of Tri-Kalfnga (Grissa). He was an authority on 'Rasa' and vanquished a notable scholar named Dharmadatta in a learned discource on this subject, e. g.

'यदाहुः श्री (त्रि) कलिङ्गभूमण्डलाखण्डल महाराजाधिराज नरसिंहदेवसभायां धर्मदत्तं स्थगयन्तः सकलसहृदयगोष्ठीगरिष्ठ कविपण्डितास्मद् पितामह ? श्रीनारायणदासपादाः तत्रैव'[26] ।

and

"चमत्कार श्चित्तविस्ताररूपो विस्मयापरपर्यायः । तत् प्राणत्वं चास्मद् वृद्धप्रपितामह सहृदयगोष्ठीगरिष्ठ कविपण्डितमुख्य श्रीनारायणदास पादैरुक्त तदाह धर्मदत्त स्वग्रन्थे ।

रसे सार चमत्कारः

तस्मादद्भूतमेवाह कृती नारायणो रसम्" [27] ॥

It is said that Dharmadatta was a Maithila Paṇḍita and after being defeated by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa he accepted the latter as his 'guru' or teacher.

धर्मदत्तस्तु नारायणस्यान्तेवासीति सम्प्रदायसिद्धि च"

Narayana Dasa grand father of Chandi Dasa

It will be shown below that Mahāmahopādhyāya Chaṇḍi Dāsa, who wrote the Dīpikā commentary on the 'Kāvyaprakāśa' of Mammaṭa was the younger brother of grand father of Viśvanātha Kavirāja.

(क) तदुक्तमस्मत्सगोत्रैः कविपण्डितमुख्य श्रीचाण्डे दासपादैः

(साः दः चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः)

(क) अस्मन् पितामहानुज कविपण्डितमुख्य श्रीचण्डिदासपादानान्तु खण्डरसनाम्ना
(साः दः सप्तमः परिच्छेदः)

In the colophon of his Dīpikā commentary Chaṇḍidāsa speaks of himself thus :

'इति कपिञ्जलतिलक षड्दर्शनीयचक्रवर्ती महाकविचक्रचूडामणि सहृदयगोष्ठीगरिष्ठ श्रीचण्डीदास महामहोपाध्यायकृत काव्यप्रकाशदीपिकायां दशमोल्लासः समाप्तः" [29] ||

From this ṭīkā the following information is obtained about the fore fathers of Shrī Chaṇḍīdāsa. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa was his grand-father, Kavirāja Ullāsa Dāsa, the son of Nārāyaṇa Dāsa was the elder brother of his father Vilāsa Dāsa. Kavirāja Ullāsa Dāsa was the guru or preceptor of Nṛsiṃha Deva, the emperor of Trikaliṅga.

(क) 'इत्यस्मद् पितामह श्रीनारायणदास पादैः [30]

(ख) 'गुरुषु त्रिकलिङ्गदेवेन्द्र श्रीनृसिंहदेवस्य कविराज श्रीमदुल्लासपादेष्वस्माकं ज्येष्ठतातेषु तथा [31]

He was also the author of another work called 'ध्वनिसिसिद्धान्त-संग्रह' which is also referred to in his 'काव्यप्रकाश दीपिका'

Thus both Kavipaṇḍitamukhya Nārāyaṇa Dāsa and his son Kavirāja Ullāsa Dāsa of the Kapiñjala Brāhmaṇa family of some Shāsana (Brāhmaṇa Village) in the district of Puri were adorning the court of Narasiṃha Deva, the Gaṅga Emperor of Orissa and so Mahāmahopādhyāya Chaṇḍi Dāsa the author of the 'Dīpikā' commentary on 'Kāvyaprakāsa' and the grandson of Nārāyaṇa belonged to Orissa.

Hence the statement made by Mm. H. P. Shastri, that Chaṇḍī Dāsa the author of 'Kāvyaprakāśa Dīpika' was Brāhmaṇa of some Mukharji family of Bengal [32] is not acceptable.

This view has also been accepted by an eminent scholar like Dr. S. K. De, who writes while commenting on the Sāhitya-Darpaṇa of Viśvanātha Kavirāja "Chaṇḍīdāsa who appears to be different from the Bengal author of the Dīpikā commentary on Mammaṭa is also quoted." [33]

RELATION BETWEEN NARAYANA & KRISHNANANDA :

Kṛshṇānanda of the same Kapiñjala family who was the 'Sāndhivigrahika Mahāpātra' or the minister for war and peace of Gajapati Narasiṃha II from 1385 to 1396 A. D. is stated as grand-son of Nārāyaṇa Guru in an inscription of the Siṃhachala temple dated 1307 Shaka year or 1385 A. D. 34 He wrote the 'Sāhṛdayānanda. Mahākāvyaṃ' during 1385-1396 A. D when he was the foreign minister of Orissa, His son Kachu ? became the 'Sānddhivigraka' in 1396 A. D.

Chandraśekhara a descendant of Nārāyaṇa and the father of Viśvanātha Kavitāja was also a 'Sāndhivigrahika' of Bhānu III and Narasiṃha IV and Viśvanātha was the 'Sandhivigrahika Mahā-pātra' of Narasiṃha IV and of Bhānu IV, the last Gaṅga Emperor of Orissa.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that great scholars and poets like Viśvanātha Kavirāja, Mahāmahopādhyāpa Chaṇḍīdāsa and 'Sakala Kavikulamaulimaṇḍana' Kṛṣṇānanda Mahāpātra, two of whom (except Chaṇḍīdāsa) are definitely known to be holding the post of minister for peace and war in the Kaliṅga empire take pride and glory in tracing their descent from Nārāyaṇa dāsa, who was the guru and 'Kavipaṇḍitamukhya' of Mahārājādhirāja Narasiṃha Deva. Nārāyaṇa brought his family to the fore front in the political and cultural field of Orissa by dint of his versatile scholarship and saintly character some time in the first quarter of the century as will be shown below. A tentative genealogy of this family may be drawn in the following manner :

कवि पण्डितमुख्य and राजगुरु
Nārāyaṇa Dāsa
of the court of Mahārājādhirāja
Narasiṃha Deva

Kavirāja
Ullāsa Dāsa,
guru of
Nṛsiṃha Deva

Villāsa Dāsa

Mahāmahopādhyāya
Chaṇḍī Dāsa
author of
(काव्यप्रकाशदीपिका)

Not Known

Kṛṣṇānanda
(सान्धिविग्रहिक महापात्र)

1385—1396 A. D.

Kachu (सा: वि: महापात्र)
1396 A. D.

Name not Known

Name not Known

Chandraśekhara
(सा: वि. महापात्र)
of Bhānu III and Narasiṃha IV

Viśvanātha Kavirāja
(सा: वि. महापात्र)
of Narasiṃha IV and
Bhānu IV (1407—1434)

The time of Viśvanātha Kavirāja, who is assigned to different periods in the 14th century by eminent scholars like M. M. Chakravarti[36] Mm. H. P. Shāstri[37], Mm. P. V. Kane[37] and Dr. S. K. De[39] can now be definitely fixed after the publication of his 'Chandrakalā Nāṭikā' which was staged in the court of Nisaṅka Bhānu Deva or Bhānu IV after his return from a successful expedition to the capital of Gauḍa near the Gaṅgā, some time in 1409-1410 A. D. e. g.

सूत्रधार—आश्चर्यं पश्य पश्य। अयमिदानीं यवनपुरपुरन्ध्री वर्गनिर्गलदविरल नयन-जलधारा निद्रौतगिरिकन्दरो X X सभामध्यास्ते गजपतिर्महाराजाधिराज त्रिकलिङ्ग भूमण्डलाखण्डलः श्रीमन्निशङ्कभानुदेवः"

"आचन्द्रे धर्मधाम्नि प्रखरहयखुरक्षणपृथ्वीरजोभिः
क्षिप्ते नक्षत्रलक्षे नभसि करिकरोद्धृतगङ्गापयोभिः

ज्योत्स्नाभिः कीर्त्तिचन्द्रे धवलयति जगज्जैत्रयात्रावकाशे
गौडक्ष्मापालक्ष्मी र्व्यरचयदचिरादेव यस्याभिसारम्" [40]।

Viśvanātha also adorned the court of Narasiṃha IV (1378—1409 A. D.) for some time and wrote a Kāvya named 'Vijaya Narasiṃhaṃ' which is referred to by his son Ananta Dāsa in his 'Lochana ṭīkā' on Sāhityadarpaṇa,

"यथा मम तातपादानां विजयनरसिंहे'

One of the verses of this Kāvya runs as follows :—

"आहवे जगदुद्दण्ड राजमण्डलराहवे
श्रीनृसिंहमहीपाल स्वस्त्यस्तु तव बाहवे" [41]

Viśvanātha had written a number of works before compiling his well known Sāhitya Darpaṇa some time in C. 1420 A. D. So his literary career might have begun from the last decade of 14th century or at least from 1400 A. D. As Viśvanātha was the great grand-son of Nārayaṇa and three generations having lived between

the two, Nārāyaṇa may safely be placed in the first quarter of the 14th century.

This date is corroborated if we discuss about the verse 'Durgālaṅghitavigraha X X X Rājatyumā-vallabhah' quoted in the S. D. as composed by his father Chandra-śekhara. This Umāvallabha can be identified with Bhānu III (1363-1378). The name of one of his queens was Umā, who is known from her inscription in the Pārvatī temple of Bhubaneswar incised in the 13th Aṅka of his reign corresponding to 1363 A. D.[42] Another inscription of the same queen is found in the Simhāchalam temple dated 1301 Saka year 1379 A. D.[43] The date of this unknown work of Chandraśekhara may be placed between the above two dates. In that case the date of Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, the great grand father of Chrndraśekhara may be placed in the first decade of the 14th century, when Narasiṃha II was the emperor of Orissa.

Further some chronological inference regarding Nārāyaṇa Dāsa can be drawn from this significant verse of the S. D. quoted below in which allusion is made to a Muhammadan king named Allava-dina e. g.

सन्धौसर्वस्वहरणं विग्रहे प्राणनिग्रहः ।
अल्लवदीन नृपतौ न सन्धिर्नचविग्रहः ॥

This Allavadina can be identified with Ālā-ud-din-khilji, the most powerful Sultan of Delhi, who was a contemporary of Narasiṃha II for 12 years and whose army had already conquered the whole of northern India excepting Orissa, then extending from the Gaṅgā in the north to the Godāvarī in the south by 1303 A. D. This verse clearly indicates that it was composed at a time when terrible attack on Orissa by this mighty Sultana was always being apprehended by Narasiṃha, who was advised for maintain-ing constant vigilance on its borders and keeping its army prepared for meeting any emergency, instead of taking recourse to fighting

or submission. This diplomatic verse was most probably composed by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, the guru and court poet of Narasiṃha Deva and as such finds place as a historic verse in the S. D, of his descendant.

IMPORTANCE OF THIS COMMENTARY

This S. S. Tīkā being one of the earliest commentaries of the Gītagovinda written by a great scholar of the land of his birth (Utkala) has got some special importance. The first thing deserving consideration is the appropriate interpretation of the significant and chronological verse 'वाचः पल्लवयति X X X धोयीकविक्ष्मापतिः' of the G. G. which really contains disparaging remarks about four estimable poets of his age, while apparently describing the particular literary quality of each of them as will be evident from the explanation of the verse quoted below :--

"संप्रति कवीनां प्रशंसाव्याजेन निन्दां कुर्वन्नात्मनः
प्रौढिमाह् । वाचः कविक्ष्मापतिः" उमापतिधरोनाम्ना

सान्धिविग्रहिको वाचः पल्लवयति विस्तारायतीत्यर्थः, एतेनास्य व्याख्याशक्तिर्दर्शिता । निन्दातु पल्लवग्राहिणी स्यात् । यदुक्तं पल्लवग्राहिपाण्डित्यं क्रयक्रीतं च मैथुन भोजनं च परायत्तं तिस्रः पुंसां विडम्बनेति ।

शरण श्लाघ्यो दुरुहद्रुते इति । दुरुहे प्रमेये समस्यादौ, द्रुते शीघ्रत्वे श्लाघ्यो, द्रुतकविरित्यर्थः । द्रुतदुःखोहपवाक्या निन्दातु दुरुहद्रुत एव श्लाघ्यो,नान्यत्रेवधारणात् वेद्या ।

शृङ्गारोत्तर सत्प्रमेयरचनै राचार्य्य गोवर्द्धन स्पर्द्धि कोऽपिन विश्रुत इति । शृङ्गार प्रधान सत् प्रमेय प्रथनायामाचार्य गोवर्द्धन स्पर्द्धित । तमभिभवन्तः कोऽपिनशक्तः इत्यर्थ । अत्रापि अवधारणं नरसान्तराभिप्रायानिन्दा ज्ञेया ॥

श्रुतिधरः धोयी कविक्ष्मापतिरिति । धोयीनामा कविराजः श्रुतिधरः । श्रवणमात्रादेव गृहीतग्रन्थ इत्यर्थः । निन्दातु श्रुतिधरतया हेयापादेय बुद्धिरहितत्वात् पशुत्वापत्तेः । यदुक्तं उदीरितार्थः पशुनापि गृह्यते । हयाश्च नागाश्च वहन्ति चोदिताः । अनूक्तमप्यूहति पण्डितोजनः परेङ्गित ज्ञानफलाहि बुद्धयः ॥ इति ॥

अतएव तेगिरां सन्दर्भं ग्रन्थविशेषं न जानतो कस्तर्हि जानातीत्याह् जयदेव एवेति ॥

Poet Umāpatidhara, a minister for peace and war can no doubt make the words sprout, e. g , he is proficient in the use of bombastic and florid words, but his knowledge of the use of words is only superficial and not deep. Sharaṇa is praise-worthy only in quick and difficult comositions, but in nothing else. Āchārya Govardhana is unrivalled in the composition of faultless erotic verses, but he has no mastery in other 'Rasas' except 'Shṛṅgāra'. Kavirāja Dhoyī can remember what he hears once, which implies that he has strong memory and imitativeness, but lacks in originality. But Jayadeva alone had profound mastery over the use of words and had originality and spontaneity.

On the wrong interpretation of this significant verse has been based a wrong theory that all the five poets mentioned in it belonged to the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena of Bengal which has been unquestionably accepted by many scholas. But the quotation made above from S. S. Tikā clearly proves that Jayadeva has only established his superiority over four other commentary poets, and says nothing about his association with any royal court. Of this four poets Umāpati and Dhoyī definitely adorned the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena. Sharaṇa no doubt belongs to Bengal, but he being a protege of this king is quite probable as his verses have been quoted in the S. K. M.[42] Āchārya Govardhana was an inhabitant of Puri and never lived in his court.[43] This is proved by the fact that none of the stanzas of his famous 'Āryāsaptaśatī' is quoted in the 'Sadūktikarṇāmṛta' of Shrīdhara Dāsa, composed under the patronage of Lakshmaṇa Sena.[43] This omission is significant, which clearly proves that he was not known to Shrīdhara Dāsa and as such did not adorn the court of this Sena king. This is further corroborated by the fact that Govardhana Āchārya and a verse of his 'Āryāsaptaśatī' e. g., अन्यमुखे दुर्वा...........धूपः has been quoted by Arjuna Varma Deva, a king of Mālava (1211—1215) in his commentary on 'Amaruśatakaṃ'[45] which clearly proves that he became well

known in other parts of India, within a few years of its comosition, and as such its omission S. K. M. disproves the theory of his connection with the Sena court.

Umāpatidhara, mentioned first in this verse, Dhoyī Kavirāja and probably Sharaṇa having been known as the court poets of Lakshmaṇa Sena it was wrongly assumed in later years that all the poets belonged to his court like the famous traditional verse धन्वन्तरीक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कु, X X X वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य" associating nine great poets with the court of Vikramāditya. This is also proved by the fact that Chaitanya Dāsa, the famous Bengali commentator of the G. G. of the 16th century does not say anything about the connection of these five poets with any royal court.

The clear interpretation of the line 'केन्दुविल्व-समुद्रसम्भव-रोहिणीरमणेन' is also very important as it definitely states that this Shāsana or Brāhmaṇa village which was the birth place of Shrī Jayadeva and flourished and came to the prominence due to his attainments :

"किन्दुविल्वाख्य शासनं । तच्चमहत्त्वान् समुद्रत्वेन रूपितं, किन्दुविल्व समुद्रसम्भवश्चासौ रोहिणीरमणश्चेति । अकुलोद्भुतस्यात्मनकुलोन्नतिकारकदर्शनान् सम्भवशब्दोपादानं । तन्कुलोत्पत्तिकताख्यापनार्थं । दृष्टान्तोऽत्र युधिष्ठिरः । तदेवं किन्दुविल्वशासनाज्जातस्तस्येवोन्नतिकारको यथा सागराज्जातः चन्द्रः सागरवृद्धिकारक इत्यर्थः संपद्यते ।"

The explanation of this line given by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa of Orissa convincingly proves that the present Kenduli Shāsana near the Prāchī river of the Puri district can definitely be identified with the Kinduvilva Shāsana of the Gītagovinda, whereas the Kenduli village on the bank of the river Ajaya was never a Shāsana or Brāhmaṇa village in the past or at present.

The interpretation of the word 'Padmāvatī' in the following expressions as given in thi Tīkā are quoted below :

(क) 'पद्मावती-चरण - चारणचक्रवर्त्ती' — अत्रवागदेवतेत्वनेन कवेः पाण्डित्यं पद्मावती चरणचारणेत्वनेन लक्ष्म्याभक्त्यातिशयेन दारिद्र्यापगमः । अवश्यं कविना दरिद्र्योपशमाय यतनीयं ।।

(ख) पद्मावतीरमण—पद्मावतिरमणश्चासौ जयदेवकविश्चेतिविग्रहः । एतेनान्याङ्गनावैमुख्यं जयदेवकविनात्मनः प्रतिपादितं ॥

(ग) विहितपद्मावतीसुखीसमाजे—विहितः पद्मावत्याः निजप्रेयस्याः सुखसमाजः सुखचयो येनेति विग्रहः ॥

The verse "Shrī Bhojadeva prabhavasya kavitvamastu" describing the names of his parents and his friend Parāshara occurs as the last verse of this commentary.

The following eighteen verses explained by Rāṇā Kuṃbha in his commentary (C. 1450 A. D.) are not found in this commentary.

(1) Last two verses of the lst canto—

(a) Kānityo staṇga ··· ··· pikānāṃ girah.
(b) Rāsollāsabhareṇa ··· ··· Harih pātu vah.

(2) Last verse of 2nd canto "Sākūta smita ··· navah Keshavah"

(3) Last verse of the 3rd canto "Tiryak kaṇṭha ··· ··· Kaṭākṣormayah"

(4) Last verse of the 4th conto "Vṛṣṭi vyākula ··· ··· Kaṃsadviṣah"

(5) Last verse of the 5th canto "Rādhāmugdha ··· Devakīnandanah"

(6) Last verse of the 6th canto "Kiṃ vishrāmyasi ... ... garbhā girah"

(7) Last verse of the 7th canto "Prātah nīla... ...Nandātmajah"

(8) Last two verses of the 8th canto—

(a) Tadevaṃ pashyantyā ... ... lajjāṃ janayati "
(b) Antarmohan ··· ··· Shreyāṃsi vaṃshīravah "

(9) Last verse of the 9th canto 'Sāndrānanda ··· ··· vandāmahe'

(10) Last verse of the 10th canto 'Sa prītiṃ ... Kaṃsasya kolāhalah "

(11) Last three verses of the 11th canto—

(a) " Sānandaṃ Nandasūnu ... ... Mālokayan vah "
(b) " Jayashrī vinyastai ... ... Murajitah "
(c) Saundaryaikanidhe ... ... Mukundo mudam "

(12) Three verses of the 12th canto—

(a) "Vyākoshah keshapāsha ... mugdhakāntirdhinoti"
(b) "Īṣan mīlitadṛṣṭi ... ... dhayatyānanam"
(c) Itthaṃ kelitata ... ... mudāṃ Saṃpadam "

All these eighteen verses were interpolated in to the original text of the G. G. sometime after the composition of S. S. T. by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa and before the time of Rāṇā Kuṃbha (C 1450 A. D.). Interpolation of few other verses is also found in some commentaries like Vālabodhinī of Shrī Chaitanya Dāsa [46] and Rasamañjarī of Mm. Shrī Shaṃkara Mishra. It is intended to discuss about this subject of interpolation in a separate paper.

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SOME IMITATIONS OF THE GITAGOVINDAM

In the domain of Sanskrit literature the Gītagovindam a love lyric, written by Srī Jayadeva, the celebrated Sanskrit poet of Orissa has got the largest number of imitations like the 'Meghadūtam' by Mahākavi Kālidāsa. Up till now more than thirty-five imitations of the G. G. ★ made by Pandits of different parts of India in different ages have been traced by scholars on which a brief discussion is made below.

I

First imitation of the G. G. made by a ruler of Orissa

From the traditional account of Jayadeva recorded in the 'Bhaktavijaya' written in old Marhatti languaga it is known that after the introduction of the singing of the G. G. by Shree Jayadeva in the temple of Jagannātha, the Raja of Puri tried to introduce his own work thereby replacing that of Srī Jayadeva. But he was mortified to know that his work was discarded by the Lord. So when he was about to commit suicide due to utter despair, Lord Jagannātha out of compassion for his royal devotee, wrote 24 verses of the king's work in Jayadeva's work by which the king was comforted. [1]

According to Oriya 'Dārdhyatā bhakti' [2] written by poet Rāma Dāsa of the 18th century twelve verses of the king's work were interpolated into the text of the G. G. by Shree Jayadeva.

The well-known Sanskrit work Bhaktamālā by the Maithila poet Chandra Datta of the 17th century elaborately describes how the G. G. and its imitations made by the Raja of Puri, were placed in the present of Lord Jagannātha who placed Jayadeva's work over that of the ruler. The following verse may be quoted—

'उभयं स्थापयामास जगन्नाथाग्रतः स्वयम्
X X X
ददृशुस्तत्र ते सर्वे जयदेवेन निर्मितम्
उपरिष्टात् स्थापितं तु तदधो राजनिर्मितम्" (३

But Chandra Datta does not speak anything about the interpolation of verses from the king's work into Srī G. G.

The last verse of the Rasikapriyā commentary on the G. G. written by Rana Kumbhakarna between 1460—1468 A. D. e.g. ' Vyāpārāh Puruṣottamsya dadatu sphītāṃ mudām saṃpadam ' contains a veiled reference to a king Purushottama by name, who was the author of this first imitation of the G. G (4)

Elsewhere Kumbhakarna also refers to a work written by this king "Prabandhah pṛthibī bharttrā prabandhah prītaye Hareh" (5) while commenting on the 13th verse of the 4th sarga. Thus, the king of Puri, the author of the first imitation flourished before the days of Rana Kumbhakarna (1450 A. D.).

Of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa who flourished before Rana Kumbha, Bhānu Deva II (1307—1328 A. D.) is described as a great devotee of Govinda (Govindasya padāravinda rajasā sāndrīkṛtānandanān Bhānoh) and a great scholar and patron of scholars.

" Pāṇḍitya maṇḍita mahākavimaṇḍalasya
Kīdṛk sahasra viṣaye kushalatvamasya
Vīrashrī shravaṇagatā sa mahimā Vāgdevatā bhuṣaṇah " 6

Therefore, it is quite possible that this learned king Bhānu II, who is called Purushottama in two of his records (7) and who was a devout worshipper of Govinda to write an imitation of the G. G. the name of which is not yet known for ṛecitation in the temple of Jagannātha in place of G. G. of Jayadeva, the singing of which as daily sevā of the deity was introduced by his father Narasimha II. (c. 1278-1317 A. D.).

In this connection it may be suggested that the following eighteen verses, which are commented upon by Rana Kumbhakarna but not found in the 'Sarvānga sundarī Tikā' of Kavirāja Narayana Dāsa, might have formed part of this first imitation of the G. G.

1st Sarga-Verse 11	Nityotsanga··· ···
1st Sarga-Verse 12	Rāsollāsa······
2nd Sarga-Verse 12	Sākuta smita mākula······
3rd Sarga-Verse 13	Tirykkanṭha villoah······
4th Sarga-Verse 13	Vrṣṭivyākula Gokula
5th Sarga-Verse 7	Rādhāmugdha mukhāravinda
6th Sarga-Verse 4	Kiṃ viśramyasi
7th Sarga-Verse 10	Prātah nīla nichola
8th Sarga-Verse 2	Tavedaṃ praśastyāh
8th Sarga-Verse 3	Antarmohan mauli
9th Sarga-Verse 3	Sāndrānanda purandara
10th Sarga-Verse 8	Sa prīti tanutāṃ
11th Sarga-Verse 10	Sānandaṃ Nandasūnu
11th Sarga-Verse 11	Jayaśrīvinyasta
11th Sarga-Verse 12	Saundaryaika nidhe
12th Sarga-Verse 6	Vyākośakeśapāśa
12th Sarga-Verse 7	Iṣanmīlita dṛṣṭi
12th Sarga-Verse 12	Itthaṃ kelitatīh Vihṛtya

But no definite conclusion can be drawn till a manusscript of this much expected first imitation of the G. G. comes to light somewhere in this State or elsewhere.

II

Gīta Gaurīpati or Gīta Gaurīsha

During the Gaṅga rule over Orissa, keen competition was going on between the Sanskrit scholars of Utkala and Mithila to produce the best works on Darśana, Dharmasāstra, Kāvya, Alamkāra, and Jyotisha. The famous Viśvanātha Kavirāja records with pride the contest made by his great grandfather Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa with

Dharma Datta of Mithila, in the court of Narasiṃha Deva, Emperor of Kalinga, in which Dharma Datta was vanquished and accepted Kavirāja Nārāyanā Dāsa as his Guru. Following the spirit of the age Bhānu Datta a famous Sanskrit poet of Mithilā and a devout Saiva wrote Gītagaurīśa or Gīta Gauripati in imitation of the well-known G. G. of Sri Jayadeva to glorify the Rāsalilā of Gauri (Pārvatī) and Gauripati (Siva). Though Bhanu followed the G. G. as his model he chose the divine Rāsalilā of Hara Pārvatī as the theme of his work inorder to popularise it and his faith among the people. In this respect he may be taken as the pioneer as the other Siva Gītākavyas so far known were written in later periods.

Bhanu Datta was a versatile scholar of Mithila. In his 'रस मञ्जरी' he has spoken with great pride about his father Gaṇeśvara, who was a great poet of the age and his native country Videha (Mithila) washed by the purifying water of the Gaṅgā.

" Tāto yasya Gaṇeswaro kavikulālankāra chuḍāmaṇih
Deshoyasya Vīdehabhūh Surasarit kallola kirmiritā. "

The 2nd and 3rd introductory verses of his Pārijāta a work on Dharmasastra speak very highly of the scholarship of Bhanu Datta, son of Ganapati e. g.

"Yathā Gaṇapateh kāvyaṃ kāvyaṃ Bhānukavestathā
Anayoh sangamah shlāghyah sharkarā kṣirayo riva. (2
Vasudhā vivudhāstarka tigmāṃshukara tāpitāh
Kaveh Shrī Bhānudattasya pārijāto niṣevyatām. "

According to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Chandesvara Thakur, the celebrated Smṛti writer of Mithilā, who wrote most of his works after 1314 A. D. has referred to Parijata in his 'Suddhi Ratnakara' and Dāna Ratnakara' [8]. In the opinion of Dr. P. V. Kane, Viresvara the father of Chandesvara was the brother of Ganesvara or Ganapati, father of Bhanu Datta. [9] Thus Bhanu's Gīta-Gaurīsha kāvya can, definitely be assigned to the first quarter of the 14th century (1311—1325 A. D.).

This work Gita Gaurisa is divided in to ten Sargas, or cantos, the last one being about Ardha Nārīsvara, The Siva Tāndava is described in the mangalācharana verse of this work.

Sāndhyā nṛtyavidhau Bhujangamapate rgītāmṛtaṃ shṛṇvātah
Pratyakṣhi skhalita promodasalila stome samutasthuṣi
Maule rutpathagā kimu Tripathagā jāteti shankāyuṣoh
Devasya Tripurāntakasya chakita vyālokitaṃ pātu nah. (1

Last verse-" Bhavānī vartate yāvadanga lagnā puradvishah
Vidvat kaṇṭha sthitā tāvat Bhano rvāṇī virājatām.

The example quoted below will show how an attempt has been made to imitate the famous 'Dashāvatāra stuti' of the G. G. by Bhanu Kavi, with some amount of success. Mālava rāgeṇa gīyate.

Bhramati jagati sakale pratilava maviesheṣam
Shamayitumiva janana klesh masheṣam
Puraharadhṛta samīra sharīra jaya Bhuvanādhipate (1)
Kṣīra sindhu laharī ruchiram ruchibarajālam
Parama dhāma kimu vahasivishālam
Puraharadhṛta Himakararūpa jaya Bhubanādhipate 10

'Gitagaurisa' is the first imitation of the G. G. made outside Orissa, the first one being a work by a Ruler of Orissa.

III

Abhinava Gitagovindam

The real author of 'Abhinava Gitagovindam' was Kavichandarāya Divakara Mishra of Orissa, but its authorship has been attributed by the poet to Gajapati Purushottama Deva (1466-1497 A. D.) as a token of gratitude for his patronage.

This work as its very name indicates, was a new G. G. and as such the theme and arrangement are practically similar in both

the works, the only difference being that G. G. has 12th Sargas whereas A. G. G. is divided in to ten Sargas as noted below :—

"Iti Shri Puruṣottama Deva gajapati mahāraja kṛte Abhinava Gīta govindamahākāvye virahiṇī varṇane vidhurarādho nāma Prathamah sargah."

Nāyikābhilāṣa varṇane sotkaṇtha vaikuṇṭho nāma dvitīya Sargah
Abhisārikā varṇane Muditarādho nāma tṛtīya Sargah
Kalahāntaritā varṇane Mūḍharādho nāma chaturtha Sargah
Vipralabdhā varṇane vidagdhamādhavo nāma pañchama Sargah
Vāsakasajjā varṇane saṃkṣubdharādho nāma ṣaṣṭha Sargah
Khaṇḍitā varṇane vilakṣa puṇḍarīkākṣho nāma saptama sargah
Proṣitabhartṛkā varṇane anukularādho nāma navama Sargah
Swādhinabhartṛkāvarṇane nanda mukundo nāma dashama Sargah

As regards the use of ' Rāgas ' we find only these ten rāgas, e. g. Karṇāṭa, Gurjarī, Gonḍakerī, Deshīvarāḍi, Varāḍi, Vasanta, Vibhāsa, Bhairava, Mālava, Rāmakeri, used in the G. G., whereas the number of rāgas in the A. G. G. is 58. They are arranged alphabetically below and the number of the sarga in which each rāga is used is given within brackets ('S' indicating sarga). Scholars interested in the study of the development of rāgas in Orissa will find ample new materials in this work.[11]

अमर पञ्चम (स, ६) आभिरि (स, ३) ककुभ (स ५,६) कर्णाटवङ्गाल (स, ७) कलहंस or वलहंस ? (स, २,६), कल्याणनाट (स, ४), काम्बोजी (स, ४ कुरुञ्जी (स, १०) केदारगौडा (स, ४) कोलाहल (स, ६) गान्धार (स, ७) गुज्जरी (स, ७ ६), गोण्डकिरी (स, १) गौडी (स, ३ ७) घण्टारव (स, ६) चिन्तादेशी (स, ३) छायानट (स, ५) तोडी (स, ७) दीपक (स, ५) देशाक्ष (स, ६) देशी (स, ४ ७) धनासी (स, ७) नट नारायण (स. ७) नटरामकिरि (स. ३,७) नारायणगौड़ा (स. २) नारायणदेशाख्य (स. ५) ऽुरवी (स. १०) वङ्गालगौडा (स. ३) वङ्गालवराडि (स. ७) वसन्त (स. १) वहुलि (स. २) वेलावेलि (स. १०) भिन्नषडज (स. १०) भूपाल (स. २,४) भैरव (स. ५) भैरवी (स. १,८) मङ्गलगुज्जरी (स. १०) मध्यमादि (स. १) मल्लहारो (स. ७) मल्लार (स. ५;७) मालवगौडा (स. १) मालश्री (स. ३) मुखारि (स. २ & ६) रामकिरी (स. १) रेहगुप्ति (स. ७) ललित (स. २,४) शङ्कराभरण

श्री (स. ६). शुद्ध नट (स. ४) शुद्ध वङ्गाल (स. १०) शुद्धवराडि (स. ५,७) शुद्ध वसन्त (स. ३) सालकर्णाट (स. ६) सामवराडि (स. १०) सोम(स. ६)सौराष्ट्र गुज्जरी (स, २) हिन्दोल (स.७)

Most of these rāgas began to be used in Oriya Kavyas from the beginning of the 16th century.

Like the famous ' Dashāvatárastutī ' or prayer to the ten incarnations of Vishṇu of the Gitagovinda, we find a similar hymn in the first chapter of the A. G. G., the only difference being that Lord Buddha, the ninth incarnation prayed to by Jayadeva has been substituted by Kṛshna in A G. G., which indicates the total decline of Buddhism and the strong hold of Kṛshna worship over the people in Orissa by his time. Instead of 'Jay Jagadīsha Hare' of she G.G. we find 'Janana-pālana···Nīlagiripatimachyutam ' as Dhruvapada in the A. G. G. This shows that Dashākṛtikṛt Kṛshna has been identified with ' Nīlagiripati Achyuta ' or Jagannatha by the royal poet, who was his great devotee. 'Another Dashāvatāra stuti' is also found towards the close of A. G. G., which is absent in the G. G.

As regards the date of this work it may be stated here that the date of copy of the Museum manuscript was Vaishakha, Sukla, Pratipad, Bhānu vāsara, in the 34th Aṅka year of the increasingly victorious reign of Gajapati Purushottama Deva. The exact corresponding date according to Christian Era being the 6th April 1494, Sunday [19] the date of composition may tentatively be fixed between 1466—1494 A. D.

The royal author has tried to make the language of his work as simple, sweet and melodious as that of the G. G. but the success achieved by him though praise worthy is not complete· Some examples from A. G. G. are quoted below :—

I

Srikṛshna varṇanā—

"Gopījanālīngitmadhyabhāgam veṇu dhamantaṃ bhṛushalolanetram
Kalevare prasphuṭa romavṛndam namāmi·kṛshnam jogadeka kandam."

"Sulalita varhiṇa chandrakachūlam tadadhara parivṛta nava vanamālam
Mṛgamadatilaka chaṭulatara bhālam parihitatanutara pītanicholam"

II

Virahavidhurā Rādhā—

" Kālo vasanto navayauvanāham
Lajjāvisheṣo Madanasya pīḍā.
Jane durāpe mahtī spṛhā me
Na kopyupāyah sakhi jīvanāya. "

III

Ratāntavesha varṇanā—

Saṃyamayāmī sukeshi manorama vigalita kavarī bhāram
Praṇaya. mahīruha phalamiva vidadhe chandana tilaka mudāram. "

X X X

Kuṭilavilokinī nayane Chapale milanaṃ tava ghaṭayeyam
Anjana murasiruhe makaradhvaja ketanamapi rachayeyam "

IV

Jagannatha Ballabha Natakam by Raya Ramananda—

Raya Ramananda whose original surname was Pattanayaka was the Governor of Rajamahendra on the sacred Godavari under Gajapati Prataparudra Deva (1497—1534 A. D.). This great Vaisnava philosopher and erudite scholar wrote a drama in Sanskrit called 'Jagannatha Ballava Natakam' in imitation of the G. G. to gain the pleasure of his patron Gajapati Prataparudra Deva, which will be evident from the quotation given below—

Shree Rāmānanda Rāyeṇa ... ...
Shree Jagannātha vallabham nāma Pratāparudra priyaṃ ... ...
... ... nāṭakaṃ nirmāya Samarpitam abhineṣyāmi "

This drama contains the following acts :—

1st Act-Pūrvarāga, 2nd Act-Bhāvaparīkṣā, 3rd Act-Bhāvaprakāsha, 4th Act-Rudhābhisāra, 5th Act-Rādhāsangama

Raya Ramananda has incorporated twenty one songs in this drama, rāgas of each of which have been indicated in imitation of the songs of the G. G.

1st Act—Naṭa, Kedāra, Basanta, Gondḍakerī
2ndAct —Gāndhāra, Toḍibarāḍi, Sāmagujjarī, Mallāra
3rd Act—Sāmagujjarī, Suhayī, Deshākhya, Karṇāṭa
4th Act—Mālava, Dukhi barāḍī, Sāmatoḍī, Rāmakeli, Mālava
5th Act—Sukha sindhuḍā, Āhira, Lalita, Mangalagujjarī

The total number of Rāgas used in rhis work is twenty only for twenty-one songs, the rāga 'साम गुज्जरी' having been used for two songs.

This work of Rāya Rāmananda was writren before the advent of Srī Chaitanya to Puri in 1509 A. D. and after the accession of Gajapati Pratāparudra on the throne of Orissa in 1597 A. D. Thus, it can tentatively be assigned to the first decade of the 16th century. As regards the language of the songs it may be stated that some of this drafoa are sweet, simple and melodious as those of the G. G. for which it was very much liked by Sri Chaitanya who used to listen to the singimg of it along with that of G. G. of Sri Jayadeva and Kṛshṇa Karṇāmṛta by Lilānshuka. A verse of it quoted below will give some idea about the language of the work.

I

(Kedāra Rāgeṇa)

"Mṛdutara mārtta vellita pallava vallī valita shikhanḍam
Tilakaviḍambita marakata maṇitala bimbita shashadharakhanḍam

Yuvati manoharavesham
Kalaya kalānidhimiva dharaṇī manupariṇata rupavisheṣam

II

"Kalayatinayane dishidishi valitam
Pankjamiva mṛdumārutakalitam
Kelivipinaṃ pravishati Rādhā
Pratipada samudita Manasijavādhā

V

Piyusha Lahari by Jayadeva Acharya (13)

Piyusha Lahari, a rupaka or one act drama written by Shrī Jayadeva Achārya may aptly be called a supplement of Shrī Gītagovindam. This Jayadeva Acharya was different from the saintly poet Jayadeva and flourished in the first quarter of the 16th century as he was the son of the famous poet Kavidiṇdima Jīvadeva Acharya, the Rajaguru or preceptor of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva who wrote his famous भक्तिभागवतमहाकाव्य in 1509 A. D. Thus, Pīyusha Lahari was written some time near about 1520 A. D. when Jayadeva adorned the court of Gajapati Prataparudra.

From the speech of the Sūtradhara it is known that this one-act drama was staged in the temple of Lord Jagannatha.

" Aho Bhagavato ... Nīlāchala maulimanḍana... ...Garuḍadhvajasya ... ... prāsāde prasādamilitā sāmājikāh "

In the concluding verse of this work the poet has invoked the blessing of Jagannātha, who is worshiped as Dārubrahma at Puri.

Shubhamastu sarvajagatāṃ nirantaram
X X X
Jagadīshvarah kapaṭadāruvigrahah
X X X

As in the G. G, the Vasanta Rāsa of Shree Rādhā and Krishna has been beautifully depicted in the Pīyūsh Laharī of Jayadeva Achārya.

VI

An imitation by Purushottama Bhatta

Purushottama Bhaṭṭa was the Guru of Gangadāsa, author of 'Chhandomañjarī' who flourished in the first quarter of the 16th century. Two of the works of Purushottama Bhaṭṭa, namely, 'Chhando Govinda' and 'Chhando-makhânta' are yet known. In the section on 'Gītavṛta' of his Chhando-makhânta (14) he has quoted a few lines of his own depicting Siva, which clearly bear the impress of the songs of the G. G., viz :

" Sahachari darshayatamatulamattam
Svapnasamāgama mohitachittam

Abiratamukulita lochāna mālam, Dīpashikhālasa dīkṣaṇabhāram (1
Sahaṭiamanohara gaura sharīram, Prakaṭajaṭā juṭa bigalitanīram (2

It may be presumed from the study of the above song that Purushottama Bhaṭṭa wrote a work on the title of Hara Pārvati like the Gitagirisa of Bhanu Datta, the manuscript of whsch may be discovered in future,

VII

An imitation by Krishna Dasa

Kṛshṇa Dāsa Badajena Mahāpatra, a court poet of Gajapati Mukunda Deva of Orissa (1559-1568 A. D.) and the famous author of the 'Gītaprakāsa' who was honoured in the court of Akber the great wrote some work on the līlā of Shree Rādhā Kṛishna, quotations from which have been given in his Gītaprakāsa. A song in 'Natarāga' is quoted below :

(Naṭarāgeṇa)

" Kinchidudanchaya chanchalanayane sanchita vahulāvaṇyam
Badanamidaṃ vidhumanḍala madhunā subishatu mānamagamyam.
· X X X X
Rādhāmādhava kelikathārasa Khachitaṃ navamavidhi·gītam
Sukhayatu sajjanachitta santataṃ kṛsna dāsakavigītam.
" Rādhāmādhava keli kathā rasa khachitaṃ "

The work of Kṛishna Dāsa describing the līlā of 15 Shrī Rādhā and Mādhava राधा माधव केलि कथारस खचित still awaits discovery.

VIII

Imitation by Bananagar Harichandana

The quotations given in the 'Sangīta Kalpalatā' by Haladhara Mishra (c. 1630 A. D. [16]) from some unknown work of Bānanagara Harichandana indicate that Harichandana or Raghunātha Harichandana of Bānanagar or Banapur worte a work on the līlā of Shree Rādhā and Kṛshna in imitation of the G. G. But this work which still remains unknown to scholars can be glimpsed by a song quoted from it below.

"Lokasya sakhi vidhurudayati gagane
Abhisara samprati suruchiragamane.
Kuchayugalaṃ kuru chandana sangam
Varddhaya yadupati manasija rangam (1)
Dhāraya manjula mauktikahāram
Hara hara naṭavara madanavikāram (2)
Vahatu shirasi hāra iha varagangā
Santata shovita vipulatarangā (3)
Kajjala komala kuntala bhāram
Gopaya kusumachaye rati sāram (4)
Ratipati riha kimu vāṇa kadambam
Sanchayati pratirāṇamavilambam (5)

Chīnavasanamayi kuru paridhānam
Kanakalatopari-kusumavitānam (6)
Nūnaṃ sakalakalādhara vadane
Darshaya chaturapaṇe mura mathane (7)
Iha Hari Rādhā sangamaracham
Vāṇanagara Harichandana bhaṇanam. (8)

IX

Gitavali of Sri Rupa Gosvami

Among the six great disciples of Srī Chaitanya or Saṭgo-svamis of Gauḍa or Bengal Srī Rūpa Gosvāmī was a profound Sanskrit scholar. He was author of more than twenty works of which two namely 'Vidagdha Mādhava Nātakam' and 'Lalita Madhava Nātakam' (1517-1530 A. D.) depict the lilā of Srī Rādhā and Kṛshna like the G. G.

The steady rise of the popularity of the G. G. among the learned Vaishnavas of Bengal in the age of Srī Chaitanya prompted Srī Rūpa Gosvāmi to compose 42 sweet and melodious songs collect-ively called 'Gitāvali'. The authorship of these songs has been attributed to Srī Sanātana Gosvāmi, the elder brother of Rūpa Gosvāmi. Two of these songs of Gitāvali are quoted below ([17]).

I

यद्यपि समाधिषु विधिरपि पश्यति
न तव नखाग्रमरीचिम् ।
इदमिच्छामि निशम्य तवाच्युत
तदपि कृपाद्भुत वीचिम् ॥

देव भवन्तं वन्दे ।

मन्मानसमधुकरं अर्पय निज
पद-पङ्कज-मकरन्दे ।
भक्तिरुदञ्चति यद्यपि माधव
न त्वयि मम तिलमात्री

परमेश्वरता तदपि तवाधिक
दुर्घट-घटन-विधात्री ।
अयं अविरोल तियाद्य सनातन
कलिता भूसरस भारम्
निवसतु नित्य इहामृत निधनि
विन्दनमधुरिमसारम् । (गीतावली २४)

(२)

त्वं कुचकलिपत-मौक्तिकमाला
स्मित-सान्द्रीकृत-शशिकर जाला
हरि अभिसर सुन्दरी सितवेशा
राका रजनि रजनि गुरुरोषा ।
परिहित माहिष दधि रुचिसिचया
वपु अर्जित घन चन्दन निचया
कर्णकरम्वित कैरव हासा
कलित सनातन सङ्गविलासा ।

(गीतावली १५)

X

Copala Champu of Jiva Gosvami

Shree Jīva Gosvāmi who was the son of Ballava, the younger brother of Shree Rupa Gosvami was a profound Sanskrit scholar. He earned great reputation as the author of six Sandarbhas. His voluminous work Gopālachampu completed in 70 'pūranas' or chapters, the composition of which was finished in Samvat 1649 or 1592 A. D. contains 36 songs written in imitation of those of the G. G. But those songs one of which is quoted below being lengthy and unsuitable for singing could not gain the approbation of scholars.

"राधा-राकाशशधर मूरलीकर गोकुलपतिकुलपाल
जय जय कृष्ण हरे ॥

राधावाधामोचन सुखरोचन विदलितगौकुलकाल
जय जय कृष्ण हरे ॥
राधापरिकर पुण्यद नंपुण्यद गोकुलरुचिषु विशाल
जय जय कृष्ण हरे ॥
राधा सुकृत वशीकृत मङ्गलभृत तिलकितगोकुलभाल
जय जय कृष्ण हरे ॥
राधा निज गति धर्मद गुरुशर्मद हतगोकुलरिपुजाल
जय जय कृष्ण हरे ॥
राधा जीवन जीवन गो व्रजधन गोकुलसरसीमराल
जय जय कृष्ण हरे ॥
राधा मोद रसाकर सरसीजवर गोकुलमण्डलनाल
जय जय कृष्ण हरे ॥
राधाभूषण भूषण गतदूषण गोकुल हृदिल भूपाल
जय जय कृष्ण हरे ॥

XI

Song by Goviuda Dasa

Kavirāja Govinda Dāsa (1535-1613 A. D.) author of many Barajaboli songs wrote a work called ' Sangtīa Mādhava ' in Sanskrit. One of his songs quoted below bears the stamp of those of the G. G. e. g.

" Dhvaja vajrānkusha pankaja kalitam
Braja vanitā kucha kunkuma lalitam.
Vanve giribara dhara pada kamalam
Kamalākara kamalānchita mamalam.
Manjula maṇinūpura ramaṇīyam
Achapala kula ramaṇī kamanīyam.
Ati lohita atirohitabhāsam
Madhu madhupīkṛta Govinda Dāsam. "

XII

Sringara-rasa-mandanam by Vitthala

Viṭṭhalesvara, son of Sri Vallabhāchārya the founder of the Vallabhachari sect, introduced in his independent work Sṛngāra Rasa manḍana songs composed on the model of Jayadeva's Padāvalis, just as Rāmānanda Rāya does in his drama Jagannatha ballava Natakam (20). Sri Vallabhacharya, (1473-1531) who was a young contemporary of Raya Ramananda stayed at Srikshetra (Puri) for sometime when he had a learned discourse with Shri Chaitanya, whereafter he became a devout worshipper of Shri Rādhā Krishna. Viṭṭhala, son of Shri Vallabha who popularised the religious faith of his father accepted Shri G. G. as a religious text for his sect. No song from this work can be quoted here for non-availability of its text.

XIII

Gopagovindam

Kaviratna Purushottama Mishra of Puri has referred to 'Gopagovindam' and 'Gopagovinda tikā' in his famous 'Sangita Nārayanam' composed about 1650 A. D. (21). The .Nātyamanoramā by Raghunatha Ratha composed in 1697 A. D. quotes a line from 'Gopagovindam' given below from which it can be presumed to be an imitation of the famous G. G.

Udāharaṇaṃ yathā Gopagovinde

"Shishira shītala manju vanjula mṛdu kishalaya sankulam" (22)

No further comment on this work can be made till a manuscript of this is available.

XIV

Mudita Madhavam

From the introduction of Manimālā Nātikā by poet Anādi Mishra first noted by me (23) it is known that his father who

flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century wrote a Gīta-kāvya called Muditamādhavam e. g.

"Pāripārshvika— (smaraṇa mabhinīya) āh ! jñātaṃ yajjana-kasya Shrı Shatanjīva kaver muditamādhavābhidha gīta kāvya gānā-mṛtormiṇā sāmājika jana hṛdayaṃ vayaṃ purā nyamajjayām ".

From the quotation given about it is clear that 'Mudita madhava' was a gītakāvya like the famous G. G. depicting the līlā of Sri Rādhā and Sri Mādhava, the singing of the songs of which charmed the learned audience. But it is a pity that the manuscript of this work has not yet been discovered.

XV

Mnkunda Vilasa Mahakavyam by Yatindra Raghuttama Tirtha

Mukundavilāsa Mahākāvyaṃ by Yatindra Raghuttama Tirtha of Puri, which was composed in the Saka year Graha (9) Vasu (8) Sara 5) and Chandra (1) or 1589 Saka year and Kaliyuga year Vasu (8) Rasa (6) Rishi (7) and Veda (4) or 4768 both corresponding to 1667 A. D. is a worthy imitation of the G. G. The author who has clearly stated in the 18th introductory verse of the first sarga that he wrote this work for the propitiation of Lord Jagannatha, and Lord Shiva was perhaps the head of the famous Govardhana Matha of Puri where the presiding deity is Shrī Gopāla. But from a partially worm-eaten verse quoted below it is known that he was somehow associated with Achyutarājapur standing on the river Sāliā to the north of the sea near the temples of Bhagavatī and Dakshesvara in the Banpur kingdom, where Shrī Harichandana was ruling.

"Shrī madvāṇa purāntare achyutapure Vārānidhavuttare
Jātaṃ shālavanītaṭe Bhagavatī dakṣeshayo rantike
Kāvyaṃ Shrī Harichandanasya nṛpateh X X X

Shri Harichandana whose name is torn was the Raja of Banapur. Achyutarājapur in his kingdom was perhaps the birth place of the poet.

In its mangalācharaṇa or benedictory verses the poet,a devotee of Srī Rādhā Kṛshna, has proclaimed the identity of different gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, who in his opinion are the manifestations of one Supreme Being or 'Paraṃ brahma'. Like the sages of the Vedic age, this spiritual head of a monastery, rose above religious sectrianism, whih was predominant in the society in his age and preached the eternal truth contained in the Vedic saying "Ekaṃ sadviprāh vahudhā vadanti". In view of the message of religous toleration, contained in the benedictory verses of his work, they are quoted below for their appreciation.

'वेदान्तैरपि गीतं नित्यमसद्य गुणातीत
नन्दसुतं गुणसिन्धुं चिन्तयन्तं राधिकाबन्धुं । १ ।
हेरम्बं कतिचिन् परे दिनकरं केचित् पुनः शङ्करं
शक्तिं केचन केऽपि विष्णुममलं त्वन्येपरं पद्मजम्
एकं भिन्नधिया यतेमव परमात्मनं सदोपासते
तं वृन्दावनचन्द्रमाश्रय मनः श्रीराधिकावल्लभम् ।२।
या वाणी विधिसन्निधौ जलधिजा या शार्ङ्गिणः सङ्गिनी
या ईशार्द्धशरीरिणी भगवती श्रीरामचन्द्रप्रिया
या रुक्मिण्यपि वासुदेवगृहिणी या रामगा रेवती
तामेतां व्रजराजपुत्रदायेतां श्री राधिकामाश्रये ।३।
या द्वेधा प्रकृतिः पुमानितिमतः स्त्रीपुंसदेहाश्रितां
य स्त्रेधा विधिविष्णुशङ्करवपुर्द्धारी दरोदृश्यते ।
श्री मन्नीलगिरौ च दारुतनुधृग् यांऽसौ चतुर्द्धास्थितां
राधाकृष्णतनुधरो विजयते वृन्दावने स प्रभुः । ४ ।

After paying his respects to Shrīkṛshṇa, the devine companion of Shrī Rādhā in the first verse, the poet has expressed in the

second verse that the different Gods like Gaṇesha, Sūrya (Sun) Shiva, Shakti (Durgā), Vishṇu are identical with Shrī Kṛṣṇa, being the manifestations of the same (Paramātmā) or Supreme being. In the third verse the same spirit of religious toleration finds expression as it says that the Goddess Sarasvatī, the consort of Brahmā Laksmī, the constant companion of Nārāyaṇa, Pārvatī, the better half of Shiva (who is conceived as Ardha Nārīśvara)Sītā, the devoted wife of Rāmachandra, Rukmiṇī, the queen of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa), Revatī the spouse of Balarāma are identical with Srī Rādhikā the beloved of Shrī Kṛshṇa. In the next verse the poet says that the Supreme Being, who is a combination of two universal aspects called Prakṛti (female energy) and Puruṣa (male energy) who manifests himself as Trinity, conceived as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara who is worshipped in its four wooden froms (Chaturddāmūrtti) like Shrī Jagannātha, Valabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana in the great shrine on the top of the blue mountain (Nīlagiri) at Puri appeared in Bṛndāvana in the combined form of Shrī Rādhā-Kṛshṇa.

In the thirteenth verse quoted below, the saintly poet fervently appeals to the liberal minded Vaishṇavas, Shaivas, and Shāktas not to make any distinction among their respective Gods and Goddessess of devotion like Vishṇu, Shiva, Kālikā and others (they being different forms of one Supreme God) as such liberality in their religious out look alone will save them from the tortures of hell, e. g.

'भो भो वैष्णव शैवशाक्त परमोदाराः परार्थप्रियाः
भिक्षुः प्रार्थयते रघूत्तम इमां भिक्षां सतां समतां
निर्भेदे परमेश्वरे हरिहरश्रीकालिकाद्याह्वये
भेदेक्षं परिमुच्य मुञ्चति सदा स्वा नारकीर्यातनाः ।'

The sole ain. of this poet philosopher in writing this work was stress on the importance of fundamental unity of Hindu Religion in spite of its apparent diversity.

After the introductory verses we find "Daśāvatāra stuti" or hymn to the ten incarnations of Vishṇu in the first Sarga of this work similar to that in the famous Gītagovinda. In it the Buddha has been taken as the ninth incarnation of Vishṇu. It was divided into twelve sargas.

The division into sargas runs as quoted below.—

इति श्रीमुकुन्दविलासमहाकाव्ये यतीन्द्र रघुत्तम-
तीर्थपादकृतौ गोपीपूर्वानुरागप्रकटनो नामः १मः सर्गः
इति—गोपीवाग्विलासप्रकाशो नामः द्वितीयः सर्गः ।
इति—नारदोपदेशो नाम तृतीयः सर्गः ।
इति—गौरीशङ्करपूजनोनाम चतुर्थः सर्गः ।
इति—पूर्वानुरागप्रकटनो नाम पञ्चमः सर्गः ।
इति—गोपीपट्टापहरणो नाम पष्ठः सर्गः ।
इति—गोपीकामोद्दीपनो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः ।
इति—गोपीविरहप्रजागरणो नामाष्टमः सर्गः ।
इति—मुकुन्दविरहनटनो नाम नवमः सर्गः ।
इति गोपीगोविन्दवाग्विलासारम्भो नाम दशमः सर्गः
इति—रासविलासो नामैकादशः सर्गः ।
इति—गोपीकृष्ण जलक्रीडा ओ नारदस्तुतिनाम
द्वादशः सर्गः ।

The different rāgas used in each sarga of this work are given below for comparison with those used in the G. G.

प्रथमः सर्गः तोडी राग, मल्लार राग ।
द्वितीयः सर्गः मङ्गलगुज्जरी राग, वालधनासी राग, धनासी राग; वसन्त राग, तोडी राग ।
तृतीयः सर्गः सिन्धुडा राग ललित राग ।
चतुर्थः सर्गः मालवगौडा राग, मालश्री राग, गुण्डकेरी राग, मङ्गलगुज्जरी राग ।

पञ्चमः सर्गः मायूर राग ।
षष्ठः सर्गः गुर्जरी राग, सामगभा राग (two times) ।
सप्तमः सर्गः गौरी राग ।
अष्टमः सर्गः केदार राग, विहङ्गमा राग ।
नवमः सर्गः तोडी राग, सारङ्ग राग ।
दशमः सर्गः कामोदी राग, गुर्जरी राग, धनाशी राग ।
एकादशः सर्गः मल्लार राग ।
द्वादशः सर्गः वसन्त राग ।

The poet has tried to make the language of this work as simple, flowing and melodious as that of the Gītagovinda, two examples of which are given below for the perusal of the readers.

I

मङ्गल गुर्जरी रागेण गीयते
प्रणतजन प्रियकारिणि भयहारिणि विमलकमलमुखिदेवी
जय गिरिराजसुते (ध्रु॰: प)
सुरहरकामदकामिनी गजगामिनी सुरुचिरकाञ्चनगौरि ।। २

X X X X X

मदमय मुण्डविनाशिनि वहुहासिनि विरचितचण्डविनाशे
स सहज शुम्भ निपातिनि वालघातिनि जगदनुपालिनि कालि । ३
कुरु मम नन्दसुतं पतिमति सङ्गति
अनघ रघूत्तम गीते (चतुर्थः सर्गः)

X X X X X

II

मल्लार रागेण गीयते

विकच कुन्दमुकुदवृन्द मल्ली लसति कानने
कैरववनसुरभिपवनमृदुनवदलचालने
पश्यत वनमालिनं
रासरटनशालिनं ॥ १ ॥

X X X X

सकलचन्द्रविमलसान्द्रकिरणराजिरञ्जिते
कुसुमपुञ्जरुचिरकुञ्जमधुपमधुरगुञ्जिते ॥ २ ॥
मदनरङ्गयुवतिसङ्गरसतरङ्गचञ्चल
प्रियतमालिमुखनिभालिचारुचटुलमञ्जुलं ॥ ३ ॥
(एकादशः सर्गः)

This newly discovered work, written by saintly poet of Puri, which was a centre of Sanskrit culture in Orissa through the past ages is an appreciable addition to the imitations of the famous G. G., which are already known to the scholars.

XVI

Shivalilamrita Mahakavyam of Poet Nityananda

Shivalīlāmṛta Mahākāvyam by poet Nityānanda an imitation of the famous G. G. has as its theme the depiction of the Līlā of Shiva and Pārvatī, like the 'Gīta Gaurīśa' of Bhāu Dutta discussed before. It is divided into ten Sargag or cantos, the gist of which is given below. The first canto of this work begins with three benedictory verses in praise of Shiva and Pārvatī, where after the genealogy of the patron of the poet is given in 9 verses (verses 8 to 16).

It then describes the birth of Pārvatī from Menā, the beauty and accomplishments of Pārvatī and the advent of Shiva to the dense forest of the Himālayas. The second canto depicts the deep and austere meditation of Pārvatī for getting Shiva as her consort. The third canto gives a vivid picture of the marriage of Shiva with Pārvatī, while the next delineates the sweet and happy married life of the couple and the birth of two sons named Kārtikeya and Gaṇesha.

The fifth canto gives a description of the glories and splendour of the city of Kāsī sanctified by the presence of Shiva and Pārvatī, and of the all purifying Gangā that flows by this sacred place. In the next canto the poet tells us the story of king Harischandra of Ayodhyā and his queen Satyavatī who were blessed with two sons named Nandī and Bhṛngī through the grace of Lord Shiva whom they propitiated. The seventh canto contains the conversation between Shiva and Pārvatī about the natural beauties and sanctity of Ekāmrakānana (Bhubaneswar) which was also known as 'Gupta Kāśi', lying between Virajā (Jājapur) and Puruṣottama (Puri) in Utkala (Orissa).

They both started for this holy place as Pārvatī longed to see it. In the eighth canto the story of the two demon brothers named Kriti and Vāsa, living in Ekāmrakānana, both of whom were trampled down to death under the feet of Pārvatī is given. This is followed by the story of the origin of Vindusarovara the big sacred tank of Bhubaneswar and a description of the beauties and sanctity of the river Gangavatī that flows by this holy place. In the ninth canto are narrated the Rāsa Krīḍā of Shiva and Pārvatī, sudden disappearance of Shiva from the scene, separation of Pārvatī, her search for Shiva in the company of dear maidens in the forest and groves lying on the banks of the Ganddhavatī river, worship of Vāluka-Liṅga by Pārvatī for propitiating her beloved.

The last i. e., tenth canto begings with the reunion of Shiva and Pārvatī after long separation and their 'Rāsa' in the groves on the banks of the Gandhavatī. There after it contains hymns to Gaurī of the Siddhavana, Lord Liṅgarāja, the presiding deity of EkāmraKshetra(Bhubaneswar),Brahmeśvara one of the eight Shivaliṅgas (Astasambhus) of this holy place. The work ends with a verse giving the name, and the gotra of the poet who was a great devotee of Shiva.

A close study of this Mahākāvya gives the impression that the poet drew materials for composing this work from the Kumarasambhavam of the Great Kālidāsa, the Shiva Purāṇa, Ekāmra chandrikā, Svarnādrimahodaya and others, the last three works having been compiled by Oriya scholars prior to the seventeenth century A. D. which describe elaborately the sanctity and greatness of the temples and tanks, etc., of Bhubaneswar. This work though different in nature and style of writing from the above three works, also indirectly sings the glory of Ekāmrakānana, or Bhubanaswar. But it cannot be traced from which source the poet derived his information about the birth of Nandi and Bhṛṅgi from Satyavati, the wife of Harischandra of Ayodhyā as the account of the birth of Nandi given in the Shiva Purāṇa (26) is altogether different from this.

Author of the work and his patron—In the colophons at the end of each of the ten cantos it is written :—

इति श्रीमदग्निचित् नित्यानन्दपण्डितकृते शिवलीलामृतमहाकाव्ये प्रथमसर्गः ।

From this it is clear that the poet Nityānanda was the real author of this work. From the last verse of the last canto quoted below it is known that the poet was a great devotee of Shiva and was born in a family of the Kaundinya gotra.

'प्रालेयाचलनन्दनप्रतिपदप्रत्यग्रपङ्केरुह-
द्वन्द्वामन्दमकरन्द विन्दुमहिमप्रेमप्रसादोदयः ।
कौण्डिन्यान्वय-दुग्धसिन्धु रजनीबन्धोः प्रबन्धोत्तमं
नित्यानन्दकवे र्निवेदितमिमं संशोधयध्वं बुधाः''

समाप्तोऽयग्रन्थः ।

But he gives no other information about his time, place or family in any other verse of this work.

But the authorship of this work has been ascribed by the poet to the name of his patron Gadādhara Mānadhātā the ruler of the Navadurga (Nayāgarh State) as a token of gratitude for the patronage given to him, whose name with or without the title 'Mānadhātā' appears in the last line of most of verses, and also in one verse he is called the ruler of Navadurg.

'जयति रसिक नवदुर्गधराधिप सुकवि गदाधरगीतं ।''

(Folio 135)

From the facts stated above it can safely be concluded that though poet Nityananda was the real author of this Mahākāvya, its authorship was attributed by him to Gadādhara Mānadhātā as a token of gratitude for the patronage shown to him.

From the nine introductory verses (verses 8 to 16) it is known that Gadādhara Mānadhātā, the patron of the poet was the great grandson of Raghunātha of the solar dynasty, the ruler of Navadurga (27) नवदुर्गमहीमहेन्द्र grandson of Harihara, and son of Gokulendra Mānadhātā who was a devout worshipper of "Ladukesa Siva". (28)

From old records it is known that Vināyaka Simha Mānadhātā (20th chief of the family) ascended the throne in 1788 A. D. Four chiefs having ruled after Gadādhara and before Vināyaka, Gadādhara may tentatively be assigned to the first decade of the 18th century. The followfng rāgas and tālas have been used. Māru, Kedāra, Vasanta, Mathara, Mālasri, Kāmodi, Gundakeri, Gauri, Mangalagujjari, Mukhāvari, Bangalāshrī, Saraṅga (29).

The attempt made by the poet to make the language of the songs sweet and flowing as those of the G. G. has been crowned with greater amount of success, as will be evident from the quotations given below :

(१) राग मङ्गलगुज्जरी

"कलितसुधानिधिमण्डन ललितभुजङ्गमहार
जय जय लोकपते ।
समधिकशम्वरशासन, मदनाशन, नयनधनञ्जयकील
जय जय लोकपते

X X X

मुनिजन चित्तनिकेतन वृषकेतन
निगमान्तर परिगीते
जय जय लोकपते ।

सुकृत-निदान गदाधर कृतसादर
मञ्जुल-मङ्गल-गीति
जय जय देव हरे ।

(2)

अयि वरसुन्दरि तवविजनाय वनाय शरीरमुदारं
अभिनवयौवन मुचितमिदं न शिरीषकुसुमसुकुमारम्

बाले ममवचनं शृणुहि तमतिसारं
दमयसि किं नु तनु नृपनन्दिनी परिहृत्य सौधविहारं ॥

अरुण चरण युगल तवहन्त वनेषु कथं मृदुलान्तं
विरचति विकट भवतलकण्टक दन्तुरित तव नितान्तं ।

पृथुतरविम्व नितम्वमनोहर मुक्तरसनकटिदेशं
रूपमिदं तव भवति न शोभन मुज्झितसमुचितवेशं ।

रचयसि कुचकलशं न कृशोदरि कुङ्कुमरसलसदङ्गं
निस्तन हारलतावलि वलयित मनुमत वल्कलसङ्गम् ।"

XVII

Sri Krishnalilamrita Mahakavyam by poet Nityananda.

Poet Nityānanda of the Kauṇḍinya gotra author of Shrī Shiva-līlāmṛta Mahākāvyaṃ discussed before wrote another imitation of

the G. G. known as Shrī Kṛshṇa Līlāmṛtaṃ which has been reviewed by me in the Sanskrit magazine the Manoramā (30)

The G. G. describes the 'Vasanta Rāsa' of Shrī Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa whereas this imitation by Nityānanda Kavi, containing eight Sargas in all gives a pen picture of 'Saradrāsa' described in Shrī Bhāgavata, e. g.

"इति निजजनामन्दानन्दविचित्रितैः
शरदृतुकथाभव्यैः काव्यै र्विवर्द्धष्यिन् विभुः" ॥
अष्टमसर्गः (३१)

X X X

"श्रीमद्भागवतामृताम्बुधिसमुद्भूतं तदालम्बनम्
नित्यानन्दकवेरवेहि भणितं श्रीकृष्णलीलामृतम् ॥"
अष्टमसर्गः (३२)

The division of the Sargas runs as follows :—

१-श्रीगोपिकापूर्वरागोनाम प्रथमः सर्गः ।

२-प्रचुरकिशोरलीलोनाम द्वितीयः सर्गः ।

३-राधाविरहबाधावतारोनाम तृतीयः सर्गः ।

४-राधाविलासवर्णने कातरराधामाधवोनाम ४र्थः सर्गः ।

५-रासोत्सववर्णने विरहिवरवर्णनीकोनाम पञ्चमः सर्गः ।

६-दुःसाधराधोनाम षष्ठः सर्गः ।

७-रासोत्सववर्णने प्रमुदितमाधवोनाम सप्तमः सर्गः ।

८-रासोत्सववर्णने सानन्दमुकुन्दनामाष्टमः सर्गः ।

The number of songs of each sarga and rāgas used in them are detailed below :—

प्रथमः सर्गः 5 Songs—रागकल्याणआहारी, धनाश्रीः, आशावरी, मुखावरी ।
द्वितीयः सर्गः ,, ,, —विभासः, मङ्गलगुर्जरी, देशाश्यः, शङ्कराभरणम्, गोरी ।
ततीयः सर्गः 4 Songs—मुखावरी, आशावरी, सारी, केदारः ।
चतुर्थः सर्गः 5 Songs—भैरवः, (२) मारिधनाश्री, कर्णाटक, वसन्तः ।
पञ्चमः सर्गः 3 Songs—सौराष्ट्रगुर्जरी, आहारी, चिन्ताकेदार, वङ्गलाश्रीः ।
षष्ठः सर्गः 4 Songs—ललितः, दक्षिणकामोदी, मलारः. रामकिरी ।
सप्तमः सर्गः 5 Songs—शारङ्गः; कामोदी, मुखावरी, भैरवः ।
अष्टमः सर्गः 4 Songs—मालवः, दक्षिणकामोदी, नटराग, वराडी ।

The maṅgalācharaṇa verses of this work have been greatly influenced by those of Mukundavilāsa Mahākāvyaṃ by Yatindra Raghuttama Tirtha as an illustration of which, one verse from each is quoted below.

"हेरम्ब केचित् परेदिनकरं केचित् पुनः शङ्करं
शक्ति केचन केऽपिविष्णुममलं त्वन्ये परे पद्मजम् ।
एकं भिन्नधिया प्रधानपरमात्मानं सदोपासते
तं वृन्दावनचन्द्रमाश्रय मनः श्रीराधिकावल्लभम् ॥'

(मु. वि. महाकाव्यम्)

'केचिच्छङ्करकिङ्कराः कतिचन श्रीशार्च्चने तत्पराः
केचिद् भूमिधराधिराजतनयापादाम्बुजालम्बनाः,
हेरम्बं कतिचिन् भजन्ति नितरामादित्य मेके नराः
एवं भिन्नधिया यजन्ति बहुधा राधाधवं माधवम् ।

(श्रीकृष्ण लीलामृतम्)

Time of the poet :

From the 12th and 13th verses of this work it is known that Nityānanda worte it under the patronage of one Vanamālī of the solar dynasty.

"भर्गान्वयोद्न्मनुदितशीतधामाऽभिरामाकृतिरुग्रधामा
श्रीमान् यः आसीत् वनमाली नामानृपोऽर्थकामाधिकदानशौण्डः ।

तदीय नामाङ्कितगीतबन्धं कर्त्तुं प्रवर्त्ते रुचिरं प्रबन्धं
श्रीकृष्णापादाम्बुजभृङ्गतोयं श्रीकृष्णलीलामृतनामधेयम् ।१३

गायं गायं हरेर्नाम पायं पायं च तद्‌यशः
ध्यायं ध्याय मिदं रूपं सन्तोऽसन्तोष मुज्झत" ।१४।

From the 'Rāsagoṣṭhirūpakam' of Anādi Kavi, it is known that his patron Vanamāli Jagadeva was the ruler of 'Shrī Khandapali' (Khaṇḍapaḍā State) e. g.

"श्रीखण्ड़पल्ली पुरी चन्द्रमण्डलीसमुद्‌गतेन X X श्रीवनमाली जगद्देवेन प्रेरितेन श्री अनादिना विरचितं श्रीरासगोष्ठी नाम रूपकम्" । (३१)

Paṇḍita Chandra Shekhara Miśra. who has dealt about the history of Khaṇḍapaḍā in his work has calculated the reign of Vanamāli from 1723 to 1734 A. D. (32). The date of Haribhakti Sudhākara of Dinavandhu Miśra (1688 A. D.) being a definte date for his patron Nārāyaṇa Maṅgarāja, his grand son Vanamālī, can be assigned to the first quarter of the 18th century.

The language of this work is at places as touching, sweet and melodious as that of the G. G. as will be seen from the quotations given below.

I

वंशीधारी श्रीकृष्णः

'पश्यत नन्दकुमारं, प्रणत नन्दकुमारम्
रुचिरतनुरुचिगञ्जितमारं
मञ्जुकुसुमसुकुमारम् ।१

मूरलीवादनलोलं कुण्डललोलितकपोलम्,
कनकनिचय रुचि पीतनिचोलं, वटविटपिकृतदोलम् ।

व्रजपुरवालकखेलं वदन विधुत विधुहेलम्
तपनसुतातटविहरणशीलं विधिविस्मापनलीलम् ॥

II

विरहिणी राधा

'अविरत विगलितनयनजलार्जितजर्जरभावदुकुला
न वदति किञ्चन रहसि सखीजनमपि कुतुकप्रतिकूला ।
माधव तव विरहे बत राधा
ध्यायति किमपि निमीलितलोचन मुपचित मनसिज बाधा
अशन वसन मपि विप विषधरमिव पश्यति नश्यति लीला
दक्षिण मनिल मनलमिव संप्रति परिहरति श्रमशीला ।
माधव

III

वंशीस्वन मुग्ध गोपयुवती

करधृतविगलितकुन्तलहारा, त्रुटितघनस्तनतटमणिहारा ।
एक नयनकृत कज्जलसङ्गा, गोपयुवती रतिभावतरङ्गा ।
एक चरणधृत यावकरागा, समुदित तदितर विपयविरागा ।
चिर मनवस्थित परिहृतदेहा, मृदु मूरलीरव समुच्चितमोहा ।
प्रतिपद विगल दलकृतिसारा, मदनमदाहित विविध विकारा ।
अपद निवेशित विमल विभूषा, वनमालिन मनुधृतपपरितोा ।

Reference

*Gitagovindam is abbreviated as G. G.

(1) The English translation of 'Bhaktavijaya' was kindly supplied to me by Pandit Sri Shiva Dutta Sharma of New Delhi in 1957.

(2) Printed by the Radharamana Press, Cuttack p. 425

(3) Bhaktamala, Nirnaya Sagar Press p. 9 (Introduction)

(4) Nirnaya Sagar Press edition, p. 173

(5) Nirnaya Sagar Press edition, p. 75.

(6) The Panjabi Matha C. P. grant of Bhanu II edited by Sri S. N. Rajaguru—O. H. R. J., Vol. IX Nos, 1 and 2, pp. 22—24

(7) S. I. Inscriptions, Vol. VI, Nos. 714,938.

(8) Des. Cat. of Manuscripts in Mithila Vol. I, Introduction—p VII.

(9) Literary Studies by Dr. P. K. Gode, Vol. I, pp. 446—448.

(10) A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila by K. P. Jayaswal Vol. II. pp. 51—52.

(11) For detailed study of this work please refer to my article on this published in the O. H. R J., Vol. IX, 1960 Nos. 3 and 4 pp. 51—68.

(12) An Indian Emphemeries by S. K. Pillai, Vol. VI p. 190.

(13)—Piyusha Lahari was printed with English translation and commetary by Dr. K. K. Kar in the now defunct journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society Vol. II. Dr. Kar tried to identify its author Jayadeva with Shri Jayadeva author of the G. G. but his theory has been disproved.

(14) The Chhando-makhanta by Purushottam Bhatta—Dr. D. C. Sircar Pro. In. His. Con. Third Session, p. 818,

(15) Quoted from a worm-eaten manuscript of 'Gitaprakasha' preserved in the Orissa state Museum.

(16) See my paper on Haladhara Mishra published in O, H. R. J. Vol, VII, part-2, pp. 73-82.

(17) A History of Brajaboli literature by Sukumar Sen-pp. 380-381.

(18) A History of Brajaboli literature by Shri Skumar Sen pp. 384-386

(19) A History of Brajaboli literature p. 134.

[20]—History of Sanskrit literature by Dr. S. N. Das Gupta and Dr. S. K. Dey, p. 36

(21) Sangita Narayana by Gajapati Narayana Deva, O. H. R. J. Vl. X. Nos. 1 & 2,

(22) Natya Manorama published by the O. S. N. Akademi, Bhubaneswar

(23) O. H. R. Journal, Vol. IV, Nos, 3 and 4 pp. 60-66.

(24) Vide my articles published in O, H. R. J, Vol. IX, 1960, Nos, 1 2. pp. 30-35

(25) Siva Purana (Vangavasi edition), chapter 45, pp. 622-634.

(26) Navadurga or Nayagarh which was a princely state of Orisssa, has been comprised in the Nayagarh subdivision of the Puri district since 1-1-1948.

(27) Temple of Ladukesvara Siva standing at a distance of about 8 miles S W. of the present town of Nayagarh is an important centre of pilgrimage.

(28) Jhankara, Visuva Samkhya, 1966. pp. 108-109.

(29)—Manorama—Vol. VI, Nos. 5-8, August, September, October, November. 1966 ; Vol. VII, Nos. 4-5, July, August 1967.

(30) Noticed by Pandit Nilamani Mishra in his paper published in 'Paurusha' (Oriya Magazine) Feb. 1968.

(31) 'Samanta Chandrashekhara' (Oriya biography).

Sri Krishnalilamrita Mahakavyam by Agnichit Pandita Nityananda

Two worthy works in Sanskrit, namely, Shree Shivalīlāmṛta Māhākavyam and Shrī Kṛshnalīlāmṛta Mahākāvyam by Agnichit Pandita Nityananda having Kaundinya gotra, both of which are laudable imitations of the famous Gītagovindam by the celebrated Orissan poet Jayadeva have so far been discovered. The first of these two works Shree Sivalīlāmṛta Mahākāvyam, a palm leaf manuscript of which is preserved in the collection of the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar was first briefly noticed by me in the preface to 'The Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of Orissa'[1]. This work was written by poet Nityananda under the patronage of Gadadhara Mānadhāta, a chieftain of the Kingdom of 'Navadurga' (Nayagarh), presently forming the major part of the sub-division of Nayagarh in the district of Puri since 1st January 1948. But the authorship of this work has been attributed by the author to his patron Gadadhara Mānadhātā as a token of gratiitude for the patronage shown to him, whose name with or without the title of Mānadhātā appears in the last line of most of the verses,—i. e.

"Jayatu rasika Navadurgadharādhipa sukavi Gadādharagītam."

Unlike most of the imitations of the Gitagovindam depicting the divine līlā of Shree Rādhā and Srikṛshna, Sri Sivalilāmṛtam has its theme the descriptions of Rāsalilā of Siva and Parvatī. As such it can be put into the category of the following works which are so far known to the scholars.

(1) Maithila Bhanu Datta kṛta 'Gitagirisha' or Gitagauripati c. 1400 A. D.

(2) Gitasaṃkaraṃ by Bhisma Mishra.

(3) Gitasaṃkaraṃ by Hira

(4) Gitagirisaṃ by Ramabhadra

(5) Sivāṣṭapadi or Gitagangādharaṃ by Chandrasekhara Sarasvati

(6) Gita Gangādharaṃ by Ananta Narayana

(7) Gita Gangādharaṃ by poet Kalyana

(8) Gita Gangādharam by poet Rajasekhara

(9) Gita Gangādharaṃ by Nannarāja, King of Mahisura- (1732—1760).

(10) Gita Digambaram by Maithila Vaṃsamani.

Sri Krishnalilamrita Mahakavyam

Like the Sivalilāmṛta Mahākāvyam, Shree Kṛshnalilāmṛta Mahākāvyam by Agnichit Pandita Nityananda which was hitherto unknown to scholars has been printed for the first time in two parts in the Sanskrit monthly the 'Manorama' [2] edited and published by the eminent Pandita Shree Ananta Tripathy Sarma, M. A., B. O. L. of Beharmpore.

The patron of the poet Nityananda

Srī Kṛsnalilāmṛtaṃ, an imitation of the renowned Srī Gitagovindaṃ has been finished in eight Sargas. From the twelfth and thirteenth introductory verses of the first Sarga and the last verse of the last Sarga and the colophon quoted below it is gathered that Agnichit Pandita Nityananda composed this work under the patronage of a chieftain named Vanamali of the solar lineage.

The correct reading of the first word is not Gaṅga, or Garga but 'Bharga' which means the sun. Thus, Vanamali belonged to the solar family, which is supported by the genealogy of the Khandapada Raj family, claiming descent from the solar dynasty of hoary antiquity.

After the publication of the second volume of the Descriptive Catalogue referred to before, a lot of information has been obtained about Vanamali, his family and age from two unpublished Sanskrit works of Orissa namely 'Haribhakti sudhākarah' by Dinabandhu Mishra written under the patronage of Narayan Mangaraja and ' Rāsagoṣṭhī rūpakaṃ ' by Andāi Kavi, another poet of the court of Vanamali Jagadeva, a ruler of Khandapalli (Khandapara) kingdom on the south bank of the Mahanadi, now forming a portion of the Nayagarh subdivision of the Puri district. 'Haribhakti sudhākarah' was written in Nava-chandra-rasendu or Saka year 1610 corresponding to 1688 A. D. as will be evident from the verse quoted given in the text.

In the introductory portion Vanamali Jagadeva is eulogised by his court poet Anādi in the following manner :—

Srikhandapalli-Puri Chandramandali-Chandrakodgamen

Vanamali Jagaddeven preritena Srimannādinā

Virachitaṃ—Sri Rāsagoṣṭi rūpakaṃ

The genealogy of Vanamali which is known from another unpublished Oriya Kāvya named 'Kṛshna kalpalatā' first noticed by Pandita Nilamani Mishra, Curator, Manuscripts Section, Orissa State Museum runs as follows. [3]

1. Yadunātha Maṅgarāja
2. Narayana Maṅgarāja
3. Vālunkeswar Maṇgaraja
4. Vanamali Jagadeva

From the history of the Khandapada Raj family given by Pandita Shree Chandra Shekhara Mishra Kāvyatirtha in his Oriya biography ' Samanta Chandrashekhara ' [4] the following information is obtained :—

Yadunatha Mangaraja of the solar dynasty ascended the throne of Khandapada in 1006 Sal (1599 A. D.) and his reign lasted for 76 years upto 1675. His son Narayana Mangaraja who was a disciple of Dinabandhu Mishra a translater of the Bhāgavata into Oriya, ruled for 34 years, (1675—1709 A. D.). His son Valukesvara had a reign of 14 years (1709—1723 A. D.). His son Vanamali Simha Mardaraja ruled for a short period of 11 yeas (1723—1734 A. D.) as he died prematurely at the age of twenty-seven (4). Thus the history and genealogy of the patron of the poet Nityananda may be given as follows. Yadunath Mangaraja (1599-1675 A. D.) Narayana Mangaraja (1675—1709). His guru Dinabandhu Mishra Khadgaraya wrote 'Haribhakti sudhākarah' in 1688 A. D. and translated Srimad Bhāgavata into Oriya which is known as 'Khādangā Bhagavata'. Narayana was the author of a work on music named 'Sangīta-Nārāyana'. Vanamali Jagadeva (1723—1734 A. D.) was the patron of both the poets Anadi Mishra and Agnichit Pandita Nityananda, author of 'Srikṛsna lilāmṛtam'.

Review of the work

From the close study of this work it will be evident that poet Nityananda was greatly influenced by the 'Mukundavilāsa Mahākāvyam' written by Yatindra Raghuttama Tirtha,the spiritual head of Govardhana Matha at Puri in the Saka year (1589) and yugābda Vasu Rasa Rishi Veda (4768) corresponding to 1667 A. D. Nityananda like the saintly poet Raghuttama has proclaimed the fundamental unity of the Hindu religion in spite of its apparent diversity as indicated in the worship of the different gods and goddessess in the iutroductory verses of his work.

Though composed after the model of the immortal work Srī Gitagovindam by the celebrated Orissan poet Sri Jayadeva it is different from the former as regards theme of the work. In the Gitagovindam the Vasantarāsa of Shri Rādhā-Krishna has been beautifully pictured in twenty-four simple and melodious verses, whereas poet Nityananda has delineated the Sarad Rāsa of Srī Rādhā and Krishna as described in the Srimad Bhagavata i. e. Srimad Bhāgavatāmbudhisamudbhūtam saradṛtukathābhavaih.

The influence of the Gitagovindam is clearly discernible in the different sargas given below :—

(1) Gopikāpurvarāgo nāma pratham sargah
(2) Prachura—Kaisoralilo nāma dvitiya sargah
(3) Rādhā virahavādhāvatāro nama tṛtriyah sargah.
(4) Rāsavilāsavarnane Kāmita Rādhā-Madhavo nāma chaturtha sargah.
(5) Rāsotsavavarvane virahivara-varṇiko nāma pañchamah sargah.
(6) Duhsādhya Radho nāma shashṭha sargah
(7) Rāsotsava-varnane pramudita-Mādhavo nāma saptama sargah.
(8) Rasotsava-varnane Sānanda-Mukundo nāmāshṭama sargah.

Like the saintly poet Jayadeva our author has indicated the rāgas at the beginning of each verse of his work and Tālas in the last sarga a list of which is given below to enlighten the scholars about the use of different rāgas and tālas in Orissa since the time of Jayadeva.

Ragas used in this work

Prathama Sargah—Six songs. Rāgas—KalyānaĀhārī Dhanāsri, kalyāna Asāvari, Asāvari, Mukhāvari.

Second Sarga—5 songs. Rāgas—Vilāsa, Mangla gujjari, Desākhya, Saṃkarābharaṇa, Gauri.

Third Sarga— 4 Songs.—Rāgas—Sukhāvari, Asāvarī, Sāri Kedāra.

4th Sarga—5 Songs. Bhairava, Māru Dhanāsri, Bhairava, Karṇāṭā, Vasanta.

5th Sarga—4 Songs. Ragas—Saurāshṭragujjarī, Āhāri, Chinta Kedāra, Vangalāsrī.

6th Sarga—4 Songs— Rāgas—Lalita, Dakhina Kamodi, Malhāra, Rāmakeri.

7th Saraga—5 Songs—Rāgas—Sāranga, Kāmodī, Saṃkarabha-raṇa,Mukhavari, Bhairava.

8th Sarga—4 Songs—Gala ? Mālava, Dakhina Kāmodi, Natarāga.

Talas used in this work

Aditāla, Yatitāla, Nihsara, Mṛgatāla, Jhanpakatāla, Tripata-tāla, Antratāla, Rupakatāla, Abhoga-ektāli.

From the study of the work it will be clear how attempts were being made in the past ages to identify Jagannātha, the supreme Lord of the Universe with Mādhava, the lover of Shri Rādhā whose worship was steadily gaining popularity in this region in the post Jayadeva period. This finds expression in the verse quoted below.

"Yam devān Kavayo vadanti chaturah Srī Vāsudevādıkā
nāhuh sātvatapungavah sukṛtino dharmārthakāmābhṛtaṃ
Srī Nīllachalakandarabhuvi vyakataṃ chaturdhāsthitaṃ
Taṃ vande mahīmandana Nandatanayaṃ Radhādhavam
Madhavaṃ"

The influence of the Gitagovinda is clearly marked in the language and style of composition of this work, which its author has tried to make as simple, flowing and musical as that of the former. It is for the scholars well-versed in Sanskrit to judge how far poet Nityananda has succeeded in this respect. The description of the Yamunā (2nd sarga) the pen-picture of the autumn season (3rd sarga), the pathetic query made to the trees and creepers about the whereabouts of Srī Krishna, by the Gopīs, suffering from the pangs of separation, appeal of Krishna to Rādhā, depiction of the Rāsalilā of Rādhā and Mādhava and the observation of the Rāsa by the Gods

(8th sarga) re appealing and interesting creations of the genius of the genius of poet Nityananda. This work published by Pandit Srī A. T. Sȧrma deserves the appreeiation of the world of Sanskrit scholars.

Reference

(1) Printed and published by the Orissa Sahitya Akademi, Bhubaneswer in

(a) preface pages CXLVI—C. L. 11.

(b) O. H. R. J., Vol. V, Nos. 1 & 2

(2) The Manorama, Vol VI, Nos, 1 to 12, August 1966—March 1967.

P. N' (3) O. H. R. J., Vol. XV, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 55—61.

(4) Samanta Chandrasekhara (Oriya page 19-22)



NOTES ON UTKALAKHANDAM OF THE

SKANDA PURĀNA

Reference *:* Utkala Khandaṃ of the Skanda Purāṇa printed in Bengali characters in Calcutta by Shri Panchanana Tarkaratna which is now very rare has been studied for the purpose of eliciting the necessary information about the names of Vaishnavite origin especially of Jagannātha given in this note, in which the pages, as well as the number of the word on each page have been noted against each word.

Historicalnotes : Utkala Khandaṃ of the Skanda Purāṇa was accepted as an authority on the glory, glamour and greatness of the Purushottama Kshetra or Puri, by all the later Smṛti writers of India and orthodox Pandits and pilgrims. Though it forms a part of a big Purāna of great antiquity, the age of Utkala Khandam as it is now available cannot be pushed beyond the twelfth century as it gives a vidid account of the construction of the present magnificent temple of Lord Jagannātha at Puri, which was proclaimed as a greatest achievement of Cholaganga Deva or Gaṅgesvara Deva, the founder of the Gaṅga Empire of Orissa (1112—1147 A. D.) in all the twelve copperplate grants of the imperial Gaṅga monarchs beginning from Rajaraja-II (1198—1211 A. D.) up to the time of Narasimha IV (1378--1407 A. D.). As such the age of this work may tentatively be fixed in the middle of the 12th century.

The description of the construction of the present temple runs as follows :

" Tatah sa nṛpatih sarvān silpa-shāstra visāradān
Pāsāṇa khanda ghaṭanā-karmaṇyakakayogatah
Sàtkāramānairdānaischa yojayāmāsa sādaraṃ 28

Dine dine sughaṭitah prasādo vavṛdhe divijāh
paritah puryamanatu shūkla pakshe yathā sasi 29
Evaṃ vighaṭamāno piprāsādāh parivarddhitàh
Mahochchray tvādalpena na kalen ābhilakshyate 30
Pāsāṇa samkhyā sakyavā kathañchit ghatanākramāt
Vitta vyayaṣtu koṭinām no samkhyā tatra sakyate 31
Yāvanto Bhāratavarshe lokāh samyavartinah
Indradyumnasya nṛpate niyuktāste mahibhṛtāh 32

X X X X X

Kvachit kānchana vinyasta nānā ratna mayojjvalah
Kvachit sphaṭika bhittyātu sāradābhranabhaschhavih,
Kvachinnilāsma ghaṭitā bhittih kalābhramedurāh 36
Evaṃ sughaṭite Vishṇoh prāsāde sumanohare
Garbha pratiṣtham vidhivat kṛtvā sa Nṛpasattamah 37
Vajrapātādibhityādi vāranārhaṃ yathoditaṃ
Silpasāstre pimanyādi vinyāsaṃ paurushākṛtiṃ 36
Punah prāsādaghaṭanā sambhārochitameva vai
Bahumulyaṃ ratnajālaṃ yatnāt tatra nyavesayat. 39

(Chapter 21, pp. 121-122)

On the basis of the evidence furnished by the quotation made above, it can be asserted without any fear of contradiction that this work was written after the completion of construction of the present Jagannātha temple to sing the glory and greatness of Lord Jagannātha installed in this lofty edifice.

Consequently the names of Lord Jagannātha are the largest in number in the text of this work, next to which come the names of Purushottama, the most important synonym of Jagannātha. The names of Nilamādhava, Nilamaṇi, Nilendramani, or simply Mādhava who was the presiding deity of this place are fewer in number,

indicating the steady decline in the importance of Nīlamādhava or Mādhava whose worship was very popular through cut Orissa before the installation of the wooden images called ' Chaturdhāmurti ', i.e. Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarsana.

Another inportant feature of this work is the propagation of the identity of Lord Jagannâtha with Shree Krishna who had steadily come to prominence in the field of Hindu religion by this time of construction of the temple due to the circulation of the Bhāgavata Purâna, which became the most popular Purāna in Orissa.

Words like Gopinātha and Rādhānātha, etc., which in the subsequent periods became the synonyms of Jagannātha are conspicuous by their absence in the text of this work of the twelfth century, which clearly indicates that the worship of Rādhā and Gopis along with Shree Krishṇa had not gained the support and approval of the orthodox Smṛti writers, who were regulating the faiths of the people in ancient times.

Another important feature of this work is that many names of Jagannātha are of Vedic origin, as it was written to proclaim the revial of Brahmanism which is marked by the performances of one thousand Asvamedha sacrifices by Emperor Indradyumna (Chapter 17). As such they have been collected from the ' Purusha-sūkta ' of the Vedic period and the ' Vishnu Sahasra Nāma ' of the Puranic age.

Names of Vaishnavite origin found in the Utkala Khandam of the Skanda Purāṇa (c. 12th century), an authority on Shri Jagannātha of Shree Purushottama Kshetra (Puri).

(A)

Achyuta - p. 155, 185, 224

Attā - p. 152

Advitīya - p, 150

Adhoksbaja - p. 74

Ananta - p. 57, 103, 135, 155

Anantakanṭha - p. 95

Anatnapāda - p. 95

Anāthabandhu - p. 116

Anāmaya - p. 68

Anādi - p. 46, 72, 89, 190, 301

Anumantā - p. 94

Apaurusheya - p. 107

Aprameya - p. 33

Avyaktarūpi - p. 134

Avyaya - pp. 37, 254

Amaresha - p. 180

Akshara - p. 254

Antaryāmi - pp. 15, 38 46, 69, 129 136, 150, 169, 243, 276, 285

(Ā)

Ādyantavarjitā - p. 6

Ādhāra - p.3

Ānandasāgara - p. 39

(I)

Īshāna - p. 254

Ishvara - pp. 150, 224, 264, 285

(Ka)

Kartā - pp. 94, 269

Kamalākānta - pp. 17, 31, 136

Kamalānana - p. 38

Kamalapatrāksha - p. 38

Kamalekshaṇa - p. 43

Karunākara - 151

Karunāsindhu - p. 279

Kaṃsahantā - pp. 57, 73

Kārunyasāgara - pp. 89, 103

Kṛpākara - p. 253

Kṛpānidhi - pp. 5, 15, 31, 90, 183

Kṛpāmaya - p. 3

Kṛpāmbudhi - pp.19, 103, 151

Kṛpārnava - p. 188

Kṛpāsindhu - p. 88

Kṛshṇa - pp. 24, 41, 111 (2), 117; 124, 152, 155, 169, 183, 184, 185, 187, 191 (2), 196, 197 (2), 198 (4), 199 (2), 202, 205, 209, 210, 211, 252, 253, 254, 303.

Keshava - p. 25, 32, 50, 188, 139, 210, 211, 238, 248

Kaivalya - p. 103

Kolarūpa - 174

(Ga)

Gadādhara - pp. 2, 32, 42, 81, 84, 172, 232

Gariṣṭha - p. 104

Garuḍadhvaja - p. 3, 61, 172, 193

Guṇātīta - p. 150

Guṇādhāra - p. 150

Guṇānjana - p. 103

Goptā - p. 296.

Govinda - pp 11, 160, 172, 190, 194, 223, 244 (4), 245, 246, 249.

(Cha)

Chakra gadādhara - p. 49

Chakrī - pp. 6, 33, 103, 118, 214, 267

Chakrapāṇi - p. 14

Charācharaguru - sp. 3, 105

Charācharapati - p. 65

Chidānandasvarūpa - p. 104

Chaturbhuja - p. 50

Jagatkāraṇa - p. 72

Jagatguru - pp. 6, 51, 175, 231,257,297

Jagannātha - pp. 2, 3, 11, 13 (2), 15, 17, 20, 23, 24 (2), 26, 31, 32, 37, 39, 40, 43, 47, 48, 54, 55, 56, 70, 75, 89, 90, 104, 106, 112, 116, 117, 118, 123 (2), 126, 130 (2), 135, 136, 149, 151 (2), 154, 155, 157, 160, 162 (2), 165, 168, 169 (2), 177, 178, 183, 185 (3), 188, 189, 196, 198, 201, 207, 209, 211, 219, 223·(2), 228, 229 (2), 230 (2), 231 (3), 234 (2), 238, 241, 246, 247, 250, 952, 253 (2), 254, 257, 269, 275, 280, 293, 296, 297 (2), 298 (2), 300, 303.

Jagadisha - pp. 19, 24, 45, 102, 118, 137, 148, 171, 194, 202, 218, 232, 251.

jagadīshvara - p. 22, 104, 153, 231 (2)

jagatpati - pp. 3, 38, 40, 41, 44, 135, 143, 146, 231, 235, 257, 288

jagatpitā - p. 136

jagatprabhu - pp. 3, 276, 300.

jagatbandhu - p. 207

jagatbhartā - p. 229

jagadbhāsa - p. 150

jagadyoni - p. 6, 15

jagadrūpa - p. 103

jagatsvāmi - p. 130

jagadātmā - p. 103

jagadādikanda - p. 33

jagadādhāra - pp. 2, 22, 103

jagadekavandya - p. 152

jagadvyāpī - p. 177

janārdana - pp. 36, 45, 109, 113, 120, 127, 132 (2), 146, 168, 172, 200, 201, 206, 210, 213, 215, 220 (2), 249, 256, 262.

jyotihprakāsa - p. 1

jyotih rūpa - pp. 91, 95

jñānagamya - p. 94

jñānadarpaṇa - p. 152

jñānarūpa - p. 95

(Ta)

Tejorāshi - p. 231

Trayirūpa - p. 38

Trāṅaparāyaṇa - p. 207

Triguṇātīta - p. 103

Trigunātmā - p. 150

Tridasheshvara - p. 187

Trivikrama - pp. 179, 249, 240, 248

Trailokya-garbha - p. 95

(Da)

Davishtha - p. 104

Dayanidhi - p. 268

Dayaluka - p. 23

Damodara - pp. 232, 233 (4), 234 (2), 248

Daru-brahma - pp. 197, 292

Draghishtha - p. 104

Divyasimha - p. 91

Divyarupa - p. 150

Dinanatha - pp. 23, 46, 253, 256, 300

Dinabandhu - pp. 6, 104, 170, 276

Dinartiharana - p. 261

Devadeva - pp. 31, 38, 103, 116, 160, 163, 1J7, 189, 199, 212, 214, 230, 250, 276, 281, 286. 299.

Devesha - pp. 98, 143 187, 186, 207, 210, 211, 220, 240, 241 (3), 254, 300.
Devendra - p. 98

Devadevesha - p. 6, 12, 191, 221, 231. 299

Devadhideva - pp. 150, 236

(Dha)

Dharayitā - p. 152

(Na)

Narakeshari - pp. 180, 216

Narasimha - pp. 77, 90, 92, 136, 140, 172, 202, 210

Narahari - pp. 57, 58, 190

Narayana - pp. 1, 7, 11, 19, 22, 25, 27 (3), 52 68, 72, 81, 103, 109, 816, 145, 147, 161, 172, 177, 189 (2), 214, 217, 248, 293, 299 (2).

Nirguna - p. 9

Nitya - 263

Nityananda - p. 22

Niranjana - p. 72

Nirakara - p. 150

Nirashraya - p. 150

Nirvikara - p, 7, 150

Nirmala - p. 38

Niladrinatha - p. 51

Niladripati - p. 51

Niladrivasa - p. 86

Nilamani - p. 109

Nilamadhava - pp. 36' 37, 44, 45, 47, 58, 81, 84 (2), 85, 300

Nilendramani - p. 37

Nrukesari - p. 91

Nrusimha - pp. 6, 47, 62, 86, 87, 136, 179,236

Nruhari - pp. 62, 191, 215

Nedishtha - p. 104

(Pa)

Padmanabha - p. 248

Pavitra - p. 104

Paramapurrusha - p. I

Paramabrahma - pp. 135, 292

Paratpara - p. 38, 58

Paramartha - 22, 38

Parayana - p. 22

Paramātmā - p. 22, 58, 68, 89, 135

Paramātmasvarūpa - p. 151

Paramānanda - p. 174, 211

Parameshvara - p. 2, 5, 42, 70, 89 (2), 168, 198,200 (2), 253, 255, 296

Prakāsha-p. 95

Pātā - p. 94, 136

Pārijātahara - p. 61

Pālayitā - p. 152

Pāvana - p. 104

Pītambaradhara - p. 25

Purusha - p. 119, 134, 298

Purushapradhāna - p. 134

Purushesha - p. 67

Purushottama - p. 5, 12, 40, 42, 72, 85, 132 (2), 159, 168, 171, 172, 177, 185, 208, 213, 228, 233, 235, 237 (2), 238 (2), 239, 244 (2), 250, 252, 258, 270, 294, 295

Puṇḍarikāksha - p. 200, 248

Poshtā - p. 3, 136, 143

Poshya - p. 3

(Va)

Vanamāli - p. 25, 112, 246

Varāharūpi-p. 1

Varāharūpa - p. 172

Varishṭha - p. 104

Vareṇya - p. 104

Vāsudeva - p. 31, 55 (3), 75, 111, 116, 119, 138, 162, 197, 225, 234, 237

Vibhu - p. 11, 20, 21, 30, 32, 42, 48, 52, 108, 114, 117, 229

Vishvavāsa - p. 6

Vishvamūrti - p. 22, 24, 106, 258

Vishvarāṭa - p. 135

Vishvarūpa - p. 174

Vishvātmā - p. 74.

Vishveshvara - p. 6, 33

Vishvasambhava - p. 6

Vishvasākshi - p. 6, 38, 94, 169

Vishnu - p. 10 (2), 11, 16, 21, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35 (2), 36, 37, 40 (3), 45, 51, 55, 56, 58, 65, 69, 87, 89, 109, 117, 136, 161, 185, 199, 205, 210, 218, 222. 225, 250, 253, 256, 261, 265

Vedāntavedya - p. 119

Vaikunṭha - 48, 99

Vyomakesha - p. 94

Vyomāruḍha - p. 94

Vyomasaṃstha - p. 94

(Bba)

Bhagavān - p. 1, 5, 31, 41 (2), 68, 69, 70, 84, 89, 99, 106, 107, 129, 133, 137, 161, 199, 207, 209, 220, 221, (2), 243, 250, 256, 295

Bhadralochana - p. 170

Bharttā - p. 3

Bhaktapriya - 151

Bhaktavatsala - p. 133

(Ma)

Maṅgalāyatana - p. 61

Madhughātī - p. 157

Madhujit - p. 57

Madhusūdana - p. 34, 41, 48, 61, 72, 75, 90, 166, 172, 187, 214, 248

Mahesha - p. 201

Maheshvara - p. 277

Matsyasvarūpī - p. 215

Mādhava - p. 5, 6 (3), 41, 42, 43 (2), 45, 46, 51, 53, 82, 87, 98, 106, 109, 111, 144, 146, 165, 234, 248, 251, 253, 275, 279 (2), 280.

Māyī - p. 38

Māyāvī - p. 248

Māyātīta - p. 94

Muradviṣ - p. 5, 68

Muravairi - p. 7, 196, 202, 303

Muraripu - p. 57

Murāri-p. 70,86,95,113,114,140,187

Mukunda - p. 35,45

(Ya)

Yajña - p. 135

Yajñapurusha - p. 43

Yajñavarāha - p. 6, 190

Yajnāṃsha - p. 135

Jajñesha - p. 101,135

Yajñeshvara - p. 175, 256,

Yogeshvara - p. 127

(Ra)

Rakshitā - p. 127

Ramānātha - p. 104, 275

Ramesha - p. 80, 275

Rāma - p. 152, 184

(La)

Laksmīpati - p. 11, 203

Lakshmīsha - p. 7

Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa - p 27

Lakshmī Nṛsiṃha - p. 157

(Ba)

Bibhu - p. 11, 20, 21, 30, 32, 42, 48, 52, 108, 114, 117,229

Brahmā - p. 34, 54

Brahmabhūt - p. 151

Brahmarūpa - p. 11

Brahmarūpī - p. 153

Brahmāndaḍhārabhṛt - p. 46

(Sha)

Shabda Brahma - p. 135

Shaṃkhachakradhara - p. 18

Shāradāpati - p. 80

Shrīkaṇṭha - p 7, 42

Shrīdhara - p. 31, 61, 172, 248

Shrīnātha - p. 42

Shrīnidhi - p. 33, 46

Shrīpati - p. 30, 46, 52, 183, 184, 214

Shrīmān - p. 43

Shrīsha - p. 1, 43,58, 252,257, 261, 278

Shubhakārī - p. 7

Shubhacharita - p. 57

Subhanāma - p. 57

Shubarūpa - p. 38

Shubhātmā - p. 24

Shvetamādhava - p. 215, 266

Sachchidānanda - p. 72

Sanātana - p. 68, 197, 143,199, 193,

Sahajānanda - p. 53

Sarvaga - p. 2

Sarvagata - p. 263

Sarvajishnu - p. 38

Sarvatejonidhi - 136

Sarvajñānanidhi - p. 112

Sarvavyāpī - p. 38

Sarvabhāvana - p. 2

Sarvāghanāshana - p. 155

Sarvangavyāpī - p. 46

Sahasrapāt - p. 134

Sahasramūrti - p. 135

Sahasrashīrsha - p. 134

Sahasrāksha - p. 134

Sindhujāpati - p. 129

Sudhādhama - p. 104

Supuṇya - p. 104

Suresha - p. 255

Sṛjya - p. 3

Srashṭā - p. 3, 29, 127, 143,

Svaprakāsha - p. 72, 150

Svarūpa - p. 38

(Ha)

Hari - p. 12, 19, 34, 35 (2), 36, 37, 46, 56, 77, 80, 82, 92, 112, 117, 124 (2), 168, 176, 184, 186, 210, 215, 220, 221, 229, 257, 257, 264

Harttā - p. 94,296

Hīraṇyagarbha - p. 134,300

Hṛshikesa - p. 135,172,204, 206, 248

Hotā - p. 135,

(Ksha)

Kshodishṭha - p. 104



Sri Jayadeva was not a poet of the court of Lakshmana Sena

Poetic tradition :

The five poets Umāpatidhara, Jayadeva, Saraṇa. Govardhana Acharya and Dhoyi mentioned in the forth verse of the first sarga of the Gitagovindaṃ quoted below have been accepted by most of the scholars, who have written on the History of Sanskrit Literature as the natives of Bengal and adorning the court of king Lakhsmana Sena.

" Vāchahpallavayatyumāpatidharah sandharbhasuddhiṃ girāṃ
Jānite Jayadeva eva Sharaṇah slāghyo duruhadrute
Sṛngārottarasatprameyarachanairāchārya Govardhana-
Sparddhī koapi na vishṛtah shrutidharo Dhoyi Kavikshmā-
patih ".

This verse is called kshepaka or interpolated by Rāṇā Kumbha (c. 1440—60 A. D.) in his Rasikapriyā commentary. The author of the Samgraha Dīpikā commentary does not interprete this verse at all. In spite of this, it may be accepted as genuine as its inter pretation is found in most of the commentaries so far noticed.

This verse only gives the estimate of Jayadeva about four other poets who might at best be taken as his elder contemporaries, but it does not imply either directly or indirectly that all five poets referred to in it belonged to Bengal and adorned the court of its king Lakshmana Sena. Following the tradition set by some of his famous predecessors, Shree Jayadeva has proudly spoken of his poetic genius as will be evident from the quotations given below :—

Ravikīrti, the author of the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II speaks in the 57th stanza of the praśasti that he as a poet was famous like Kālidāsa and Bhāravī.

"Sa vijayatāṃ Ravikīrtih Kavitāsrita Kālidāsa Bhāravikīrtih" (1) Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the introduction to his 'Harsha Charita 'after giving his own estimate about eminent works and authors like Vāsavadattā, Mahābhārata, prose work of Bhattāraka Harichandra, work of Hala Sātavāhana (Gāthā Saptasati), Pravarasena (author of Setubandha Kāvya) Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bṛhatkathā (of Guṇāḍhya), Aḍhyarāja, speaks of his own achievement in verse 19 quoted below :— (2)

"Tathāpi nṛpaterbhaktyā bhito nirvahaṇākulah
Karomyākhyāyikāmbhodhou Jihvāplavanachāpalaṃ" (Verse 19)

Dandi in his 'Avantisundarī Kathā' speaks of Pravarasena, the author of Setuvandha Mahākāvyaṃ and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of Veṇī saṃhāra Nāṭakaṃ i. e.

" Seturūpeṇa tishṭṭanto loke sadvastudarsinah
Shatpanchā at pramāṇatvaṃ gatānah Kavipungavāh
Vyāptuṃ padatrayeṇāpi yashshakto bhuvantrayaṃ
Tasya Kāvyatrayaṃ chitraṃ Nārāyaṇasya kiṃ ".

Rājashekhara, a well-known court-poet of kings Mahendra Pala and Mahipala of Kanauja has compared himself with Vālmiki, Bhartṛhari, Menṭha and Bhavabhūti in a verse of his 'Vāla-Rāmāyaṇa' quoted below.

" Bābhūva Valmīkabhavah kavi purā
Tatah prapede bhuvi Bharttṛ Mentṭha tāṃ "
Sthitah punaryo Bhavabhūti rekhayā
Sa vartate smprati Rājasekharah " (3)

Similarly Kavirāja Suri, a court-poet of Kāmadeva II (1182-87) a chief of the Kādamba family of Jayantipura or Vanavasī, near Goa proclaimed himself in one of the introductory verses as equal with Subandhu and Bānabhatta.

"Śrīmad Rāmāyana- Gangā Bhāratam sāgaromahān
Tatsanyojanakarmajnah Kavirājah Bhagīrathah
Subandhu Bānabhattacha Kavirāja iti trayah
Vakroktimārganipunāh chaturtha vidyate na vā ". (4)

In the like manner Govardhana Āchārya respectfully refers to some eminent poets in the introductory stanzas of his work 'Aryāsaptashati' i. e., the authors of the Rāmāyana (Vālmīki) the Bhārata (Vyāsa) and Bṛhatkathā (Gunādhya); Kālidāsa, Bhavabhuti, Bānabhatta, his father Nīlāmbara and Pravarasena, the author of Setubandha Kāvya. Not being satisfied with a long introduction about some famous poets in the beginning of the work, he again gives his own estimate about Gunādhya, Bhavabhūti, Bānabhabhatta and Kālidāsa (Raghukāra), Kavi Samarasimha and lastly about his two younger brothers Udayana and Balabhadra, whom he has compared with the Sun and the Moon respectively.

So Shree Jayadeva followed the poetic tradition while speaking about four other notable poets of his age in the stanza quoted above.

Correct interpretation of the verse :

Jagaddhara of Mithilā, (c. 1330 A. D.) one of the earliest commentators of the Gītagovindam in his commentary called, 'Sāradipikkā' while interpreting this verse clearly states that Jayadeva has deprected the poets of the court of Lakshmana Sena by establishing the superiority of his work i. e.,

" Kaviradhunā mahākavi prashamsāvasare Lakshmana—
Sena.devenāpa X X X rupita iti madīya kavitve
Gunādhikyamastīti dyotayna nija granthamahātmyamāha " (5)

The interpretation of the verse 'Vāchhahpallavayati' as given in his Sarvānga Sundarī Tīkā of the Gītagovindam by the famous Kavirāja Nārāyana Dāsa is quoted below as it is precise,clear and convincing. In this verse Shree Jayadeva makes disparaging remarks about four estimable poets of his age, while apparently describing the particular literary quality of each of them, as will be evident from the explanation of the verse quoted below :

"Samprati kavinām prashamsāvyājena nindām kurvannātmanah proudhimāha, vāchah—

Umāpatidharanāmnā sāndhivigrahiko vāchah pallavayati vistāravatītyarthah. Etenāsya vyākyāsakti darsitā. Nindāstu pallavagrāhinī syāt, yaduktam—

Pallavagrāhipānditvam krayakrītam cha maithunam
Bhojanam cha parāyattam tisrah pumsām vidamvaneti.

Sharana slāghyo duruhadrute iti. Duruhe prameye samasyādou drute sīghratve slāghyo, drutakavi ityrthah Nindātu druhadruta eva slāghyo, nānyatrevadhāranāt vedyā.

Srngārottarasatprameyarachanai Rāchārya Govardhana—spardhhī kopi na visrvata iti. Srangarapradhāna satprameya grathanāyām Achārya Govardhanam sparddhitum tamabhivavantum kopi na saktah ityarthah Atrāpi avadhārane na rasāntarābhiprāyā nindā jneyā.

Srutidharah Dhoyi Kavikshamāpatiriti Dhoyi nāmā Kavirājah srutidharah Sravanamātrā leva grhitagrantha ityarthah Nindātu srtidharatayā heyopādeya buddhirahitatvāt pasutvāpatteh yaduktam

Udīritārthah pasunāpigrhyate
Hayascha nāgascha vahants choditāh

Anuktam apyuhati pandito janah parengita jnānaphalābi budbhayah iti.

Ataeva te girāṃ sandharbhaṃ granthavisheshaṃ na jānate kastarhi jānatityāha Jayadeva eveti" (6)

Poet Umāpatidhara, a minister for peace and war can no doubt make the words sprout, i. e. he is proficient in the use of bombastic and florid words, but his knowledge of the use of words is only superficial and not deep. Saraṇa is praise-worthy only in quick and difficult compositions but in nothing else. Acharya Govardhana is unrivalled in the composition of faultless erotic verses, but he has no mastery in other 'Rasas' except sṛngāra. Kavirāja Dhoyi can remember what he hears once, which implies that he has a strong memory and imitativeness, but he lacks in originality. But Jayadeva alone had prfound mastery over the use of words and had originality and spontaneity.

On the wrong interpretation of this significant verse has been based a wrong theory that all the five poets mentioned in it belonged to the court of Lakshmana Sena of Bengal, which has beenunquestionab'y accepted by many scholars. But the quota ion made above from S. S. Tikacleary proves that Jayadeva has only established his superiority over four other contemporary poets, and says nothing about his association with any royal court. Rāṇā Kumbha in his Rasikapriyā ṭikā also explains this verse as Jayadeva praising himself.

"Idānimṃ kave Kaviganaṇāyāṃ parairapi kavibhi rahaṃ pariganita iti svaprasaṃsārtham kshepaka mapi tatkṛtam slokaṃ svaprabandhasya kurvannāha." (74)

Mahamahopadhyaya Shamkara Mishra of Mithila in his Rasamanjrrī tīkā explains this vividly in the following manner.

"Umāpatidharanāmnā Lakshmanasenāmatyyo vāchah pallavayati vistārayati. Tathā Kshamāpatidharasya vāṅmādhurasyasunyṃ saddārtha-guṇasunyṃ sachhitrākhamadhama kāvyam na sahṛdaya hrdayalhādajankamiti bhāvah.

Saraṇa nāmā kave duruhasya kāvyasya sighrarachane slāghyah stutyah Tathācha Saraṇakaverapi kāvyam guḍhārthatvādi dosha-

yuktam prasādādiguṇarahitam̐ cheti. Tadapi na vidagdha manavinodanāspadamiti bhāvah.

Tathā sṛngarottareti sṛngararasa evottarah sreshṭho yatra, sṛngarortaram pradhānam vā yatsatprameya muttamam vastu tasya rachanaih kavitāyām granthanairāchāya Govardhanasparddhi Govarddhanāchāryenasaha sparddhāvān kopina visrutah khyātah. Atra sṛngārarasa-kāvya rachanāyāmeva tasya sāmarthyam Rasāntara varṇane tu so apyapraudḍha eveti. Tatkāvye varṇaniyārthasya suddhatvepi mādhuryaguṇasampanna padarachanāyām soapyasaktascheti dhvanitam. Aprayojakamiti sopahāsamuktamāchāryeti. Tathā cha sa na satkavirṇāyi satkavihṛdayam tasyeti bhāvah.

Dhoyi Kabikshmāpatih— Dhoyināmakavirājah sṛtidharah shṛtih sravaṇa tanmātrādeva granthagrāhi. Tasyochāritamātragrahitvameva na satkavitāyām kausalyamiti bhāvah. Mahāhaṃkārathanāya rajopamā. Tāthāṃkāradeva tasya Kavirāja pādavimānimānitavān. Satkavi madhye tasya gaṇanāpi neti bhāvah.

Girām vachasām sandarva suddhi gunālankārasampanna grantha rachanaviseshaṃ Jayadevaeva jānite nānyah. Ato anya kāvya sravaṇe tathā na samtosho yathā Jayadevakavitā sravaṇena, Ityetadeva shotavyamiti bhāvah" (7. B.).

The explanation given by Chaitanya Dāsa of Bengal, whose 'Bālabodhinī' commentary had the widest circulation may be profitably quoted here,

"Umāpatidharanāmā Kavih vachah pallavayati vistārayatimātram, natu kāvyaguṇayuktah karoti, pallavagrāhitā dosho asya.

Saraṇa nāmā kavih duruhasya durjñeyasyāsya kāvyasya drute sighra rachane slāghyah natu prasādādi-guṇayukte.

Sṛngāra evottarah sreshṭho yatra tasya satprmeyasya sāmānyanāyaka nāyikā prāya varnanasya rachanairāchārya Govardhanasya spardhīvan ko api na visrutah, na rasāntara varnanaih.

Dhoai nāmā kavirājah sṛtidharah prasiddhah shravaṇamātreṇa granthādhikārī, na tu svayaṃ kavitayā

"Girām suddhim sodhanaprakāraṃ Jayadeva eva jānīte" (8).

Though the commentator Shree Chaitnaya Dāsa was a famous Bengali Vaishṇava, he has not associated the five poets either with Bengal or with the royal court, of Lakshmana sena while interpreting the verse but has given its correct meaning like Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, and Mahamahopādhyāya Saṃkara Mishra and others. Let us now examine the association of each poet with the court of Lakshmana Sena of Bengal with the evidence elicited from other sources.

Umāpati Dhara—

The last but one verse of the Deopara inscription of Vijaya-Sena states that its author was Umāpatidhara, who can be identified with the poet of the same name mentioned in the Gitagovindam ie.

"Nirinktasenakulabhupatimauktikānāṃ
Magranthilagrathanapakshmalasūtrāvallīh
Eshā kaveh padapadārthavichārasuddha-
Buddhe Rumāpatidharasya kṛtih prasastih (9)

The date of this inscription, which mentions the defeat of Rāghava Deva, the Ganga king of Orissa (1156—1170 A. D.) by Vijaya Sena, who died in 1158 A. D (10) may be fixed between 1156 to 1158 A. D. Four verses from this inscription Nos, 7, 23, 24 and 30 are found quoted in the S. K. M. of Sridhara Dāsa (11). Again verse 9 of the Madhainagar copper plates of Lakshmana Sena almost exactly corresponds to verse ascribed to Umāpatidhara in the S.K.M. It is therefore not unlikely that the poet lived not only in the court of Vijaya Sena but in that of his son and grand son" (12). This seems possible in view of the fact that the period of interval between

Vijaya Sena and Lakshmaṇa Sena was only 21 years (1158—1179 A. D.). It is also supported by literary evidence as Mm. Shaṃkara Mishra in his 'Rasamanjari' commentary speaks thus. " Umāpati Dhara, as the minister of Lakshmaṇa Sena.

Merutuṅga Āchārya in his 'Prabandha chintāmaṇih' narrates the story of Lakshmana Sena and his minister Umāpati Dhara i. e. " Then in the country of Gauḍa in the city of Lakshmanāvatī, a king of the name of Lakshmaṇa Sena ruled for a long time and his kingdom was administered by the minister Umāpati Dhara, who was a treasure house of all intelligence " (13)

Saraṇa—

No work of Saraṇa mentioned by Jayadeva has yet been found. In a verse (quoted in S. K. M.) Saraṇa is found eulogising a Sena king without mentioning his name. "Sevābhiryadi Sena Vaṃsha tilakādāsādaniyā Shriyah." In another verse quoted in the same work, he is found deprecating the rulers of Gauḍa, Kalinga, Chedī, Mlechha, Kāmarūpa, Kāshi, Magadha, but the name of his patron is not given. So there is no direct and definite evidence to connect Saraṇa with the court of king Lakshmaṇa Sena. But this much can be said on the strength of the first verse referred to above that he was patronished by some Sena king.

Govardhana Āchārya :—

On the basis of wrong interpretation of a verse of his A. S. S. quoted below Govardhana Āchārya has been taken as a court poet of Lakshmaṇa Sena.

"Sakalakalāh kalayituṃ prabhuh pravandhasya tātaṃ
Kumudavanabandhoh
Senakulatilakabhūpatireka rākāpradoshascha"

Here in this verse the term 'Senakulatilakabhūpati' does not allude to Lakshmaṇa Sena who was never reputed as a scholar

or a poet. But this term taken with 'Kumudavanabandhoh' contains veiled reference to Pravara Sena who was renowned for his Prākṛta Kāvya 'Setubandha or Rāvanavāho'. This is highly praised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians. Daṇḍin, the famous author of the 'Kāvyādarśa' calls it a mine of gems in the form of good sayings i. e.

"Mahārāshṭrāśrayāṃ bhāshāṃ prakṛshṭaṃ prākṛtaṃ viduh
Sāgaraṃ sūktiratnānāṃ 'Setubandhādi yanmayaṃ"

Bāṇa in the introduction of his 'Harṣa Charita' says that by means of Setu (Setubandha kāvya) the fame of Pravara Sena crossed the ocean as the army of monkeys had done before, by the means of the (Setu) bridge of Rāma.

"Kīrtih Pravarasenasya prayātā Kumudojjvalā
Sāgarasya parapāraṃ kapisenaiva Setunā" (14)

1st Chapter
(Harṣa Charita verse-14)

Kumuda was a commander in the army of the monkeys, so here the word 'Kumuda' means both lily and the monkey-leader.

Following Bāṇabhaṭṭa's adjective 'Kumudojjvalā' Govardhana has used Kumudavanabandhoh' while speaking of Pravara Sena, the famous author of Setuvandha Kāvya. So it is ridiculous to jump to the hasty conclusion that king Lakshmaṇa Sena is alluded to by the term 'Senakulatilaka' in the above verse of A. S. S.

Āchārya Govardhana was not a court poet of Lakshmaṇa Sena. This is proved by the fact that none of the stanzas of his A. S. S. is found quoted in the S. K. M. A poet Govardhana is quoted six times but these verses cannot be traced in the A.S.S (1.) This omission is significant, which clearly indicates that his work A. S. S. was not known to Shrīdhara Dāsa and as such he did not adorn the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena. This is further corroborated

by the fact that Govardhana Āchārya and a verse of his A. S. S. i. e. "Anyamukhe dhupah" has been quoted by Arjuna Varma-Deva a king of Mālava (1211-1215 A. D.) in his commentary on Amaruśatakaṃ (16) written only 6 years after S. K. M. The omission of any verse of A. S. S. which had become well-known in far off Mālava by 1211 A. D. in the S. K. M. composed in 1205 convincingly disproves the theory of the connection of its author with the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena.

Govardhana speaks eloquently about the scholarship and poetic talent of his two younger brothers Udayana and Valabhadra who helped him in improving the composition of his A. S. S. in the last verse of the work.

"Udayana Valabhadrābhyāṃ saptaśatiśisyasodarābhyāṃ nah
Dvairiva Ravichandrābhyāṃ prakāsitā nirmalīkṛtya
(verse 701) Iti Kavipaṇḍita Govardhanāchāryakṛtā
Saptaśatī samāptā."

There is convincing contemporary epigraphic evidence to show that poet Udayana Āchārya, the younger brother of Govardhana belonged to Orissa and was connected with the ruling Gaṅga family of this State. Up till now two stone inscriptions composed by Udayana Āchārya have been discovered and published. Of these two, one is still to be seen in the temple Sobhaneśvara in the village of Niyali on the river Prāchī flowing on the northern boundary of the Puri district (17). From one of the verses quoted below it is known that this eulogy was written by poet Udayana, who was living in the court of Brāhmaṇa chieftain named Vaidyanātha, a vassal of the Gaṅga sovereign of Orissa. The date of the inscription is circa 1180 A. D.

"Netrānandajalapraṇālasaraṇiṃ kaṇṭhadvayo śuktikā
Svātyambho lahariṃ manah kumudinichaitanyacandrat-
vishṃ. Murddhāntāṇḍavapaṇḍitāṃ Kavisabhākaṇṭhāva-

lambisrajaṃ Dhīrendrodayanah praśastimātulām
tatpreritaschakrivān" (verses 23) (17).

The second stone inscription composed by Udayana was originally fixed in the temple of Meghesvara in the temple-city of Bhubaneswar for which it was meant. But in the last quarter of the last century it was fixed by mistake on the compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar by some officer of the Government of India, where it is still to be seen (18).

This inscription informs us that the poet was being patronised by another vassal chieftain named Svapneśvara Deva, who was connected with the ruling Gaṅga family by matrimonial alliance as his sister Suramā Devi was married to king Rājarāja Deva II (1170-1190). So while singing the praise of his patron, the poet has also eulogised his brother-in-law, Rājarāja and his younger brother Anaṅgabhīma II who ruled after him (1190-1198). The analysis of this inscription shows that there are only five verses (2-6) describing Svapneśvara and his family, whereas the achievements of the Gaṅga Kings Cholagaṅga Deva, Rājarāja and Anaṅgabhīma Deva are narrated in 11 verses (7-17), which indicates that poet Udayana tried to please Anaṅgabhīma Deva, the overlord of his patron, whose favour he was either getting or seeking to get. In the verses 31 & 32 of this inscription we also find the eulogy of one Viṣṇu Āchārya, the spiritual guide of Swapneśvara Deva, who has been compared with God Viṣṇu and was given a village near the Brahmesvara temple.

From verse 33 quoted below it is known that Udayana composed the 'Megheśvara Prashasti' at the behest of this Viṣṇu Acārya.

X X X X X

"Udayana kavistasyādesāt prashastivilāsinīṃ
Sulalitapadanyāsaih shashvadvidagdhamanoharāṃ

Dhvanibhiranisham kanṭhe ślisṭāmalaṃkṛtihāriṇī
Matirasatayā sajyāyātāṃ prasādhitavānimāṃ"

The conclusion that poet Udayana belonged to Orissa is supported by the following quotation made from the History of Bengal.

"In one of the concluding verses he (Govardhana) mentions his brothers and pupils Udayana and Valabhadra who helped him in revising and publishing the poem. Udayana may be identical with Udayana Kavi who composed the Prashasti of the Meghesvara temple at Bhubaneswar in Orissa" (19)

One important point which deserves mention here is that Viṣṇu Āchārya, who was only a royal preceptor of a vassal chief in the time of Anaṅgabhīma II (1190-1198) rose to the position of commander in chief & Minister of Anaṅgabhīma III (12.1 1238) A. D.) and became famous for his conquest of Bengal and Tummāṇa (Raipur and Bilāsapur districts of M. P.) and brought the whole empire of the king, the lord of Trikaliṅga, under one parasol, which is described in the Chāṭesvara temple inscription e. g. (20).

"Tasyāthakshitipālabhālavaḍabhinidrāstapādāṅgule
Vishṇur Vishṇurivāparah kalitavān sāchivyamavyāhataṃ
Shvetachchatraśatāni yasya yaśasā nirmāya kiṃ brūmahe
Sāmrājyaṃ Trikaliṅganāthanṛpate rekātapatrīkṛtaṃ (12)

It may be suggested here though it is difficult to prove at the present state of our knowledge that Vishṇu Āchārya belonged to the family of the famous Nīlāmbara Āchārya and it was through his help that Udayana, who was at first living near about Niali Shāsana in a remote corner of Orissa under a petty chieftain Vaidyanātha came to Bhubanesvara where Svapneśvara was living. This brought him and his family to the forefront by giving them

a chance to come in contact with Anaṅgabhīma II, the Gaṅga sovereign of Orissa, through his relative and general Svapneśvra Deva.

The Orissan tradition which relates that Govardhana Achārya permanently resided at Puruṣottama Kshetra or Puri in a site near the present Guṇḍichā temple. This is corroborated by the facts stated about Udayana, who first lived in the Niali area and then came to Bhubaneswara. So it seems quite probable that his elder brother might have selected Puri, a very sacred place for his residence. On the basis of the foregoing discussion the following correct conclusions can be made.

(a) Udayana, the younger brother of Govardhana, author of two inscriptions in the Shovaneśvara and Megheśvara temples was a native of Orissa and can definitely be assigned to the last quarter of the twelfth century A. D.

(b) Both the brothers came to prominence with the help of the great Viṣṇu Āchārya, who was at first a royal preceptor during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma Deva II (1190-1198 A. D.) but gradually rose to the position of Commander-cum-Minister of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-1238 A. D.). It seems very likely that Viṣṇu Āchārya belonged to the family of Udayana.

(c) Udayana unknown to Shrīdhara Dāsa, the author of S. K. M. had nothing to do with Lakshmaṇa Sena of Bengal, and lived in Orissa in the courts of two local chieftains under the Gaṅga kings Rājarāja II (1170-1190 A. D.) and Anaṅgabhīma II (1190-1198 A. D.). Similarly Govardhana, not a single verse of whose 'A. S. S.' is found quoted in S. K. M. of Shrīdhara Dāsa, did not adorn the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena and the term 'Senakulatilakabhūpati' of his work can more convincingly be applied to Pravara Sena, who is reputed as the author of 'Setuvandha Kāvya' than to Lakshmaṇa Sena.

Works of Govardhana and Udayana—

The only work of Govardhana so far known and published is the famous 'A. S. S.' which had wide circulation in India and has got commentaries written by scholars of different provinces. It is reported that he wrote a 'Shataka' in praise of Lord Jagannātha of Puri, the manuscript of which was not available to me. But no work of Udayana is known to have been published as yet, though he earned reputation by writing the first commentary on the Gītagovindaṃ of Jayadeva which is called Bhāvavibhāvinī(21). According to an Orissan tradition, Udayana was an intimate friend and admirer of Jayadeva and both hailed from the same area in the Prāchī valley of Puri district. A commentary on Naishadha of Shrīharsha called 'Udayakarī' was written by one Udayana Āchārya who was perhaps identical with our Udayana Achārya (22).

DHOYĪ

There is definite literary evidence to prove that poet Dhoyī was patronised by king Lakshmaṇa Sena and wrote his 'Pavanadūtaṃ' in his honour, which is evident from verse 2 of the work reproduced below.

"Dṛṣṭvā devaṃ bhuvanavijayī Lakshmaṇaṃ Kshauṇipālaṃ
Bālā sadyah Kusumadhanushah samvidhevībabhūva"

The verse 101 of the same work informs us that the poet Dhoyika was honoured by the king of Gauḍa i. e.

"'Dantivyūhaṃ kanakalatikāṃ chāmaraṃ haimadanḍaṃ
Yo Gauḍendrādalabhata kavikshmābhṛtām Chakravartī,
Sa Dhoyikah sakalarasikaprītihetormmanasvī
Kāvyaṃ sārasvatamiva (satan) mantrametajjagāda' (23)

On the strength of the above two verses quoted from the 'Pavanadūtaṃ' Dhoyī alone can be definitely ascertained as a court-poet of Lakshmaṇa Sena, where as there is no such direct

contemporary literary evidence regarding Umāpati Dhara and Saraṇa. Govardhana as proved before was not associated with court of any Sena king of Bengal. Jayadeva was born in the Kinduvilva Shāsana on the bank of the river Prāchī and passed most of his days at Shrī Kurmaṃ and Shrī Kshetra where he composed his Gītagovindaṃ. In view of the disparaging remarks made by him especially about Umāpati Dhara and Dhoyī of the court of Lakshmana Sena it is inconceivable to take him as a court poet of Laksmaṇa Sena.

AUTHENTICITY OF THE VESRSE OF GOVARDHANA.

Let us now examine the genuineness of the other verse generally cited by the scholars to establish the connection of Jayadeva with the court of King Lakshmaṇa Sena.

'Govardhanascha Saraṇa Jayadeva Umāpatih
Kavirājascha ratnāni panchaite Lakshmanasya cha'

It is said that this verse was seen by Shrī Rūpa and Shrī Sanātana Gosvāmīs inscribed on the entrance of king Lakshmaṇa Sena's Assembly hall at Navadvipa (24).

This verse written in very poor Sanskrit is a spurious one like the famous traditional verse cited below describing the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya.

"Dhanvantarī Kshapaṇakāmarasimha Sanku—
Vetālabhaṭṭa Ghaṭakarpara Kālidāsāh
Khyāto Varāhamihira nṛpateh sabhāyāṃ
Ratnani vai Vararuchirnava Vikramasya"

Regarding the existence of the capital of the Sena kings at Nadia, it is written thus.

"It is note-worthy fact that the two known grants of Vijaya Sena and Vallāla Sena and all the five grants of Lakshmaṇa Sena dated within the first six years of his reign were issued from

the royal camp at Vikramapura. It was again in this city that the chief queen of Vijaya Sena performed the elaborate "Tulāpurusha Mahādāna".

"It is to be noted however that two later grants of Lakshmaṇa Sena and those of his successor are issued not from Vikramapura respectively from 'Dharya grama' and 'Phalgu grama', none of which can be identified"[25].

So there is no contemporary epigraphic evidence to prove the existence of the capital of Lakshmaṇa Sena at Navadvipa.

Similarly in no Sanskrit work written during the Sena period Nadia is mentioned as the capital of Lakshmaṇa Sena. In the 'Pavanadūtam' of Dhoyī 'Vijayapura' on the Gaṅgā is referred to as his capital. Its identification with Nadia may only be presumed but can not be definitely proved.

Only in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri written in 1260 A. D. after about sixty years of the defeat of Lakshmana Sena, Nadia is described as the seat of his Government. "Rai Lakshmaniah whose seat of Government was the city of Nadiah and who was a very great Rai and had been on the throne for a period of eighty years."[26]

The account given in 'Nasiri' is not fully reliable as it is based on heresay testimony. It narrates fanciful stories about the birth of Lakshmaṇa Sena (p. 555) and invasion of Nadia (p. 557). It gives a reign of 80 years to this king which is disproved by contemporary epigraphic records Supposing this account is accepted as true, its version regarding the destruction of Nadia should also be accepted.

"After Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar, possessed himself of that territory (Rai Lakshmania's) he left the city of Nadia in desolation' (p. 550). In the foot-note of the same page it is further written "Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar destroyed Nudiah and leaving it in desolation passed onwards". So it can be asserted without any fear

of contradiction that the entrance of the assembly hall of Lakshmaṇa Sena could not exist up to the time of Shrī Rūpa and Shrī Sanātana after its total destruction nearly three hundred years ago by the Muslim army. The ruins of the place must have been hidden under dense vegetation as it is the case with all the ruined monuments in India.

These two great Gosvāmīs also do not mention anything about this so called inscription in their works noticed and published so far.

From the critical study of all the facts it becomes clear and convincing that this verse 'Govardhana itc.' was composed on the basis of the verse "Vāchah pallavayati" of the Gītagovindaṃ by some paṇḍita of Bengal to prove that all the five poets mentioned in it belonged to the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena. This must have been done in the post-Chaitanya period when the Gītagovindaṃ became very popular among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. The names of these two learned Gosvāmīs were cleverly associated with the discovery of this so-called verse in Navadvipa in order to give it an air of antiquity and gain the confidence of scholars. So the story of seeing this inscription on the entrance of Lakshmaṇa Sena's Assembly hall at Nadia is simply imaginary, baseless and as such unacceptable.

Genesis of the verse "Vachah Pallavayati……"

Now the question is "How did Jayadeva know the merits of some contemporary poets". The answer is "In ancient times poets had to prove their worth in the gathering of scholars. Kālidāsa, Harischandra and others were examined in Ujjainī. Upavarsa, Paṇini, Vararuchi, Patañjali and others were tested in Pātaliputra (27). Following this time-honoured custom the eminent poets of Bengal like Umāpati Dhara, Saraṇa and Dhoyī and the Orissan poet Govardhana Āchārya had to prove their worth in the assembly of paṇḍits held in Shrī Puruṣottama Kshetra or Puri, most probably

by the powerful Gaṅga sovereign Rājarāja II. (1170-1190 A. D.) of Utkala or his younger brother and successor Anaṅgabhīma Deva (1190-1198 A. D.) who is proclaimed as a very pious ruler and a patron of poets (sūktipriya) in all the C. P. grants of the later Gaṅga monarchs so far published (28). Both of whom were contemporary of Lakshmaṇa Sena (1179-1200 A. D.). The saintly poet Jayadeva patronised by the Gaṅga Emperors was the greatest paṇḍita in the court of the ruler of Utkal as testified by Keśava Miśra.

Keśava Miśra in his 'Alaṃkārashekhara' quotes a verse of Govardhana which speaks in unmistakable terms that Jayadeva was by far the best 'Kavipaṇḍita' of the court of the king of Utkal "Atra asamarthasamaso doshāntaramiti Govardhanah."

"Prākpratyekapṛthivivṛtoh parishadi vikhyāta saṃkhyāvatāṃ
Mahnāyābhuta tarkakarkasatayā vichchidya vidyāmaṃ
Ye ke apyutkalabhūpate, tavasabhā sambhavitah paṇḍitāh
Patraṃ Shrī Jayadeva paṇḍitakavi stanmurdhni vinyasyati" (29)

Jayadeva, Paṇḍita-kavi of the above verse can be identified with Jayadeva, who also takes pride in calling him 'Paṇḍitakavi' in the last verse of his Gitagovindaṃ quoted below.

"Yadgāndharvakalāsu kasualamanudhuyānaṃ cha yadvaisṇavaṃ
Yachchhṛṅgāravivekatattvamapi yatkāvyeshu lilāyitaṃ
Tatsarvaṃ Jayadeva paṇḍitakaveh Kṛshṇaikatānātmanah
Sānandāh parishodhayantu sudhiyah Shrī Gitagovindaṃtaṃ."

Govardhana author of the above verse was most probably the author of A. S. S. spoken of by Jayadeva. In this connection the opinion of a writer called Govardhana are frequently cited by Keśava (pp. 17, 29, 37, 43, 49). There is also reference to Jayadeva Paṇḍita Kavi (p. 17) in the court of an Utkal King. If this person is identical with the poet Jayadeva ········ who also calls himself Jayadeva Paṇḍita Kavi in his Gitagovinda, then it is likely that Govardhana, who is immediately quoted before this reference to Jayadeva

may be the poet of that name, who was Jayadeva's contemporary referred to in the beginning of the Gītagovinda". (30)

This verse of his contemporary Govardhana states definitely that Jayadeva was the greatest of the poets that adorned the court of the king of Utkal. In the light of this authentic information, the circumstances that led Jayadeva to make disparaging remarks about four other poets of his age can be explained.

Jayadeva has sarcastically called Dhoyī as 'Kavikshmāpati' perhaps after reading his kāvya 'Pavanadūtaṃ' where its author Dhoyīka or Dhoyī proudly speaks himself as "Kavikshmābhṛtāṃ chakravartī" (verse 101). He has used the adjective 'Srutidhara' before Dhoyī to indicate his lack of originality and spontaneity as a poet. The 'pallavagrāhi pāṇḍitya' of Umāpatidhara has been deprecated by the expression 'vāchah pallavayati'. Even Āchārya Govardhana of Puri who was just like his elder brother has not been spared. After the study of his A. S. S. he has remarked that the Āchārya was only proficient in erotic compositions and nothing else. In his opinion the poetry of Saraṇa was 'klishṭa' and as such could not be appreciated by the scholars.

Origin of the legend of Jayadeva's association with the court of Lakshmana Sena. :—

The origin of the legend of Jayadeva's association with the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena can be traced in his verse 'vāchah pallavayati' itself. Umāpati Dhara, mentioned in the first part, Kavirāja Dhoyī in the last part and Saraṇa in the middle of this verse being well-known as the poets of the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena in that age, it was uncritically assumed in the latter years that all the five poets referred to in it, belonged to his court.

Jagadhara in his 'Sāradīpikā Tīkā' referred to king Lakshmaṇa Sena, but the evidence is not clear as this portion is damaged in the original copy. (31)

Kavirāja Nārāyana Dāsa in his S. S. Tīkā calls Umāpatidhara as Sāndhi-vigrahika of some king whose name he does not mention.

Rāṇā Kumbha in his 'commentary' at first doubts about the authenticity of the verse, which he calls 'Kshepaka' but while explaining it he wrongly takes the adjective 'Srutidhara' as the name of a poet and speaks on the basis of heresay testimony that all the six were the famous pandits of king Lakshmana Sena i. e. "Iti satapanditāstasya rajno Lakshmana Senasya prasiddhā iti ruḍhih."

Mahāmahopādhyāya Samkara Mishra speaks only of Umapatidhara as the Amātya of Lakshmana Sena "Umāpatidharanāmā Lakshmanasenāmātyo". Mānānka in his Tippaṇi while explaining this verse refers to Lakshmana Sena in a manner which is not clearly understood. "Asya slokasya kavikshamāpatih Rājā Lakshmana Senah." Banamali in his 'Sanjivani tikā' speaks only of Umāpatidhara as the minister of Lakshmana Sena. The author of the Saṃgraha-dīpikā commentary does not explain this verse at all. Chaitanya Dāsa, the famous Bengali commentator of the 16th century in his Vālavodhinī tikā, Kaviraja Lakshmana Suri (C. 1570) in his Satiranjini tikā which had the widest circulation in the South India, Kavirāja Kṛshna Dāsa and Vipra Dhananjaya in their 'Sarvāngasundari tika' make no allusion to Lakshmana Sena while explaining the verse of the G. G. Bbagabata Dāsa in his Rasakadamba kollolinī speaks only of Umāpati Dhara as the minister of Lakshmana Sena. Lakshmana Bhatta in his Rasikarangada tikā written at Puri is silent about this matter.

So almost all the important commentators of the Gītagovinda do not speak anything about the association of the five poets with the court of Lakshmana Sena. Some commentators like Sankara Mishra, Banamali Bhatta, Bhagabata Dāsa, have definitely stated that Umāpati Dhara, was a minister of Lakshmana Sena, Mānānka has alluded to Lakshmana Sena in a vague manner after speaking of

Dhoyī. On the basis of the information that Umapati Dhara and Dhoyī belonged to court of Lakshmana Sena, Rānā Kumbha wrongly assumed that all the six poets (he has wrongly taken the word Srutidhara as the name of a poet) were living in his court. So this evidence based on wrong a ssumption should not be taken as authentic.

Verse of Sadukti Karnamritam

The second proof which is generally put forth to establish the connection of Jayadeva, author of the Gītagovindaṃ with the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena is a verse by one Jayadeva quoted in the S. K. M. reproduced below :—

"Lakshmīkelibhujaṅga jaṅgamahare saṃkalpa kalpadruma
Sheyah sādhakasaṅga saṅgarakalāgāṅgeya Vaṅgapriya
Gauḍendra pratirājarājaka sabhālaṅkāra karṇārpita
Pratyarthikshitipāla pālaka satām dṛshtoas itushtā vayaṃ" (33)

The translation of this verse as given by Dr. Sukumar Sen M, A., Ph. D. is cited below :

"Oh you palyful lover of Lakshmī! O you walking Hari ! O you all-giving tree of wish ! O you,whose company brings success ! Oh you, another Bhīṣma in the art of warfare ! O you beloved of (the people) of Vanga ! O king of Gauḍa ! O you the ornament in the assembly of viceroys and kings ! O you who have put to prison hostile kings ! O you the cherisher of good people ! you are (now) seen and we are happy."

In this verse the name or family of the King of Gauḍa eulogised by Jayadeva is not given. So identification of this king with Lakshmaṇa Sena is untenable. Moreover it will be doing injustice to the great saintly poet Jayadeva who was only singing the glory of Shree Kṛshṇa (Kṛshṇaikatānātmā) to say that he was flattering any king in such magnifying terms.

This poet Jayadeva may be identified with the earlier Jayadeva II of whose verses are found quoted in the ' Subhāshita-Ratnakoṣa '

compiled by one Vidyākara (c. 1150) the second of which is eulogistic in nature (34).

In none of the verses attributed to Shree Jayadevā there is any indication of his associations with the court of Lakshmana Sena or any other king.

Prabandha Chintamani and Sri Jayadeva

'The Jaina writer Merutunga Āchārya in his 'Pradanbha Chintāmaṇi' speaks of one Pandita Jayadeva, while describing the munificence of the Jaina minister Vastupāla during the period of his pilgrimage to different holy places. He gave eight thousand by way of reward to poet Somesvara Deva for composition of a stanza. Then came the turn of Pandita Jayadeva. The three learned quarters of a couplet were being read :—

"Karṇa gave his skin, Shibi his flesh, Jimutavāhana his life, Dadhichi gave his bones, Pandita Jayadeva supplied this as a fourth quarter to complete the couplet— "but Vastupāla gave wealth" uttering this he received fore thousand (35).

It is noteworthy that the author Merutunga who has devoted full two pages (36) to narrate the story of Lakshmana Sena and Umāpati Dhara in the miscellaneous (fifth) chapter of his work does not place Pandita Jayadeva in his court. So it can be asserted that the tradition of associating Umāpati Dhara and four other poets especially the great poet Jayadeva with the court of Lakshmana Sena did not develop at the time of composition of 'Prabandha Chintāmaṇi' which is stated to be V. S. 1361 or 1304 A. D.

Story given in Sekashubhodaya

The saintly poet Jayadeva is associated with Lakshmana Sena by some scholars on the basis of the story given. in 'Sekashubhodaya' which was perhaps written in the second half of the sixteenth century. (37) It narrates fanciful stories about Umāpati Dhara, Govardhana Āchārya, Dhoyi, and Jayadeva all of whom are

mentioned in the 4th verse of the Gītagovindam. Like the story given in the 'Prabandha Chintāmaṇi' of Merutunga Ācharya, which relates the antagonism between Lakshmana Sena and Umāpati Dhara, it also narrates that the king was jealous of Umāpati Dhara, as the latter had a skilled attendant named Madana. He was also ungracious to the minister on account of the latter's dislike for Vallabhā. Govardhana Āchārya is called 'Jagadguru' and he appears as an upright, pious Brāhmaṇa of somewhat irritable temper. The anecdote regarding Dhoyi as an illiterate man coming to posses divine gift of high poetry is obviously a folk story following the tradition of stories concerning Vālmiki and Kālidāsa. The story of Jayadeva and his wife contesting Vuḍhana Mishra is obviously apocryphal as Kapilendra of Orissa belonged to the fifteenth century". (38)

In the thirteenth chapter it is narrated that a certain Brāhmaṇa Vuḍhana Mishra by name had got 'Sadachandragaja' and writ of victory as a great singer and scholar from Kapilendra Deva, the king of Orissa. But he was defeated in a music competition by Padmavatī, wife of Jayadeva Mishra in the royal court in the presence of the Sheikh, when (Padmāvati) sang a song in Gāndhāra rāga. As it was being sung all the boats that were on the Gaṅgā heard it and came up nearer. But as her victory was not declared, she sent for her husband Jayadeva Mishra who came to the court. Buḍhana Mishra had made the tree leafless by singing his melody which again became full of leaves by the power of sweet music of Jayadeva Mishra, sung in Vasanta rāga. Then cry of cheers set up around when Jayadeva won victory On the Sheikh's advice the king gave some articles to Buḍhana Mishra and dismissed (him).

From the story narrated in the sixteenth chapter of the same work it is known that on the occasion of the Chitrāvali festival, the king with queen Vallabhā, Halāyudha Mishra and Jayadeva Mishra each with his wife went to have a bath in the Gaṅgā. The merchant's dughter-in-law Mādhavī with her husband came to bathe, Mādhavī decorating herself with the bracelets and the

merchant wearing the two earrings. XX XX XX The queen assaulted Mādhavī and snatched away the bangles from her wrists and by her order the two earrings were taken away from the merchant by force. After this Mādhavī and her husband submitted the entire affair before the Seikh. The queen wore the bracelets herself. She made her son wear the earrings and with Padmāvatī and Halāyudha Mishra went to the residence of the Seikh. On hearing this, the king also went there. The queen started quarreling with the merchant's wife. Then the king remained with his face down cast.

After listening to both the sides, the Seikh decided in favour of the queen, who was sent away with the bracelets. Then the Seikh brought in all the treasure and first gave a pair of bracelets to Padmāvatī the wife of Jayadeva Mishra. Then he bestowed a pair of earrings on Halāyudha Mishra and sent him home. Then he distributed a pair of earrings to Jayadeva Mishra and sent him home. A pair of earrings was given to Govardhana Āchārya (39).

This books, as its very title indicates was written to celebrate the auspicious comming of a Muslim saint (Pira) to a country which first knew Islam, where he was highly honoured. In the stories narrated in this work in the name of some historical persons, all prominence is given to the Seikh and not to king Lakshmaṇa Sena. In the sixteenth story the king is found remaining with his face downcast when Mādhavī (the wife of the merchant) was scolding (queen Vallabhā). The trial of Mādhavī waa made by the Sheikh and not by the king, who with his wife received treasures from him. This is all false-hood having not a grain of truth in it. Similarly it can never be imagined that Shree Jayadeva and Padmāvatī, who were great devotee of Shree Kṛshṇa, having no lust for wealth sang songs in a humiliating manner in the court of a Seikh and waited upon him to receive as presents a pair of earrings and a pair of bracelets respectively. The connection of Shree Jayadeva with the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena can not be established on the basis of these fanciful and degenerating stories written four hundred years after the time of the poet to sing the glory of a Muslim conqueror (Sheikh)

who wanted to absorb all the traditional glory of Lakshmaṇa Sena.

The following facts elicited from the thorough discussion on all available sources made before are stated below.

(1) Shree Jayadeva born in the Kenduvilva Shāsana (present Kenduli on the river Prāchī) passed his days as a saint at Puri with his wife Padmāvatī in a maṭha and composed and sang Shree Gītagovindaṃ in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.

(2) Before he became a saint he was the greatest of the poets living under the patronage of the king of Utkal as mentioned in a verse of his conemporary Govardhana which is quoted by Keśava Mishra in his 'Alaṃkārashekhara'.

(3) Shree Jayadeva has made disparaging remarks about Umāpati Dhara, Sharaṇa, Govardhana Āchārya and Dhoyī in the fourth verse of the first Sarga of his work,whose poetic merits were perhaps examined in an assembly of learned Paṇḍitas at Puri.

(4) Umāpati Dhara and Dhoyī mentioned first and last in the verse, being the court poets of Lakshmana Sena, king of Bengal, it was wrongly assumed in the later age that all the five poets mentioned in the verse were associated with his court.

(5) The so-called verse beginning with Govardhana is a spurious one and its existence in the palace of the king Lakshmaṇa Sena is impossible, as it was destroyed by thes Muslima rmy after the conquest of Bengal in c. 1200 A. D.

(6) Merutuṅga Āchārya in his Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, while narrating the story of Lakshmaṇa Sena and Umāpati Dhara does not speak any thing of Jayadeva. One famous poet Jayadeva is mentioned as receiving gift from the minister Vastupāla and not from Lakshmaṇa Sena.

(7) Shree Jayadeva can not be taken as a court poet of Lakshmaṇa Sena on the basis of the fanciful, historically incorrect

and anachronistic stories narrated in poor Sanskrit in the 'Sekasudhodaya' written in the sixteenth century to sing the glory of a Seikh or Muslim conqueror.

Thus it can be concluded without any fear of contradiction that the saintly poet Shree Jayadeva who spent his life at Puri with his devoted and beloved wife Padmāvatī was first living under the patronage of the Gaṅga Emperor of Utkala and was not associated with the court of king Lakshmaṇa Sena as uncritically accepted so far by the scholars.

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RĀDHĀ IN PRE-GITAGOVINDA LITERATURE

VEDIC LITERATURE :—In the Rigveda the oldest scripture of India we come across 'Viṣṇu Gopa' or cowherd Vishṇu, which admits the association of Vishṇu (Kṛshṇa) with Gopas.

(क) त्रीणिपदा वि चक्रमे विष्णुगोपा अपाभ्यः । अतो धर्माणि धारयन्

१ २२. १८.

(ख) विष्णुगोपाः परम पातिपाथः प्रियाधामान्यमृतादधानः

३. ५५. १०

The word Rādhā found in the hymn to the Sun God in the Rigveda has been used in the sense of a 'Nakshatra' and does not mean any Gopī.

विभक्तारं हवामहे वसोश्चित्रस्य राधसः । सवितार नृचक्षुपं ।

सखाय आ निषीदत सविता स्ताम्योतु नः दाता राधांसि शुन्तन्ति ।

In the Atharva Veda, Rādhā has been used as a synonym of Visākhā Nakshatra.

"राधे विशाखे सुहवानुराधा ज्येष्ठा सुनक्षत्रमरिष्टमूलम्"

In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa the two Viśākhās (Rādhā and Anurādhā) have been described as the female consorts of the Nakshatras and two best gopis.

"नक्षत्राणामधिपत्नी विशाखे । श्रेष्ठाविन्द्राग्नी भुवनस्य गोपौ"

(३१. १. ११.)

Thus in the Vedic literature the word Rādhā was never used to mean a Gopi dear to ShriKṛṣṇa.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA— In the authentic edition of Mahābhārata printed by the Bhandarkar Oriental Reasearch institute, Poona there is no mention of Rādhā or her Rāsalīlā with Shrī Kṛṣṇa. But at one place Arjuna is found to have sent his wife Subhadrā, sister of Shrīkṛshṇa in the form of Gopālikā or Gopī for cooling Draupadī's fury and jealousy.

"सुभद्रां त्वरमाणश्च रक्तकौशेयवाससम्
पार्थः प्रस्थापयामास कृत्वा गोपालिकावधूः ॥

PURĀNIC LITERATURE—Among the important Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas mainly, the Padma, the Brahmavaivarta, the Varāha, the Liṅga and the Devi Bhāgavata deal with her exhaustively or cursorily. But one is certainly puzzled by her total absence in works like the Harivaṃsa, the Vishṇu Purāṇa and especially the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which purport to deal with the Kṛshṇa legend at full length in all its details and do justice to the Gopis generally.

The passages and verses from different works and epigraphic records reproduced below unmistakably show that the love episode gained popularity at least from the time of Hala, who flourished according to majority of scholars in the first century A. D. So the incongruity of total absence of Rādhā in the notable Vaishṇava works like Vishṇu Purāṇa, Harivaṃśa and Bhāgavata was most probably due to the fact that the orthodox school of Vaiṣṇavas who supported the intense devotion of the Gopis to Shrī Kṛṣṇa could not tolerate the amorous indulgence of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā as it was Parakīyā prīti. But in spite of the opposition of the Bhāgavatas, the love episode of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa steadily gained ascendency in literature and reached its zenith in the immortal work 'Gītagovinda' by Shrī Jayadeva. (1)

KĀVYAS AND EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS

BĀLACHARITA—In the 'Bālacharita' of Bhāsa, the first

great Sanskrit dramatist of the Pre-Christian era there is a beautiful description of Gopīs.

"एताः प्रफुल्लकमलोत्पलवक्त्र नेत्रा
गोपाङ्गनाः कनकचम्पकपुष्पगौराः ।

नानाविरागवसना मधुरप्रलापाः
क्रीडन्ति वन्यकुसुमाकुलकेशहस्ताः ॥"

This work also contains a reference to the dance of the Gopīs in a circle at the call of Dāmodara who remained in the centre.

दामोदरः—घोषसुन्दरि, वनमाले, चन्द्ररेखे, मृगाक्षि, घोषावासस्यानुरूपोऽयं हल्लीसक नृत्यवन्धं उपयुज्यताम् । (वालचरित, ३य अङ्कः) (२)

This dance when developed bacame the Rāsayātrā of Shrī Kṛshṇa.

MEGHADUTAM—The greatest Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, has given in his Meghadūtam an attractive picture of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa in the form of a cowherd adorning himself with peacock feathers, i. e.

"रत्नछाया व्यतिकर इव प्रेक्ष्यमेतन् पुरस्ताद्
वल्मीकाग्रात् प्रभवति धनुखण्डमाखण्डलस्य
येन श्यामं वपुरतितरां कान्तिमापत्स्यते ते
वर्हेणेव स्फुरितरुचिना गोपवेशस्य विष्णोः ।"
(V १५)

The above verse clearly indicates that the theme of Gopīnātha Kṛshṇa had fully developed long before Kālidāsa.

RAGHUVAMSHA—Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṃśa has described the beauties of Vṛndāvana and Giri Govardhana through the maid Sunandā accompanying Indumatī in her 'Svayamvara', i e.

"सम्भाव्य भर्त्तारममुं युवानं मृदुप्रवालोत्तरपुष्पशय्ये
वृन्दावने चैत्ररथादनूने निर्विश्यतां सुन्दरि यौवनश्रीः।
अथास्वचाम्भः पृषतोक्षितानि शैलेयगन्धीनि शिलातलानि
कलापिनां प्रावृषि पश्य नृत्यं कान्तासु गोवर्द्धनकन्दरासु ॥"

GĀTHĀ SAPTASHATI—Hala, the Andhrabhṛtya king of the 1st century A. D. in his famous Gāthā Saptaśatī speaks of Yasodā, Dāmodara, Kṛshṇa, Rādhā, Gopīs, Brajabadhu, which bear evidence regarding the popularity of their legends before his days. Only two instances are cited below—

मूल

(१) मुहमारुएण तं कण्हो गोरअं राहिआए अवणेण्ह
एदाणं वल्लवीणं अण्णाणं वि गोरअं हरसि ॥

संस्कृतानुवादः

मुखमारुतेन त्वं कृष्ण गोरजो राधिकाया अपनयन्
एतासां वल्लवीनामन्यासामपि गौरवं हरसि ।

(verse 89)

The pride of the Gopīs was humbled and they were put to shame when Shrī Kṛshṇa on the plea of blowing off the dust particles on the face of Rādhikā was kissing it. This indirectly indicated the superiority of Rādhikā over the Gopīs.

(२) अज्जवि वालो दामोअरो ती इय जपिअए जसोआए
कण्हमुख पेसिअच्छं णिहुअं हसिअं वअवहूहिं ॥

संस्कृतानुवादः

अद्यापि वालो दामोदर इति इह जल्पिते यशोदया
कृष्णमुख प्रेषिताक्षं निभृतं हसितं व्रजवधूभिः ।

(verse 112)

When Yasodā told that Krshna was still a child the maidans of Vraja cast a glance at his face and smiled unnoticed. (3)

PANCHATANTRA : In the Pañchatantra by Vishṇu Sarmā (4) of the 6th century A. D. there is a story which describes how a weaver assuming the form of four-handed Nārāyaṇa and mounting on wooden Garuḍa entered into the palace and supplicated the love of the princess.

"कौलिकोऽपि तदाकर्ण्य तथारूपस्तत्र गत्वा तामाह

"राजपुत्रि ? सुप्ता किंवा जागर्षि ? अहं तव कृते समुद्रान् सानुरागां लक्ष्मीं विहायैवागतः ॥ तत् क्रियतां मयासह समागमः (सङ्गमः) इति ॥

सापि गरुडारूढं चतुर्भुजं सायुधं कौस्तुभोपेतमवलोक्य सविस्मया शयनादुत्थाय प्रोवाच 'भगवन् अहं मानुषी कीटिकाशुचिः । भगवांस्त्रैलोक्यपावन वन्दनीयश्च तत् कथमेतदुच्यते ?

कौलिक आह । सुभगे सत्यमभिहितं त्वया, किं (पर) तु राधानाम मे भार्या गोपकुलप्रसूता प्रथममासीत्, सात्वमत्रावतीर्णा, तेनाहमायातः ।"

Definite evidence is now available that Viṣṇu Sarmā belonged to Kaliṅga. So the story of Rādhā of Gopapura being the first wife of Kṛṣṇa as narrated in his 'Pañhatantra' has got historical significance.

VENISAMHĀRA—In the second maṅgalācharaṇa verse of 'Veṇisaṃhāra Nāṭakam' by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who according to tradition belonged to Orissa there is clear reference to the Rāsalilā of Shri Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā on the bank of the Yamunā i. e.

"कालिन्द्याः पुलिनेषु केलिकुपितामुत्सृज्य रासे रसं
गच्छन्तीमनुगच्छतोऽश्रुकलुषां कंसद्विषो राधिकाम्
तत्पादप्रतिमानिवेशितपदस्योद्भूतरोमोद्गते—
रक्षुण्णोऽनुनयः प्रसन्नदयितादृष्टस्य पुष्णातु वः ॥"

The pen picture of weeping and angry Rādhā's flight from the 'Rāsakuñja', Kṛshṇa's pursuit of Rādhā following her foot prints and Rādhā enjoying the fun of it is beautifully given in this single verse.

DHVANYĀLOKA—The famous Kāśmirian Ānandavardhana (c. 868-960) in his Dhvanyāloka has quoted two verses which speak of the Rāsalīlā of Shrī Kṛshna with the Rādhā and the Gopīs in the grove on the bank of the Yamunā.

(क) "तेषां गोपवधूविलाससुहृदां राधारहः साक्षिणां
क्षेमं भद्रकलिन्दशैलतनयातीरे लतावेश्मनाम् ॥
विच्छिन्ने स्मरतल्पकल्पनमृदुच्छेदोपयोगेऽधुना
ते जाने जरठीभवन्ति विगलन्नीलत्विषः पल्लवाः ॥

In this verse Kṛshṇa asks Uddhava about the condition of the creepers of the groves on the bank of the Yamunā after his departure from that place.

(ख) "दुरा राधा राधा सुभग यदनेनापि मृजत—
स्तवैतत् प्राणेशाजघनवसनेनाश्रु पतितम् ।
कठोरं स्त्रीचेतस्तदलमुपचारै विरम हे
क्रियात् कल्याणं वो हरिरनुनयेष्वेव मुदितः ।

This verse expresses supplication of penitent Shrī Kṛshṇa to angry Rādhā.

Kāvya mīmāṃsā—Kavirāja Rājaśekhara (c. 883-920) in his Kāvyamīmāṃsā has quoted two verses comparing the breaths of Shiva and Kṛshṇa.

(१) "ये सीमन्तितगात्रभस्मरजसो ये कुम्भकद्वेषिणः
ये लीढाः श्रवणाश्रयेण फणिना ये चन्द्रशैत्यद्रुहः

ते कुब्यादुगिरिजाविभक्तश्वपुषश्चित्तव्यथा साक्षिणः
स्थाणोर्दक्षिणनासिकापुटभुवः शाखानिलाः पान्तु वः ॥"

(२) "ये कीर्णक्कथितोदराब्जमधवो ये म्लापितोरःस्रजः
ये तापात्तरलेन तल्पफणिना पीतप्रतापोज्झिताः
ते राधास्मृतिसाक्षिणः कमलया सासूयमाकर्णिता
गाढान्तर्दवथोः प्रतप्तसरलाः श्वासा हरेः पान्तु वः ॥"

The Second illustration indicates the great love of Shrī Kṛṣṇa for Rādhā, which aroused the jealousy of Kamalā or Lakshmī.

NALA CHAMPU : Trivikrama, the court poetof the Rāstrakuta king Indra III in his 'Nala champū' (c. 915 A. D.) has implied the 'parakīyā' priti of Rādhā in the sentence quoted below.

"कवलमनवरतशिक्षितवैदग्ध्यकलाप राधात्मिका त्रपापरा परिहृत्य गुणिनो गुरून् परपुरुषे मायाविनि कृतकेशोवधे धृतमन्दरागं रागं बध्नाति।"

YASHASTILAKA CHAMPU : Somadeva Suri of Gujurāta in his Yaśastilaka champū (c. 959) while narrating the love of a lady Amṛtamati with a paramour has cited the case of Rādhā—

"राजा······तथाहि पुरापि किं न रेमे गङ्गा सह महेश्वरेण,
राधा नारायणेन, वृहस्पतिपत्नी द्विजराजेन, तारा च वालिना ॥

DHVANYĀLOKA LOCHANA—The great Alaṃkāra writer Abhinava Gupta of Kāśmir, (c. 980-1002) in his work 'Dhvanyāloka lochana' besides explaining the two verses quoted above from the Dhvanyāloka refers to Kṛshṇa as 'Rādhāramaṇa' in his remarks in an illustration i. e.

·········"यावदत्र राधारमणस्याखिलतरुणीजनच्छद्मानुरागगरिमास्पदत्वं न विदितं तावदर्थान्तरस्या प्रतीतिः सलेशमिति स्वोक्तिः।

VAKROKTIJIVITA— Kuntaka, another Alaṃkāra writer of Kāśmir (c. 950-1000 A. D.) in his work 'Vakroktijīvitam' has

cited a verse which speaks of the 'Keli' of Rādhā with Kṛshṇa in the Yamunā river and her weeping in sorrow after the departure of Kṛshṇa for Dwāravati.

"याते द्वारवतीं तदा मधुरिपौ तद्वस्त्रासंपादना
कालिन्दीजलकेलिवञ्जुलल्तामालम्ब्य सोत्कण्ठया ॥
तद्गीतं गुरुवाष्पगद्गद्गलतारस्वरं राधया ।
येनान्तर्जलचारिभिर्जलचरैरप्युत्कण्ठमुत्कूजितम् ॥"

Besides this Kuntaka has explained the verse 'Teṣāṃ Gopavadhū' quoted in Dhvanyāloka.'

DASHARUPĀVALOKA : Dhanika, the court-poet of Munja, the king of Dhārā in his work 'Daśarūpāvaloka' (c. 1000 A. D.) a commentary on 'Daśarūpaka' written by his brother has quoted a verse of another Alaṃkāra writer Rudra.

निर्मग्नेन मयाम्भसि खरभरादालिसमालिङ्गितं ।
केनालीकमिदं तवाद्य कथितं राधे मुधा ताम्यसि ॥
इत्युत्स्वप्नपरम्परासु शयने श्रुत्वा वचः शार्ङ्गिणः
सव्याजं शिथिलीकृतः कमलया कण्ठग्रहः पातु वः ।'

INSCRIPTION OF MUNJA : In the second maṅgalācharaṇa verse found in three stone inscriptions incised during the reign of Vākpati Munja, the Paramāra king of Dhārā, in 942 A. D., 946 A. D. and 974 A. D. the excellence of Rādhā's love with Kṛshṇa has been established i. e.

'यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुखितं, यन्नार्दितम्वारिधे—
र्वारा यन्ननिजेन नाभिसरसीपद्मेन शान्तिङ्गतम् ॥
यच्छेषाहिफणासहस्रमधुरश्वासैर्नचाश्वासितं,
तद्राधाविरहातुरं मुररिपोर्व्वेल्लद्वपुः पातु वः ।"

Let the trembling body of Shrī Kṛshṇa pining for the separation from Rādhā, who does not feel happy at the sight of the face of Lakshmī, who is not cooled by the water of the ocean, who does not derive peace from the lotus born from his naval, on whose body the cool breath from the thousand fangs of Vāsuki does not produce very soothing effect, protect you (5).

SARASVATĪ KANTHĀVARANA— The famous king Bhoja (c. 1005-1054 A. D.) in his 'Sravatīkanthābharaṇaṃ' has given illustrations noted below in which reference to Rādhā is found.

Chapter 2—illustration 294

(क) 'राढावद्याधिराज्या विसररसविद्ध्या जवाक्ष्मापकारा
राकापक्ष्मामशेषा नयननयन स्वाखयास्तव्यमारा
रामा व्यस्तस्थिरत्वा तुहिननहितुः श्रीःकरक्षारवारा
राधारक्षास्तु मह्यं शिवमममवशि व्यालविद्यावतारा ।"

Chapter 2—illustration 451

(ख) 'कुशलं राधे सुखितोऽसि कंस कंसः क्वनु सा राधा
इति पारीप्रतिवचनैर्विलक्षहासो हरिर्जयति ।।"

Chapter 3—illustration 110

(ग) 'कनककलशस्वच्छे राधापयोधरमण्डले
नवजलधरश्यामामात्मद्युतिंप्रतिबिम्बिताम्
असितसिचयप्रान्तभ्रान्त्या मुहुर्मुहुरुत्क्षिपत्
जयति जनितव्रीडाहासः प्रियाहसितो हरिः ।।"

This verse is also cited verbatim in Hemachandr's 'Kavyānuśāsana'.

When Kṛṣṇa mistaking his own cloud like black reflection falling over the transparent golden breast of Rādhā tried to remove it, he was laughed at by Rādhā and he himself smiled out of shame.

(घ) Chapter 4 illustration 177

(ङ) 'गेहाद्याता सरसीमुदकं हारिका ना जीर्हिपे
मङ्क्ष्यामिति श्रयसि यमुनातीरविरुदगृहाणि ।
गोसंदायी विशसि विपिनान्येव गोवर्द्धनाद्रे-
र्नत्वं राधे दृशि निपतिता देवकीनन्दनस्य ॥''

(v) Chapter 5 illustration 135

मूलस्य संस्कृतानुवादः

'लीलायितो निवासने रक्षतु त्वां राधिकायाः स्तनपृष्ठे
हरेः प्रथमसमागमसाध्वसप्रसरैर्वेपनशीलो हस्तः'

Let the trembling hand of Kṛshṇa moving slowly on the bare breast of Rādhā at the time of the first copulation protect you.

(vi) Chapter 6 illustration 448

(क) 'प्रत्यप्रोज्झितगोकुलस्य शयनादुत्स्वप्नमूढस्य मे
सा गोत्रस्खलनादपैतु च दिवा राधेति भीरोरिति ।
रात्रावस्वपतो दिवा च विजने लक्ष्मीति चाभ्यस्यतो
राधां प्रस्मरतः श्रियं रमयतः खेदो हरेः पातुः वः ॥'

(vii) Chapter 5 illustration 493

(vii) 'हेलोदस्तमहीधरस्य तनुतामालोक्य दोष्णो हरे
र्हस्तेनांसतटेऽवलम्ब्य चरणावारोप्य तत्पादयोः ।
शैलोद्धारसहायतां जिगमिषोरस्पृष्टगोवर्द्धना
राधायाः सुचिरं जयन्ति गगने वन्ध्याः करभ्रान्तयः ॥"

DASHĀVATĀRACHARITAM—Kshemendra (1066 A. D.) the great Kāsmirian poet has referred to Rādhā in four verses of his Daśāvatāra charitaṃ (6).

(i) verse 83

'प्रीत्यै बभूव कृष्णस्य श्यामानिचयचुम्बिनः
जाती मधुकरस्येव राधैवाधिकवल्लभा ॥''

(ii) Verse 170

'कथं राधामनामन्त्र्य गतोऽहमिति माधवः
अरतिं म्लानतां चिन्तां व्रजन् भेजे विनिःश्वसन् ॥'

(iii) Verse 171

''गच्छन् गोकुलगूढकुञ्जगहनान्यालोकयन् केशवः
सोत्कण्ठं वलिताननो वनभुवा सख्येवरुद्धाञ्जलिः
राधाया ननेति नौविहरणे वैक्लव्यलक्षाक्षराः
सस्मार स्मरसाध्वसाद्भुततनो राधोक्तिरिक्तागिरः ।''

(iv) Verse 176

''राधा माधवविप्रयोगविगलज्जीवोपमानैर्मुहु-
र्बाष्पैः पीनपयोधराग्रगलितैः फुल्लत्कदम्बाकुला ॥
अच्छिन्नश्वसनेन वेगगतिना व्याकीर्यमाणैः पुरः
सर्वाशाप्रतिवद्धमोहमलिना प्रावृण्णवैवाभवत् ॥'

Kāvyānuśāsana-Hemachandra the great Jaina writer of Gujarāt(1088-1172 A. D.) cites in his Kāvyānuśāsana as illustrations 107 and 110 two verses 'Yāte dvāravatīṃ' and 'Kanaka kalasaśvachhe' also cited earlier in Vakroktijīvitaṃ and Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa respectively.

Naishadhiya charitam The great poet Shrī Harṣa (1050 A. D.) in his Naiṣadhīya charitaṃ gives a verse in which Nala is found glorifying Kṛṣṇa in the course of praise of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu.

''प्राणवत्प्रणयिराध न राधापुत्रशात्रवसखिता सदृशीते
श्रीप्रियस्य सदृगेव तव श्रीवत्समात्महृदि धर्तुमजस्रम् ॥''

Nātya Darpana—Rāmachandra (1100-1175 A. D.) a disciple of the famous Hemachandra and Guṇachandra as joint authors wrote a work called Nāṭyadarpaṇa in which reference is made to a drama Rādhāvipralambha by Bhejjala.

.........“एवमङ्गत्रयेणापि। यथा भेज्जलविरचिते राधाविप्रलम्भे रासकाङ्के परिकर-परिन्यासयोरुपक्षेपेनैव गतत्वान्नतन्निवन्धः”

Sangita chudāmani—Jagadeka malla, (1138-1150 A. D.) the Chalukya king of Kalyāṇi in the maṅgalācharaṇa verse of his Saṅgīta chūḍāmaṇi (7) prays to Viṣṇu (Kṛshṇa) the lover of the Gopīs laying his hand over the breast of Rādhā (sitting together) which was looked with anger and jealousy by Ramā or Lakshī.

“ईर्ष्यारोपकषायिताशयरमापादप्रणामप्रियो
राधापीनपयोधराश्रयनभः प्रस्पर्द्धिवक्षस्थलः
गोपीचित्तविनोदन व्यतिकरे गोपीकृतात्मा स्वयं
देवानामपि देवता स भवतां पुष्णातु विष्णुः सुखम्”

Āryāsaptasati—Āchārya Govardhana of Utkala, an elder contemporary of Jayadeva (c. 1170 A. D.) sings of Rādhā in five verses of his work Āryāsapatasatī which are quoted below.

(i) Verse 431

“मधुमथनमौलिमाले सखि तुलसीं तुलयसि किं मुधा राधाम्
यत्तव पदमदसीयं सुरभीयतु सौरभोद्भेदः ॥”

The fragrant Tulasī decorating the head of Kṛṣṇa cannot be equal with Rādhā as she touches the feet of Rādhā while Kṛshṇa was bowing.

(ii) Verse 490

“राज्याभिषेकसलिलक्षालितमौलेः कथासु कृष्णस्य
गर्वभरमन्थराक्षी पश्यति पदपङ्कजं राधा।

Rādhā looked with pride and joy at her feet on hearing of the coronation of Kṛshṇa (as she could lay his head over them)

(iii) Verse 510

"लज्जयितुमखिलगोपीनिपीतमानसं मधुद्विषं राधा
अङ्केव पृच्छति कथां शम्भोर्दयितार्द्धतुष्टस्य ॥

In order to put Kṛshṇa to shame, Rādhā asked him how his lust could not be satisfied even after enjoying so many Gopīs when Shiva could get satisfaction by enjoying the half of Pārvatī.

(iv) Verse 511

लक्ष्मीनिःश्वासानिलपिण्डीकृतदुग्धजलधिसारभुजः
क्षीरनिधीतीरसुदृशो यशांसि गाधियन्ति राधायाः ॥

The damsels living on the shore of the ocean of milk were singing the glory of Rādhā, deep love for whom (of Kṛshṇa) was arousing anger and jealousy in the heart of Lakshmī as indicated by her warm breath,

(v) Verse 530

विचरति परितः कृष्णे राधायां रागचपलनयनायाम्
दशदिग्वेधविशुद्धं विशिखं विदधाति विषमेषुः ॥.

While moving round Kṛshṇa Rādhā was feeling intensly the pangs of separation (as Cupid was piercing her with arrows of love).

RĀDHĀ IN SCRIPTURE

Of the four great reformers of Vaiṣṇavism, hailing from the south in the twelfth century namely Shrī Vishṇu Swāmī, Shrī Nimbārka, Shrī Rāmānuja and Shrī Mādhava, who were accepted as teachers by getting thir doctrines accepted at Puruṣottama or

Puri.[9] Shrī Nimbārka alone proclaimed Rādhā as the spouse of Shrī Kṛshṇa in his divine sport i. e.

This is proved by the fifth verse of 'Daśaloka' of Shri Nimbārka which is quoted below :

"अङ्गे तु वामे वृषभानुजां मुदा
विराजमानामनुरूपसौभगाम्
सखीसहस्रैः परिसेवितां सदा
स्मरेम देवीं सकलेष्टकामदाम् ॥"

Let us pray to Rādhā, daughter of Vṛshabhānu, sitting to the left of Kṛshṇa, lucky like Lakshmī, always attended by thousands of maids, for the fulfilment of our desires. The school of Nimbārka gave great prominence to the worship of Rādhā with Shrī Kṛshṇa though he was still adressed as 'Ramāpati, Shrīpati and Ramāmānasahaṃsa' and made Vṛndāvana, the centre of their activities.

In that age there flourished another saintly poet named Vilvamaṅgla or Līlāśuka in the Andhra country who like Jayadeva also exalted Rādhā in his devotinal lyric called Shrī Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtaṃ which will be evident from a few quotations given below.

प्रथमाश्वासः

"तेजसेऽस्तु नमो धेनुपालिने लोकपालिने
राधापयोधरोत्सङ्गशायिने शेषशायिने
X X X X
यान्ति त्वच्चरितामृतानि रसनालेह्यानि धन्यात्मनां
ये वा शैशवचापल्यव्यतिकरा राधावरोधोन्मुखाः
ये वा भावितवेणुगीतगतयो लीलामुखाम्भोरुहे
धारावाहिकया वहन्तु हृदये तान्येव तान्येव मे ॥

द्वितीयाश्वासः

राधा पुनातु जगदच्युतदत्तचित्ता
मन्थानमाकलयन्ती दधिरिक्तपात्रे ।

तस्याः स्तनस्तवकचञ्चलल्लोलदृष्टि-
र्देवोऽपि दोहनधिया वृषभं निरुन्धन् ।।

X X X

पारिजातं समुद्धृत्य राधावरो
रोपयामास भामागृहस्याङ्गने ।
शीतेशीते वटे यामुनीये तटे
सञ्जगौ वेणुना देवकीनन्दनः ।।

X X X

इत्थं व्याहृतपूर्वजन्मचरितं यो राधया वीक्षितः
सेर्ष्यं शङ्कितया स नः सुखयतु स्वप्नायमानो हरिः

X X X

बालोऽपि शैलोद्धरणाग्रपाणि-
र्नीलोऽपि नीरन्ध्रतमः प्रदीपः ।
धीरोऽपि राधानयनावबद्धो
जारोऽपि संसारहरः कुतस्त्वम् ।।
नमस्तस्मै यशोदाया दायादयास्तु तेजसे
यद्धि राधा-मुखाम्भोजं भोजं भोजं व्यवर्द्धत ।

तृतीयाश्वासः

अस्ति स्वस्त्ययनं समस्तजगतामभ्यस्तलक्ष्मीस्तनं
वस्तु ध्वस्तरजस्तमोभिरनिशं न्यस्तं पुरस्तादिव ।
हस्तोदस्तगिरीन्द्रमस्तकतरुप्रस्तारविस्तारित-
स्रस्तप्रस्तरुसूनसंस्तरलसत्प्रस्तावि राधास्तुतम् ।।

X X X

राधाराधितविभ्रमाद्भुतरसं लावण्यरत्नाकरं
साधारण्यपदव्यतीतसहज स्मेराननाम्भोरुहम् ।

आलम्बे हरिनीलगर्वगुरुतासर्वस्वनिर्वापणं
बालं वैष्णविकं विमुग्धमधुरं मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तं महः ।

X X X

लीलाटोपकटाक्षनिर्भरपरिष्वङ्ग प्रसङ्गाधिक-
प्रीते गीतिविभङ्गसङ्गरलसद्वेणु प्रागादामृते ।
राधालोचनलालितस्य ललितस्मेरे मुरारेर्मुदा
माधुर्यैकरसे मुखेन्दुकमले मग्नं मदीयं मनः ॥

जगत्त्रयैकान्तमनोज्ञभूमिः
चेतस्यजस्रं मम सन्निधत्ताम्
रमासमास्वादित सौकुमार्य्यं
राधास्तनाभोगरसज्ञमोजः ॥

राधाकेलिकटाक्षवीक्षितमहावक्षःस्थलीमण्डना
जीयासुः पुलकाङ्कुरास्त्रिभुवनस्वादीयसस्तेजसः
क्रीडान्तप्रतिसुप्तदुग्धतनयामुग्धावबोध क्षण-
त्रासारूढदृढोपगूहनमहासाम्राज्यसान्द्रश्रियः ॥

राधामोहनमन्दिरादुपगतश्चन्द्रावलीमूचीवान्
राधे क्षेममयेऽस्ति तस्य वचनं श्रुत्वाह चन्द्रावली
कंस क्षेममये विमुग्धहृदये कंसः क्व दृष्टस्त्वया
राधे क्वेति वलिजितो नतमुखः स्मेरो हरि पातु वः ॥

Thus by the time of Jayadeva, Rādhā had not only come to prominence in the general literature but was also accepted in the scripture of the Nimbārka school and in the devotional lyric of श्रीकृष्णकर्णामृतम् of Vilvamangala which was very popular in that age. Jayadeva who stayed at Puri was greatly influenced by the Nimbārka school, which had its centre at Puri. So the exaltation of Rādhā which is a distinct feature of the Nimbārka school inspired Shrī Jayadeva to develop his erotic mysticism in his immortal Gītagovindam.

●

Reference

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(2) 'Bhasa Nataka Chakram' B. O. Agency, Poona P. 38-39.

(3) Gatha Saptashati edited by S. J, Jagelkar—P. 68, P. 85.
Verse—425 Vamanarupa, Verse—443 Madhava, Verse—114 'Nipuna Gopi Krishnam Chumbati.'
Verse—447 Krishna and Gogostha.
Verse—128 'Gayati Virahaksharavaddha Pathikamanomohanam Gopi'
Verse—968 Yashoda and Shri Krishna
Verse—Taruna Gopi and Yashoda.

(4) A Des. Cat. of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa Vol. II by Shri K. N. Mahapatra, Preface p. XI—XII

(5) (a) The New Indian antiquary Vol. VI, 1877. P. 51.
(b) Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXII, P. 108, P. 111.

(6) Nirnayasagara Press Edition—8th canto 82· 90· 91.

(7) Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XX. P. 87.

(८) श्रीब्रह्मरुद्रसनकावैष्णवाः क्षितिपावनाः
चत्वारस्ते कलौ भाव्याः संप्रदायप्रवर्त्तकाः ।
श्रीविष्णुस्वामीनिम्बार्क माध्वरामानुजाख्यया
भविष्यन्ति प्रसिद्धास्ते ह्युत्कले पुरुषोत्तमात् ॥



INFLUENCE OF SRĪ GĪTAGOVINDAM ON THE REGIONAL LITERATURES OF INDIA

I

The immense popularity of Shree Gītagovindaṃ by Shree Jayadeva in the domain of Sanskrit literature has been undisputably established by the discovery of a large number of imitations and commentaris on this immortal work written by Pandits of different parts of India which have been discovered in the previous papers. In rhe age of development of regional literatures, attempts were made by regional poets to translate and imitate the best known works in Sanskrit literature, in to their mother languages. The Gītagovinda being a most popular work in Sanskrit had translations, adaptations and commentaries in the most modern Indian languages as will be shown in the discussion made below.

Oriya Literature

The intensive search of manuscripts in different parts of the State for the last three decades has proved that Gītagovinda stands next in circulations to the Oriya Bhāgavata by the saintly poet Jagannātha Dāsa, an intimate associate of Shree Chaitanya at Puri. Generally in each village in Orissa a house is set apart for worship of the Oriya Bhāgavata by Jagannātha Dāsa (C. 1490—1550 A. D.) called 'Bhāgavataghara' where manuscripts of Shree Gitagovinda and other religious works are preserved. Examination of the old Oriya manuscripts has brought to light the following commentaries and translations of the Gitagovinda while informations about others are gradually being available.

Gitagovinda by Dharanidhara Dasa

Of all the translations of the Gitagovinda in to Oriya so far known that by Dharaṇidhara Dāsa is the oldest and the most popular. It has been printed by several presses in Orissa. The author has tried to present a faithful translation of the twelve sargas of the Gitagovinda in 16 chhándas or verses having different rāgas and vāṇis as noted

after. In this translation the poet Dharaṇīdhara has prescribed different rāgas and vāṇis for his 16 chhāndas, like Shree Jayadeva, who had used 11 rāgas for his 24 verses.

Dharaṇīdhara does not furnish any fnformation about his time or family in the text of his work except saying that he was a Dvija or Brāhmaṇa by caste. But his time can tentatively be fixed in the middle of the 16th century as the vāṇis prescribed by him are found in the following Oriya Kāvyas assignable to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, i. e., Rāmavibhā and Kalpalatā [1] by Arjuna Dāsa, Chāṭa Ichāvatī [2] by Vanamālī Dāsa, Parimalā [3] by Narasiṃha Seṇa.

Gitagovinda by Dharanidhara		Rama vibha by Arjuna Dāsa	Kalpalatā by Arjuna Dāsa	Chāṭa Ichāvatī by Banamālī Dāsa	Parimalā by Narasimha Seṇa
1st Chhānda	Manohi bhiai Janaka Raye.	7th Ch.	...	...	...
2nd ,,	Mangala Gujjari	1st. Ch.		1st. Ch.	7th. Ch.
3rd ,,	Gujjari ...	5th Ch.	7th Ch.	...	4th Ch.
4th ,,	Shokavarāḍi Āshādha Shukla Vāni.		...	3rd Ch.	22nd Ch.
5th ,,	Rāga Chokhi, Sapana Chetiā Vāni.	9th Ch.	11th Ch.		
6th ,,	Chintādesāksha			6th Ch.	12th
7th ,,	Nalini Gauḍa	...	...	...	14th and 23rd
8th ,,	Mangala (Bheda maria)	11th			9th Ch.
12th ,,	Mangala (Bheda maria)	11th			9th Ch.
9th ,,	Chintā Bhairava				...
10th ,,	Kāli				...
11th ,,	Banglalāsri		...		17th Ch.
13th ,,	Shuna he Rasika jane		1st Ch.		
14th ,,	Sakuntalā vāni ...	...	...	...	...
15th ,,	Kedāra Chakrakeli vāni	2nd	6th	4th	15th
16th ,,	Basanta Bhairava ...	...	4th	...	19th

The comparative statement made above clearly indicates how deep was the influence of the Gītagovinda on the old Oriya literature, wherein following the foot prints of Shree Jayadeva, the Oriya poets prescribed different rāgas and vānis for each chhānda or verse of their respective kāvyas.

The language of Dharaṇidhara is simple, flowing and melodious. But he has not translated the followingni neteen verses of the Gitagovinda.

1st Sarga	(1) Nityotsaṅga
	(2) Rāsollāsabhareṇa
2nd Sarga	(3) Sākuta smita
3rd Sarga	(4) Tiryakkaṇṭhah
4th Sarga	(5) Bṛshṭi vyākula
5th Sarga	(6)Rādhā mugdha
6th Sarga	(7) Kim visrāmysi
7th Sarga	(8) Prātah nīlanichola
8th Sarga	(9) Antarmohana
9th Sarga	(10) Sāndrānanda
10th Sarga	(11) Sa prītiṃ
11th Sarga	(12) Sānandaṃ Nandasūnu
	(13) Jayashrī vinyastai
	(14) Saundaryekanidhe
12th Sarga	(15) Vyākosha keshapāsha
	(16) Ishanmilita dṛṣhti
	(17) Ittham kelitati
	(18) Sādhvī mādhvika chintā
	(19) Srī Bhojadeva prabhavasya

as they were looked upon as interpolations by him.

II

Rasavaridhi by Vrundavana Dasa

The translation of Shree Gītagovinda made by Vṛndavana Dāsa is known as Rasavāridhi [4]. The author who was a devout Vaishṇava has not furnished any information about his family and time in his work. So his date can be fixed with the help of internal evidence. The author has directed to sing the 16th chhanda of his work in the tune of ' Gopajivana Chautisā '. The chautishā was written by Chānda Dāsa [5] auther of Gopichandana Kāvya [6] who flourished during the reign of Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva I (1568—1600 A. D.). So Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who was posterior to Chānda Dāsa may tentatively be placed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

The twelve sargas of the Gītagovinda have been translated into 20 Oriya Chhāndas or verses with different rāgas noted against each.

1st chhanda—Rāga maṅgala dhanāshrī

2nd chhanda—Disa Rāmakeri

3rd chhanda—Kedāra chakrakeli vāṇi

4th chhanda—Rāga Bhairava, Āshāḍha śūkla vāṇi

5th chhanda—Rāga maṅgala gujjarī, (Disa Bhupala tandeka)

6th chhanda— Disa gujjarī (Sangama tiari vaṇi)

7th chhanda—Disa Kalyana Āhārī, (Kumuda vadana vāṇī)

8th chhanda—Disa Bangalāsri (Mādhava Chautisā vaṇī)

9th chhanda—Disa Varāḍi (Kalasā vāṇi)

10th chhanda—Rāga Rodhā (Padma tola vāṇi, Bhismeka vāṇi)

11th chhanda—Disā Bhairava (chalaghanṭa vaṇi)

12th chhanda—Disa Kāmodi (Kamaṣeni chautisā vāṇi)

13th chhanda—Rāga Kausika (Kamala mukhi ki samājai chautisā vāṇi).

14th chhanda—Disa gujjarī

15th chhanda—Rāga Mālava (Jeṇiki chānhiva teṇe disanti murārī vāṇi).

16th chhanda—Disa Kāmodi (Gopa jivana chautisā vāṇi).

17th chhanda—Disa Boli (Uddhava gita, trutiyagāthā vāṇi)

18th chhanda—Disa Bhupāla tandeka (Jalakriḍā vāṇi)

19th chhanda—Disa Maṅgalagujjarī

20th chhanda—Disa Maṅgalagujjarī (Rāma Bibhā prathama Chhānda vāṇi)

The followiug rāgas of the Gītagovinda i. e. Mālava, gujjari, Rāmakerī and Varādi have been used in this work.

Rasavāridhi is not a faithful translation of the Gītagovinda like that of Dharṇidhara and the following deviations can be marked in it. We get the translation of Dasāvatāra stuti in the first chhānda that of verses from (Srita Kamalā up to Padmā payodhara tati) in the second chhānda and (1) Bāgdevatā, (2) Yadi Harismaraṇe (3) Bāchah pallavayati,(4) Meghair medura in the third chhānda and that from Vasanti vāsanti in the fourth chhānda. Vrindāvana Dāsa has not translated the interpolated verses in his work by following the tradition that the Gītagovinda contained 12 sargas 24 Gāthās and 72 verses.

III

Amṛtasāgara boli by Dina Krishna Dasa

Dīna Krishna Dāsa or Kṛshṇa Dāsa, a Rajput settler in Oṛissa was a prolific writer of the 17th century. He was the author of a large number of works most of which were written under the patronage of Balarāma Sāmantasiṃhāra, a chieftain of Dhenkanal kingdom (C. 1650) where the author was residing in the village of Ekagharia

on the south bank of the Brāhmaṇi river. In his work entitled 'Amrutasāgara' 7 containing 45 chapters, he has described the entire Gopalīlā of the 10th Skanda of the Bhāgavata purāṇa beginning from the birth of Shree Kṛshṇa till the accession of Ugrasena on the throne after the death of Kaṃsa. Twenty chapters of this work (13th to 32nd) depicting the Rāsalīlā of Shree Rādhə and Shree Kṛshṇa are based on the Gītagovinda of Shree Jayadeva. Thereby he has clearly incorporated Shree Gītəgovinda into the Bhāgavata, both of which were immensely popular in Orissa. He has explained the 24 songs and 72 verses of the Gītagovinda in this work through the mercy of Lord Jagannātha as will be evident from the quotaion made below.

Page 6.

"Mahā kāvya Gītagovinda yehu, Ehiṭhāra Arṭha vadilā sehu (1)
Bāstari solakha chavisa gāthā,Ehi bolire achi savu kathā (2)
Shree Gītagovinda arthara vāni,sanidhye kari bheṭāili āṇi (3)
Ājnā dele yanhu Shree Jagannātha,Teṇu se kahile yehāra artha (4)

(Chapter-33)

IV

Artha Govinda by Vajari Dasa

Vajari Dāsa perhaps a Sādhu from north India, who had settled in Ashokakhola garh wrote a translation of Shree Gītagovinda called 'Artha Govinda' in the popular navākshari Bhāgavatavṛta in the 21st Aṅka year of Gajapati Mukunda Deva I.

Page···7

Vajari Dāsa muḍh bāi, Ashokakhola gaḍe thāi,
Mukunda Deva Rajāñkara, Ekoisha ankare tāra,
Kumbha pandara dina ante, Baḍhilā lekhana puste,
Gaivā Bhāgavata disha, Bole Bajari muḍha Dāsa

Ashoka Khola fort was situated near the Ashoka Khola hill in the district of Dhenkanal, which was so called due to the exsitence of dence Ashoka forest. The hill contains some caves and is the source of a perennial spring. [8] Vajari Dāsa, who was a Sādhu had his hermitage there. The date of composition of this work can be fixed in 1674 A. D. as the 21st Aṅka year of Mukunda Deva I was current from 12th September 1673 to 1st September 1674 [9]. He has also left the translation of the interpolated verses as will be clear from the following quotation.

Chavisa gāthā gīta mate, Bāstari (72) Shloka Shahite
Lekhana karivi gosāin, Arthagovinda nāme muhin

The 12 sargas of the Gītagovinda have been translated in 27 Adhyāyas in this work—

1st sarga-1st to 6th Adhyāyas, 2nd-7th and 8th, 3rd-9th, 4th-10th and 11th, 5th-12th and 13th, 6th-14th, 7th-15th to 18th, 8th-19th, 9th-20th, 10th-21st, 11th-22nd to 24th, 12th 25th to 27th [10].

V

GĪTAGOVINDA BY UDDHAVA DĀSA

Uddhava Dāsa, who was a 'Kamāra' or blacksmith by caste translated the Gītagovinda into Oriya verses by being directed in a dream by his respected Guru Jagannātha Miśra to take up this noble work. It is also known that his Guru Jagannātha Miśra had written a commentary on this work i. e.

Shrī Jagannātha Miśra āsi
Swapane mohara pāse vasi
Boile śuṇa mora putra,
Jayadevara kara artha
Mun artha kariachhi yāhā
Tu Gīta kari kaha tāhā"[11]

Fortunately for us the manuscript containing the commentary of the Gītagovinda in Oriya prose by Jagannātha Miśra has been discovered about which discussion will be made below—

Uddhava Dāsa while commenting on this work has first quoted the translation of Dharaṇidhara and explained it elaborately in simple Oriya language following the popular Navākshari vṛta of the Oriya Bhāgavata throughout. Thus he was posterior to Dharaṇidhara (C. 15 0) by some years. But no authentic information is known about his Guru Jagannātha Miśra.

VI

Prose translation by Ananta Ratha Vānibhushana

From the colophon of the manuscript containing the translation of the Gītagovinda in Oriya prose it is known that one Ananta Ratha bearing the title of Vāṇībhūṣaṇa wrote this at the request of king Divyasiṃha Deva and it was copied by Nidhi Paramaguru.

"Shrī Divyasiṃha Deva Varmano Rājñānuñjya. Vāṇibhuṣaṇa paddhatya Ananta Ratha Sarmaṇā rachitārthṃ, Nidhi nāmnā Paramaguruṇā likhitamidaṃ Gītagovindākhyaṃ, sārtha pustakaṃ.'[12]

This Divyasiṃha Deva can be indentified with Gajapati Divyasiṃha Dava I, ruler of Khurda territory who ruled from 1688 to 1716 A. D. No other information is available about the translator Ananta Ratha.

VII

Prose Translation by Jagannatha Mishra

In this Oriya ṭīkā there is a maṅgalācharaṇa in Sanskrit[13] in these verses , the first one is seeking the blessing of Gaṇesha and Jagadambā (Pārvatī).

The second and third verses praise the divine līlā of Shrī Rādhā and Kṛshṇa in Vrindavana as depicted in Shrī Gītagovinda.

"Svasti Shrī Jayadeva ṭīkā bhāṣā pravandhe lekhyate—

Colophon —Shaka X X X vāṇe Mahi mṛgendra māse, Site Bhānutithyandugraste, Tīkā Kṛtaṃ Gītagovinda gītam Jagannivāsena vilikhitaṃ hi."

Jagannātha Miśra, appears to be a Sanskrit scholar of some repute. He can be identified with Jagannātha Miśra, the Guru of Uddhava Dāsa who is stated to have explained the Gītagovinda in Oriya prose (Mun artha kariacchi yāhā). The date of composition of this work can not be ascertained definitely as some letters after the śaka are worm-eaten. But taking into account the remaining two words vāṇa (5) Mahi (1) or 15 and Mṛgendramāsa (Siṃha) sita (Sukla) Bhanu (Sunday) and Indugrasta (Purnimā) the corresponding date arrived at is 6th August 1598 A. D.

Prose translation by Vasudeva Mishra

There is a manuscript[14] containing the prose translation of the Gītagovinda by one Vāsudeva, which is called 'Vālabodhini Tīkā.' No authentic information is available about the author of this tīkā.

There is a translation of the Gītagovinda in Oriya verses by one Trilochana Dāsa, Nāpita (barber by caste). Some discussion has been made about it in my work Shrī Jayadeva and Shrī Gītagovinda on page 162. Similarly information about some other translations of the Gītagovinda in Oriya prose has been given to us about which nothing can be said at present due to nonavailability of their texts.

BENGALI TRANSLATION BY ORIYA POETS

During the period of stay of Shrī Chaitanya at Puri from 1509 till his death in 1533 A. D. many eminent Oriya poets and

scholars like Rāya Ramānanda, Balarāma Dāsa, Mādhavi Devi Jagannātha Dāsa, Kahnāi Khuntia and others, who came into close contact with the learned Gauḍiya disciples of the Master tried to display their mastery over the 'Vrajaboli' and Bengali languages which were used as the media of preaching the faith of Shrī Chaitanya. This tradition of writing in Bengali was followed in the later period by many Oriya followers of the faith of Shrī Chaitanya. Among such poets Pindika Shrī Chandana stands foremost,'

IX

Vasanta Rasa by Pindika Shrichandana

Piṇḍika Shrīchandana , a native of village Sānapadara under Begunia P. S. of Puri district, who was a contemporary of Gajapati Divya imha Deva I of Khurda (1688-1715 A. D.) wrote his 'Vasanta Rasa' in imitation of Shrī Gītagovinda for wide circulation among the Bengali followers of Shrī Chaitanya it was mainly written in Bengali with some sweet Oriya songs incorporated at different places of the text. It gained great popularity due to its simple, charming and flowing language for which a large number of manuscripts of this work are available and it has been printed by several publishers. This Rāsa līlā when staged in the villages used to draw a large audience from the country folk.

X

VASANTA KRIDĀ SAMUJJVALA RĀSAVALĪ BY SHYAMASUNDARA BHANJA

Syāmasundara Bhañja a zamidār of the small estate of Haladia near Khurda in the district of Puri who flourished in the 1st part of the last century was an author of some works, the manuscripts of five of which have been acquired for the Manuscripts library of the Orissa State Museum. Out of these 'Vasantakrīdā Samujjvala Rasāvalī' written in Bengali language is a translation of the Gītagovinda. Though modelled on the Vasantarāsa, of Shrīchandan, it is inferior to that in some respects.

Besides the above translations of the Gītagovinda in poetry and prose, its influence on the classical literature of Orissa was tremendously felt as in all the Oriya Kāvyas so far known beginning

from Rāma Bibhā by Arjuna Dāsa (C. 1520) up to Kishore Chandrānanda Chapmū by Kavisūrya Baladeva Ratha, 1810 A. D. in which different Rāgas, Vṛtas, Vānis and Tālas have been used as in the Gīta govinda. This musical aspect of the Gīta govinda was scrupulously followed by all the Kāvya writers of Orissa, which is scarcely found in other North Indian languages.

Among hundreds of small and big Kṛshṇa Kāvyas, the execllent Rasa kallola by Dīnakṛshna Dāsa, Rahasya manjarī by Devadurllabha Dāsa, Vidagdha Chintāmani by Abhimanyu Sāmanta Siṃhāra (C. 1750 A. D.) and Kishora Chandrānanda Champū by Kavisūrya Baladeva Ratha bear the close impress of the Gīta govinda as regards style, diction and flowing melody. Of these, the Champū is still very popular in Orissa

INFLUENCE OF GĪTAGOVINDA ON HINDI LITERATURE

Chanda Bardai

In the 'Pṛthviràja Rāso' written by Chānda Baṛdai,the Rajput poet in the court of Pṛthirāja, the last independent Hindu sovereign of Delhi, Jayadeva is described as great saintly poet who was always singing the glory of Govinda.

"Jayadeva aṭhthaṃ Kavi Kavirāyam
Jinai Kevalaṃ kitti Govinda gayāṃ"

According to Dr. R. K. Varma, Jayadeva who was a disciple of Nimbārka, lived for some time at Vṛndāvana, the centre of activities of his Guru, from where his fame as a saintly poet spread every where [15]. So it might be possible for Chānda Bardai who was his contemporary to write about him.

Vidyapati Thākura

But the credit of making Shree Gītagovinda popular among the Hindi speaking people of Northern India goes to the famous

Maithili poet Vidyāpati Thākura who though a Smārta and a devotee of Siva composed a large number of sweet, simple and enchanting songs on the love episode of Shree Rādhā and Kṛshṇa in Maithili language. By his time the Gītagovinda had become well known among the scholars of Mithila due to its commentary called 'Sāra Dīpikā' (1320 A D) and an imitation styled 'Gita Gaurisha' written by Jagaddhar and Bhanu Datta respectively, both of whom were great Sanskrit sholars following Shaiva faith. Being inspired by the noble example set by them, Vidyāpati who was vastly learned in Sanskrit displayed his talent in composing Padāvalis in his mother tongue, which could vie with those of Shree Jayadeva. For this he was honoured with the title of 'Abhinava Jayadeva' by his patron Shiva Siṃha ruler of Mithila who died in 1414 A. D.[16].

Vidyāpati was one of the luckiest poets of the world as he could get the patronage of seven successors of Shiva Siṃha, beginning from Lakshimā Devi (wife of Shiva Siṃha) and ending with Bhairavendra Siṃha. During this long period he flooded the Maithila literature by his Padāvalis which are broadly divided into three classes—(1) Shaiva, (2) Vaishṇava and (3) general. His Shaiva padāvalis are purely devotional, whereas in his Vaishṇava padāvalis erotic sentiment is predominant. His Vaishnava padāvalis marked an epoch in Hindi literature which inspired Chandidāsa and others in Bengal and the Aṣṭachāṭa poets of Vṛndāvana to compose similar songs in Bengali and Brajaboli respectively.

The song entitled ' Vasanta Lilā' by Vidyāpati clearly indicates how it has been influenced by the "Lalita lavanga latā" song of the Gitagovinda.[17]

Kabir

The saintly poet Kabir who flourished during the reign of Sikandar Lodi (1488—1513 A. D.) respectfully mentions Jayadeva as a great devotee i. e.

"Guruprāsadi Jaideu nāmā Bhagatiki premi in hi Jānā".

(Rāga Gaudi, 36) 18

Vallabhacharya and Vithalanatha

Vallabhāchārya (1479—1530 A. D.) a saintly poet and scholar of the Andhra country and founder of ' Shuddhādvaitavāda ' made Vṛndāvana the centre of his activities like Shree Nimbārka. He greatly popularised the worship of Shree Rādhā-Kṛshna by preaching that Sri Kṛshṇa was Paraṃ Brahma and Shree Rādhā was his spouse. At his request, his disciple Puran Malla Kshatri built a magnificent temple for Srinathji on the Govardhan hill (1516 A. D.) which attracted thousands of devotees and pilgrims from different parts of India [19]. He accepted Shree Gitagovinda as a scripture, which enhanced its prestige and popularity among his followers.

After his death his son Viṭhalanathji continued as the head of the temple management till his death in 1585 A. D. He was the author of an imiation of the Gitagovinda entitled 'Sringāra rasa mandanaṃ' and his disciple Vanamali Bhaṭta wrote a commentary on it called ' Sanjīvanī '. The high estimation in which the Gitagovinda was held by him inspired the eight famous Vrajaboli poets " Asṭachāṭa " (four were the disciples of his father) to imbibe ideas and sentiments contained in it.

Sura Dāsa

Sura Dāsa a disciple of Vallbhāchārya since 1530 A. D. and performing 'Kirtana' in the temple of Srinathji was the greatest of the Asṭachāṭa poets. Though the original Sanskrit Bhāgabata does not mention Rādhā, Sura Dāsa in his translation of it called 'Surasāgara' has impressively described the love episodes of Shree Rādhā and Shree Kṛshṇa as sung in the Padāvali of Shree Jayadeva and Vidyāpati Thākura. [20]

Nanda Dāsa

Nanda Dāsa one of the ' Ashṭachāṭa ' poets wrote ' Rāsa-panchādhyāyī ' a translation of five chapters (29—33) of the Dashama skanda of the Bhāgavata in which the influence of the Gitagovinda

is clearly marked. So it has been designated as 'Hindī kā Gitagovinda' by Viyogi Hari. [21]

The other six Aṣṭachāṭa poets, Krushna Dāsa, Paramananda Dāsa, Kambhana Dāsa, Chaturbhuja Dāsa, Chita Svāmi and Govinda Svāmi, also popularised the prema-lilā of Shree Rādhā-Kṛshṇa through their writings. [22]

Mirā Bāi

Mirā Bāi, the widowed daughter-in-law of Rāṇā Sangram Simha was a famous poetess of Rajasthana. The simple sweet and melodious prayer songs or bhajanas composed by her breathe the spirit of her unparalleled devotion to Kṛshṇa whom she regarded as her lover. She wrote a commentary on the Gitagovinda in Rajasthani language called Gitagovinda kī Tikā'. According to Pandit Ramachandra Sukla she wrote Rāgagovinda in imitation of the G. G.

Nābha Dāsa

Nābha Dāsa, a sādhu of Galata in the Jeypore kingdom of Rajastan a disciple of Svami Agra Dāsa and great devotee of Ramachandra was the author of a very popular work called 'Bhaktamāla' in Hindi. In this work written in Samvat 1642 or 1585 A. D. the biographies of about two hundred saints and saintly poets are narrated in 316 'Chhapais' (saṭpadi) [24] in simple and flowing language. The chhapai describing the saintly poet Jayadeva is quoted below :-

"Jayadeva Kavichakkave, Khandamandalesvara āna kave prachura bhaya tinhun loka, Gitagovinda ujagara Koka kāvya navarasa sarasa, simgarako sagara" Astapadi abhyasa karai, tehi buddhi vaḍha vai, Radharamana prasanna sunan, Nischayā tāha abai, santa saroruha padmavati Sukhajanakaravi Jayadeva kavi nṛpa chakkavai, khamada mandalesvara ādi kavi" [25]

(Bhāktamala, chhapaya 39)

Another poet named Priya Dāsa wrote a tikā on the Bhaktamāla of Nabhaji in Samvat 1769 or 1712 A. D. in which more

information is given about Shrī Jayadeva. [26] These two works made Jayadeva well-known among the Hindi speaking people of Northern India.

HITA HARIVAMSA

Hita Harivaṃsa (birth 1542 A. D.) founder of the Rādhāballava Sampradāya laid great stress on the worship of Rādhā [27] for which he drew inspiration from the Gītagovinda.

INFLUENCE OF SRI GITAGOVINDA ON THE GUJARATI LITERATURE

Due to the existence of Dvārakā and Prabhāsa pattana in Gnjurāt, two sacred places connected with the life and activities of Shrī Kṛṣṇa, the legends about him were popular among the masses from the beginning of the Christian era. The Kṛṣṇa temple built near Girnar in 455 A. D. is one of the oldest Kṛṣṇa temples of India [28]. So within a century of its composition at Shrī kshetra or Puri, Shrī Gītagovinda gained currency in Gujurāt and the last verse of its Dasāvatāra stuti, i. e. 'Vedanuddrate' was quoted as the maṅgalācharaṇa verse of a stone inscription of King Sāranga Deva of the Baghel dynasty ruling from Anhillpatana in 1348 Vikrama Sambat or 1291 A. D. This bears evidence regarding the appreciation of this work in Gujarāt in the thirteenth century.[29]

The popular Phagu songs of Gujurat recited at the time of vernal sports breathe the spirit of Shrī Gītagovinda which will be evident from one such songs by Natarshi (C. 1439 A. D.) quoted below.

PHAGU

'Ādya māsa vasaṃtaka saṃta karai utsāha . Malayānila mahivayao ayao Kāmaj dāha"

RĀSAKA

Vana vari āvi prabhu vīnaviva navi disai disārīre
Mādhava Mādhava bhetaṅe avai Avita deva Murāire"

X X X

Thana vari namati taruṇī Varuṇī karuṇī charaṇa saṃchārire chalai chamakat Jhamakat neura keura kaṭaka visālare.[30]

NARASIMHA MEHETĀ

In the sixteenth century the worship of Shrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa became wide spread in Gujarāt due to activities of Shrī Vallabha-Achārya who established temples and monasteries at different places of this region to propagate his faith. In that age flourished Narasimha Mehetā, the greatest classical poet of Gujurat who wrote a large number of padāvalis and bhajana on the Premalīlā of Shrī Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa which he used to sing in a sweet voice before the spell-bound audience. The collection of his padas called Sruṅgāramāḷā.

His best work entitled 'Surat saṃgrāma' narrates in an interesting manner the story of an erotic duel between Shrī Kṛṣṇa and his associates on one side and Shrī Rādhā and the Gopīs on the other on a full moon night of the spring season. Before the fight started the poet Narasiṃha Mehetā was sent by Shrī Rādhā to the camp of Shrī Kṛshṇa with a proposal to negotiate for peace which was not accepted. Shrī Kṛshṇa on the other hand deputed Jayadeva, author of Shrī Gītagovinda with a letter to Shrī Rādhā requesting her to Surrende without any fight to which she did not agree. As no peace could be negotiated both the parties started fighting in which the weapons used were side-long glances, kisses, embraces. Shrī Kṛshṇa who was at first winning fell fighting being pierced by the arrow of Cupid. Seeing this, his associates ran from the battle field. The triumphant Gopīs, proud of their victory pursued the fugitives and occupied Vraja. The lines referring to Jayadeva are cited below.

"E jayadeva chaliyo, Mana māṃhi bhaliyo Aviya jyāṃ uri gopanārī radhena pṛchchato, Maraḍato muchchato Gupta kyāṃ gopī brakhanī dulāri."

The influence of the Gītagovinda by Shrī Jayadeva who has been depicted as an emissary of Shrī Kṛṣṇa is very deep in this area.

GUJURATI PROSE TRANSLATION

In a manuscript copied in 1664 Samvat or 1607 A. D. the translation of the Gitagovinba in Gujurati Prose is traceable a few lines from which are quoted below :—

"Iti kahitaṃ ini pari dasāvatāra varnanā nāma kirti dhavala nāma pahila pravandha māmnum pahiluṃru gita Vedānuddharate ehenu artha······ Ini pariṃ Paramesvarīm Dāsa Avatāra lidhā teheniṃ namaskāra". [32]

Sri Jayadeva in the Shri Guru Grantha Saheba

Though the influence of Shrī Gītagovinda on the old Panjabi literature is not known its author Shrī Jayadeva is mentioned respectfully in Shrī Guru Grantha Sāhev compiled by Arjuna, the fifth Guru of the Sikhas in Vikram Samvat 1661 or 1604 A. D. as one of the greatest saints of India i. e. (1) "Nāmā Jayadeva kāvya Trillochanu avajati Ravidāsa chamiaru chamiaru chalaia (Nānaka, Ragu vilavilu)

(2) Guna gāvai Ravidāsa Bhagatu Jayadeva Trilochana Nama bhagatu kaviru sada gāvi samalochana,

(Savaie mahale pahaleke)"[33]

In the 'Bhagat Ratnāvalī' incorporated in the Shrī Guru Grantha Sahib, glowing tribute has been paid to Jayadeva as steeped in the loving devotion and spontaneous melody of the Gītagovinda.

"Bhagat Jayadeoji, Prema bhagati Jāineu karai Gitagovinda sahaja dhuni gāvai."

In the (Granthasaheb) the Padāvalis of Guru Nānaka and sixteen other saints have been collected.

Jayadeva, Nāmadeva, Trilochana, Paramānanda, Sadana, Veni, Rāmānanda, Dhanā, Pīpā Sena, Kavira, Raidāsa, Sura Dāsa, Pharid, Bhikau and Mīrā.

INFLUENCE OF SHRĪ GĪTAGOVINDAM ON BENGALI LITERATURE

BADU CHANDIDĀSA

The influence of Shrī Gītagovindaṃ can clearly be marked in the 'Shrī Kṛshṇa Kirtana'[34] of Baḍu Chaṇḍidāsa, who is assigned by the leading linguists of Bengal to the latter half of the 15th century A. D. though this early date for the author is not supported by Dr. T. C. Dāsa Gupta in his 'History of Old Bengali litrature' published by the Calcutta University, wherein arguments have been put forth for placing this poet in the post-Chaitanya period. [35]

Without entering into the controversy regarding the age of the poet, this much can be said with certainty that this work which mainly narrates the story of Shrīmad Bhāgavata can strictly be placed into the category of the popular and comprehensive Padāvalī literature of Bengal, which started with the famous Chandidāsa. Still then in general, the model of the Gītagovinda was followed by Vaḍu Chaṇḍidāsa in his S. K. in many places. For some ideas of the central theme also Chaṇḍidāsa was indebted to Shrī Jayadeva., Moreover a few padas of the G. G. were incorporated into S. K. Also some Rāgas used and popularised by Shrī Jayadeva were followed by Vaḍu Chaṇḍidāsa.

CHANDIDĀSA

The melodious songs of Chaṇḍidāsa which were listened to with rapt attention and deep devotion by Mahāprabhu Shrī Chaitanya along with the songs of the G. G., Kṛshṇa Karnāmṛta of Vilvamaṅgala, Nātaka-giti of Rāya Rāmānanda and the Padāvalis of Vidyāpati[36] during the long period of his stay at Puri (1515)-1533 A, D.) were much influenced by the 'Lalitā-komalā Kānta-padāvalī' of G. G. The padāvalis of Chaṇḍidāsa greately popularised the Rādha-Kṛshṇa cult preached through the songs of the G. G. in Bengal Dr. S. K. De has rightly remarked "A Chaitanyaite

Vaishṇava would regard the Gītagovinda not merely as a poetical, composition of great beauty, but also as a religious work and would feign explain it in terms of his bhakti-rasa-shāstra. [37] The Padāvalīs of Chaṇḍidāsa though erotic in nature created the largest of the devotional sentiments among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal.

The sweet, simple and melodious padāvalis of Chaṇḍidāsa brought about a glorious epoch in the History of Bengali literature in the post-Chaitanya period, which was flooded with innumerable padas composed by more than two hundred Pada-Kartās headed by Rāya Rāmānanda, Govinda Dāsa, Murari Gupta and others who were all inspired for the composition of their padas by those of Shrī Vidyapati and Shrī Chaṇḍi Dāsa. [38] The most important among them who deserve mention here are Rāya Rāmānanda Champati Rāy and Mādhavī Devī of Orissa, Govinda Dāsa, Jnāna Dāsa, Murāri Gupta, Sanātana Gosvāmī, Narahari Sarkāra, Rāya Shekhara, Jagadānanda, Gadādhara Paṇḍita, Yadunandan Dāsa, Vaṃśīvadana, Raghunātha Dāsa, Vṛndāvana Dāsa, Lochana Dāsa, Narottama Dāsa, Vīra Hamvira, Dakhiṇi, Raghunandana Gosvāmī, Gauridāsa Paṇḍita, Paramānanda Sena and others who enriched the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal by their contributions. Some Muslim writers of Bengal like Aloyal, Aliraja, Chānd Quāz-i Garib Khān, Bhikan, Said Martujā wrote Vaiṣṇava padāvalis which went a long way in bringing about amity and fellow-feeling among the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal.[39]

TRANSLATION OF THE G. G. IN BENGALI

The translation of the Gītagovindaṃ in Bengali by the following authors namely, Giridhara Dāsa, Rasamaya Dāsa and Dvija Prāṇakṛshṇa have been found. Of these the oldest by Giridhara Dāsa was written in the Shaka year Gaja (8) Ishu (5) Rasa (6) and Soma (1) or 1658 Shaka or 1736 A. D.

"Samāpta Karila gaja ishu Rasa Some
Kṛṣṇa paksha Āshādhara divasa Pāñchme."

He was resident of village Hatinal, situated on the bank of river Badakar. The translation is faithful and the theme and the rāgas have been closely followed. The second translation was made by Rasamaya Dāsa. The translation of the Gītagovinda by Dvija Prāṇakṛṣṇa is called Jayadeva Prasādāvali. He was the resident of village Telia near Mursidābād. Vaidya Kavichandra son of Kavi Karṇapura and grandson of Vaidya Viśārada and a resident of Khandaghosa wrote a translation of Gītagovinda to please his patron Shrī Shekh Farid. There is also a Gītagovinda translated by Jagatsimha in the collection of the Darbar of Cooch Bihar. (40)

SHRĪ GĪTAGOVINDAM IN ASSAMESE LITERATURE

Songs depicting the Rāsa līlā of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā were unknown in early Assamese Vaishṇavite poetry. It was Rāmānanda Dvija, contemporary of the Ahom king Chakradhvaja Simha (c. 1669) who first composed a large number of lyrics on the earlier models in some of which echoes of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda are discernible as they narrate the love episodes of Kṛshṇa and Rādhā. (41),

Kavi Rāma Sarasvati who was a voluminous writer made an Assamese version of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda. But this is not a literal translation as he introduced some episodes from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in it. Further the Assamese version has given a Vaishṇava bias, and tune it with the ideals of Assam Vaishṇavism whereby the intensity of the erotic sentiment of the original was much reduced (42).

This Assamese rendering of Shrī Gītagovinda was made by Rāmanārāyaṇa Kavirāja Sarasvatī by orders of the Ahom king Rudra Simha (1696-1714 A. D.). A manuscript of this work noticed recently contains five illustrations of the court of Rudra Simha and four others depict the Rāsalīlā of Shrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana. 43

It has been discussed in the previous paper that a commentary named 'Sarasvatī' on the G. G. was written by Mahārāja

Sukladhvaja, the minister and commander-in-chief of Naranārāyaṇa who ruled in Cooch Bihar and Assam in the 16th century. Rāma Sarasvạtī, the court poet of Sukladhvaja wrote a biography of Shrī Jayadeva in which his beloved wife Padmāvatī has been described as dancing to the tune of the songs in praise of God Mādhava composed and sung by the saintly poet i. e.

"Jayadeva Mādhavara stutika varṇane
Padmāvati aganata nāchata bhaṅgī bhāve
Kṛṣṇara gītaka Jayadeve nigadati
Gītara tālara cheve nāche Padamāvatī."

This indicates the popularity of the story of Shrī Jayadeva in that hilly region at the foot of the Himalayas.

SHRĪ GĪTAGOVINDA IN MANIPUR

Shrī Bhāgyachandra (1764-1628 A. D.) who was a staunch follower of Gauḍiya Vaishṇavism is belived by the devout Vaiṣṇavas to be an incarnation of Thākur Narottama Dāsa of Bengal. He dedicated three things to his Lord Govinda : his kingdom, that is Maṇipur, his daughter who remained wedded to her Lord Kṛṣṇa throughout her life, a Maṇipuri Mirābāi, and Gitagovinda of poet Jayadeva. The authorship of 'Govinda Saṅgīta Līlā Vilāsa' an authority on classical Maṇipuri dance is attributed to this king, who is credited with the introduction of the songs of the G. G. in the style of padāvali kirtana in Maṇipur. In the Vasanta Rāsa as enacted in the village temples are inserted about 10 Aṣṭapadas of the G. G. (sung or recited) at the appropriate places of the Rāsa Līlā followed occasionally by dances. During the five days of Holi festival besides other holi songs, certain lines from the songs of the Gītagovinda like 'Lalita Lavaṅga Latā' 'Hari riha mugdha badhu nikar' are played and danced upon in the temples of Govindaji and Vijaya Govindaji at Imphal. It is a fascinating sight to witness hundreds of people taking part in this Holi dance festival with the king participating sometimes as a drummer.

During the Ratha Yātrā festival in which both old and young participate for nights together with songs, and dances, start with the singing of 2 songs of the G. G. beginning from 'pralaya payodhi jale' and ending with "maṅgala mujjvala gīti, Jaya Jaya Deva Hare." It is said that the Aṣṭapadis of the G G. used to be sung in the royal palace on every Ekādaśi day during the reign of Mahārāja Chandrakirti (1851 A. D.). Thus the sweet, simple and melodious songs of the G. G. have greately influenced the dance, drama and music of the far-off State of Manipur for the last two hundred years. [44]

SHRĪ GĪTAGOVINDAM IN MAHĀRĀSTRA

The fame of Jayadeva as a saintly poet spread in Mahārāstra at least before the 16th century A. D. In 'Sampradāya kula dīpikā' of Gadādhara Dwivedi composed in 1554 A. D. it is stated that Jayadeva was in his previous incarnation Vilvamaṅgala. [45] Gadādhara was a disciple of Vitthalnātha, son of Vallabhāchārya. Mahipati in his 'Bhaktivijaya' written in old Marahatī language has also narrated the life history of Jayadeva as gathered from traditions.

Though the worship of Kṛṣṇa was popular in Mahārāstra Rādhā glorified in the Gītagovindaṃ was not associated with him as in the systems of Nimbārka, Vallabha and Chaitanya while Rukmiṇi, the lawful wife, was united with him in the Marathā country. In the religious literature of the country Viṭṭhala or Kṛṣṇa is almost exclusively spoken of as Rukmiṇipati or Rukmiṇivara the lord or husband of Rukmiṇi and not as Rādhā vallava or the lover of Rādhā. Thus the Vaishavism of the Maratha country, associated as it is with these two names is more sober and purer than that of the three systems named above.

Rāhi, the Marathi form of Rādhikā is not unknown, but an insignificant place is assigned to her. The sports of Kṛshṇa in Gokula are also represented occasionally in the mode of worship but very little importance is attached to them. [46]

Srī GĪTAGOVINDAM IN KERALA

Srī Gitagovinda became very popular in Kerala since the days of Emperor Ravi Varmā who flourished in the 13th century. The rulers of Venad and the Zamorin of Kozhikode instituted the recital of the Ashṭapadis during worship in the temples and the songs gained wide currency through the houses of the nobles. As a result, gradually all over Kerala the Gitagovinda supplied the material for music and dance. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the popularisation of the Gitagovinda resulted in a remarkable transformation of music in this region. Kṣishnan Attam, a dance drama consisting of padas in Sanskrit, was composed by Mana vedan of Kozhikode on the Gītagovinda in 1654 and it was enacted in the temples and places under his control. Vira Kerala Varma, the Thampuran of Kottarakara is known as the founder of Kathakali (17th century) and the padas in his ' Rāmāyaṇa dance dramas known as Ramanattam reveal the influence of the Ashṭapadis. The great writers of Kathakali works like Kartik Tirunal (the author of Kalyaṇa Saugandikam), Asvati Tiruna (the author of Rugini Svayamvaram), Unnayi Varier (the author of Nalacharitam), Irayiman Tampi (the author of Subhadrā haranaṃ) etc , are considred to have been profoundly influenced by the poetry and music of the Gītagovindam.

It is indeed remarkable that Jayadeva's Aṣhṭapadis are sung as an important religious rite in many temples of Kerala even to- day. The ' Nitya bhajana Paddhati ' and the 'Rādhā Kalyāṇa Utsava Paddhati' as established in the Bhāgavata tradition and ritual of singing in several temples of Kerala have been mainly responsible for keeping alive the Aṣhṭapadis of Jayadeva in the South. [47]

As regards the influence of the Gītagovinda on the Kathakali literature it has been stated thus " Kathakali, the famous dance-drama of Kerala, produced a very rich literature of its own in the 18th and 19th centuries. The texts of the Kathakali are on the

model of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda and contain long verses mostly in Sanskrit introducing the scenes, and Malayalam songs giving the dialogues. More than one hundred Kathakali works are available. "48

References

1 Edited by Shri K. N. Mahapatra, Curator, O. S. Museum and published by the Superintendent of Orissa State Museum, in 1961.

2 Ibid

3 Ibid

4 Printed and published by the now-defunct Prachi Samiti of Cuttack.

5 Chautisa Madhu Chakra, 3rd part, p. 39 foot note.

6 Edited by Pandit Shri Nilamani Mishra, Curator, Orissa State Museum and published by the Orissa Sahitya Akademi.

7 A manuscript of this unpublished work is preserved in the Manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum.

8 'Dhenkanala Bhugola' by Ramachandra Bhakti Vinoda, 1932, p. 37 and p. 42.

9 History of Khurda (Oriya) by Shri K. N. Mahapatra, 125.

10 This work has been published by the publication wing of the C. A. Department,

11 Manuscript preserved in the O. S. Museum.

12 Quoted from a manuscript of this work preserved in the Utkal University Library.

13 Quoted from a manuscript of this work presevеd in the Utkal University Library.

14 The manuscript is preserved in the Library of the Utkal University.

15 'Hindi Sahitya ka alochana mulaka Itihasa' by Dr. R. K. Verma.

16 History of Mithila p. p. 312—315

17 Edited by Pandit L. N. Mishra, p. 1 & p. 75 'Vidyapati Padavali'

18 H. S. A. I. page. 238

19 (a) H. S. A. I. page 216
(b) Hindi Sahitya ka Itihasa by Pandit Ramachandra Shukla p. 155

20 H. S. A. I. 533

21 H. S. A. I. p. 563

22 H. S. A. I. p. 564

23 H. S A. I.

24 H. S. A. I. p. 473

25 H. S. A I. p. 238

26 H. S. A. I. p. 500
Hindi Sahitya ka Itihasa p. 184

27 H. S. A. I. p. 591

28 By Dr. K. M. Munshi p. 124

29 Journal of the University of Bombay. Vol. IV p. 123—137

30 'Gujrat and its literature', p. 10

31 Gujrat and its literature p. 184—195

32 J. of the University of Bombay, Vol. IV part III part-IV, pp. 129-130

33 H. S. A. I. 33 A. p. 232-33-R-p. 216 p. 217

34 Edited by Dr. Basanta Ranjan Ray and published by the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad.

35 " Prachina Vangala Sahityer Itihas ' by Dr T.C. Das Gupta- pp. 431—435

36 " Vidyapati Jayadeva Chandidasara gita
asvadena Ramanajna Svarupa sahita"
Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita, Adilila—13—42

(b) Chandidasa, Vidyapati, Rayera nataka gita
Karnamrita,Sri Gitagovinda
Svarupa Ramananda sane, Mahaprabhu ratri dine
gave sane parama ananda.
(Sri C. C. Madhyalila, 2nd chapter)

(c) Vidyapati Chandidasa Sri Gitagovinda
Bhavanurupa sloka padhei Raya Ramananda.
(C. C. Antyalila, 17—6)

37 Early History of the Vangala faith and movement in Bengal by Dr. S. K. De.

38 'Prachina Vangala Sahityer Itihas' by Dr. T. C. Dasgupta, pp. 435-436

39 For detailed study of this subject Chapter 32 of the 'Bengali Sahityer Itihasa' pp. 480—517 may be seen.

40 ' Bangala Sahityer Itihasa ' Vol I, part-II, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, pp. 373—375

41 'History of Assamese literature' by Dr. B. K. Barua. p. 53

42 Ditto P. 57

43 The Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. XXVIII, p. 286

44 Based on the paper of Prof. E. Nilakantha Singh read at the "Geeta Govinda celebrations " organised by the S. N. Academi, and L. K. Akademi, Delhi in March 1967.

45 ' Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature ' p. 43.

46 Vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems by R. G Bhandarkar, p. 89.

47 Quoted from the article entitled "The contribution of Gitagovinda to Indian music and its musical structure " by prof. N. S. Ramachandram, Department of Music, Delhi University, ' Geeta Govinda celebrations ' New Delhi in March, 1947.

48 ' The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature ' by K. Kunjani Raja, pp. 101-102 p. 296.

COMMENTARISE ON SHRIGITAGOVINDAM

About thirty commentaries on Shrī Gītagovindaṃ of Jayadeva written by scholars of different parts of India have so far been noticed in Catalogues of manuscripts published by different institutions. Of these the Bhāvavibhāvinī ṭīkā by Udayana Āchārya is regarded as the earliest. Some light is thrown on the author of this tīkā the name of which is only known.

I

BHĀVAVIBHĀVINĪ BY UDAYANA ĀCHĀRYA

The credit of discovering the Bhāvavibhāvinī tīkā by Udayana Āchārya on Shrī Gītagovindaṃ goes to Dr. F. Keilhorn who gives the following brief note.

"No. of leaves ,00, No. of lines on each page 10, No. of slokas 100. Age of the manuscript-150, deposited and in possession of S. Lakshmaṇa" (1)

Udayana Āchārya also wrote a commentary named 'Udayakarī' on the Naishadha a manuscript of which was discovered in Jāmmu (Kashmir) by M. A. Stein in 1894 (2).

This commentator Udayana Āchārya may be identified with Udayana Āchārya, the younger brother of the famous Govardhana Āchārya, author af 'Āryāsaptaśati' who was a great scholar and poet like his brother.

"Udayana Balabhadrāvyāṃ Saptasatiśishya-sodaravyāṃ nah
Dvyauriva Ravichandrāvyāṃ prakāsitā nirmalikṛtā"

'Iti Kavipaṇḍita Govardhanāchāryakṛtā Saptasati samāptā" (3)

Authentic information about the profound scholarship and poetic talent of this Udayana is obtained from two contemporary epigraphic records, relevant verses from which are quoted below

"नेत्रानन्दजलप्रणाल्सरणीं कण्ठद्वयां शुक्तिका-
स्वात्यम्भोलहरी मनकुमुदिनी चैतन्यचन्द्रत्विषम्
मुर्द्धान्तादवस्पन्दितांकविसभाकण्ठावलम्बिस्रजम्
धीरेन्द्रोदयन प्रशस्तिमतुलाम् तत् प्रेरितश्चक्रिवान्" (४)

This verse is taken from the inscription of the Sobhanesvara temple which was built by a brahmin chieftain Vaidyanātha a vassal under the Gaṅga Sovereign ruler of Orissa in the Brahmaṇa village (śāsana) Niali on the bank of the sacred river Prāchī near about 1170 A. D.

From the inscription of the Meghesvara temple at Bhubaneswar it is known that Udayana was adorning the court of a vassal chieftain named Svapnesvara Deva, the builder of this temple, whose sister Suramā Devī was the queen of the Gaṅga Emperor Rājarāja Deva II (1170-1190 A. D.). He was also a contemporary of Anaṅgabhīma Deva II (1190-1198 A. D.) who is also referred to in this inscription.

Viṣṇu Acharya the preceptor of Svapneśvara Deva was very powerful and was like an Avatāra of Vishṇu.

"Sudarśanenānvita esha Vishṇurāchāryarājah sah pṛthak na Viṣṇoh" (verse 32)

At the behest of Viṣṇu, poet Udayana composed this excellent eulogy. i. e.

"Udayanakavistasyādeśāpraśastivilasinīṃ
Sulalitapadanyāsyaih śasvatvidagdhamanoharāṃ
Dhvanibhiranisam kanṭhe ślishtāmalamkṛtihāriṇī
Matirasātayā sayyāgatām prāsadhitavanmīāṃ" (verse 33)

Thus Udayana Acharya who wrote the Bhāvabibhāvinī ṭīkā on G. G. definitely flourished between 1170-1198 A. D. and according to tradition current in the Kenduli area (the birth place of Jayadeva) there existed very cordial relation between these two poets who hailed from the same Prāchī valley. Thus it can be regarded, until the contrary is proved, as the first commentary of the G. G. of Jayadeva, who was a contemporary of Rāghava Deva, the Gaṅga Emperor of Orissa and described as Sādhupradhāna Jaya-Deva in his Liṅgarāja temple inscription (5) of 1162 A. D. The date of this commentary may be fixed in the last decade of the twelfth century.

No discussion on this first commentary can be made as its manuscript has not yet been noticed by any scholar.

II

SĀRADĪPIKĀ BY JAGADDHARA

The great Maithila poet Jagaddhara immensely enriched the Sanskrit literature by his valuable contribution in shape of original works and commentaries on works of poets and scholars. He was the author of original works like 'Rasikasarvasvam' on Kāma Sāstra, Vaidyasarvasvaṃ, Saṅgītasarvasvaṃ, Stutikusumāñjali, Vasantotsava kāvyaṃ. The following commentaries are known to have been written by him i.e. 'Gītāpradīpa' on Bhagavad Gītā, 'Chandikā ṭipaṇī' on Devī Mahātmyaṃ, 'Rasa Dīpikā' on Meghadutam, 'Tattva Dīpikā' on Vāsavadattā and also ṭīkās on 'Venisaṃharaṃ,' 'Mālatimādhavaṃ,' 'Mudrārākshasaṃ' and 'Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇaṃ.' His commentary on Shrī Gitagovindaṃ is known as 'Sāra Dīpikā,' manuscripts of which are preserved in the library of the Bihar Research Society and the Government Oriental manuscripts library, Madras (6).

FAMILY— Jagaddhara who was born in a famous paṇḍita family of Mithila excelled his great grand father Gadādhara, grand-father Vidyādhara and father Ratnadhara by his vast scholarship and

learning, an idea about which can be made from the verse quoted below from his commentary on the Mālatimādhava Nāṭakaṃ' i. e.
"Yenāpāṭhi Kaṭhoragotamamataṃ Vaiseshikaṃ khaṇḍitam
Yenāsrābi sakoshakāvyanibaham tatpāṇiniyamatam
Chandahlamkaraṇam cha bhavya Bharatam Yenādhyagayıśṛti
Stasyāmushya Jagaddharasyaya Kavitustikeyamujjrumbatāṃ"

"Iti Shrī Mahāmahopādhyāya Dharmādhikaraṇika Shrī Jagaddharakṛta" (7)

TIME OF THE POET—A lot of disccussion has been made about the date of Jagaddhara by M. M. Chakravarti (8) and Dr. P.K. Gode (9). Kumbhakarṇa of Mewar has quoted in his Rasikapriyā commentary on the G. G. written between 1440-1450 A. D. from the Rasika Sarvasva of Jagaddhara. So, Jagaddhara definitely flourished before 1450 A. D. Ratnesvara or Ratnadhara, father of Jagaddhara wrote 'Ratna Darpaṇa' a commentary on Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇaṃ by Bhoja Deva, the authorship of which was attributed to Rāma Simha, the powerful Rājā of Mithila, which is known from the verse quoted below i. e.

"Shrī Rāmasimhadevena dordaṇḍadalitadvishā
Kriyate avantibhūpala-Kanṭhāvaraṇadarpaṇaṃ"

This ṭīkā which could not be completed by Ratnadhara was finished by Jagaddhara. Jagaddhara has quoted in his ṭīkā on Veṇīsamhāra Nāṭakam from a commentary on Amarakosha written by Mahāmahopādhyāya Shrīkara of the Mahārājādhirāja Shrī Rāmasimha Deva of Mithilā.

"Iti Shrī Mithilāmahimahendra Mahārājādhirāja Shrī Rāmasimhadevānām sadasya Mahāmahopādhyāya Shrīkara virachitāmarakoshaṭīkāyāṃ vyākhyāmṛtābhidhānāyāṃ."

Thus Rāma Simha being the patron of Ratnadhara, his son Jagaddhara may be taken as a contemporary of Shakti Simha,

Rājā of Mithila who started his reign in 1285 A. D. (10). Thus Sāradīpikā commentary on the G. G. may tentatively be dated in the first decade of the 14th century A. D. This tīkā written by Jagaddhara, a devout wroshipper of Shiva, a versatile scholar of the age contributed a lot to popularise G. G. among the Sanskrit pandits of Mithila. Relevant portions from this tīkā are quoted below :—

Beginning :—

"Karakalitabhujaṅgo mastake nyastagaṅgo
Vihitanatanabhaṅgo dattadaiteyabhaṅgah,
Chiravigaladangastyaktasangoanganāṅgo,
Bhavatu mama vibhutyai Sambhuruṇṇātagaṅgah. (1)

Nanātikāssamālokya vichintya suchiram hṛdā
Gitagovindatikeyaṃ kriyate Srī Jagaddharaih" (2)

End :—" He sajjanāh paraguneshu bhavanta eva
Santoshavantah itisarvajanapratitah,
Tanme parisramamasheshamamuṃ vilokya
Tikāmimāṃ sukṛtino vṛsamādaradhvaṃ,"

"Iti Shri Jagaddhara virachitāyāṃ Gitagovindatikāyāṃ Sāradīpikāyaṃ dvādasha saragh."

From the study of this Tīkā, true copy of which manuscript No. D. 11966 of G. O. Mss. Library, Madras was kindly supplied to the library of State Archaeology by the Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, it is clear that some commentaries on the G. G. had been written before the days of Jagaddhara as stated by him in the beginning of his Tīkā.

This clearly indicates the circulation of the G. G. through out India, some years after its composition at Sri Kshetra (Puri) which inspired great scholars to write ' Tīkās ' on this worthy work.

Another important feature of this commentary is the writing of the gloss over seventeen verses of the G. G. not commented upon

by several famous commentators like Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa of Utkala, Mahāmahopādhāya Shankara Mishra of Mithila and others as they were looked upon as interpolations into the text of this sacred work.

III
SANDARBHA DĪPIKĀ BY DHRUTI DĀSA

Dhṛtidāsa (also known as Dhṛtikara) [11] wrote a commentary called Sandarbha Dipikā on the G. G. perhaps in imitation of the Sāra Dipika commentary of Jagaddhara discussed before. He was a predecessor of Kavirāja Nārāyana Dāsa c. 1350 who has referred to Dhṛti Dāsa thrice in his Sarvānga Sundari Tikā as will be shown later on. So Dhṛti Dāsa (Kara) may tentatively be assigned to a period between 1320 and 1350 A. D. He is taken to be the first Bengali commentator of the G. G.

The opening lines of this commentary run thus :-

" Mule sūkshmādhvaniritipadam prāpya vibhrājate yā
Sā Vāgdevi Jayati vadane vaikhari vākyarūpā. (I)
Dhṛtidāsakavih Srimān Asthānachaturānanah
Gītikaroti Govindatīkām Sandarbhadīpikāṃ " (II) A

At the end of each sarga, the colophon 'Ityāsthānachaturānana visvāsa vaidya Shri Dhṛtidāsa" indicates that he was adorning some royal court.

In some manuscripts of this work the last verses of each sarga of the G. G. are not commented. The two verses of the 12th sarga of the G.G. i.e. 'mīladdṛstimilat' and 'vyālola keshapāsa' are not found in the tīka by Dhṛti Dāsa (12). Further discussion about this tīkā could not be made as its manuscript was not available to us.

IV
SARVĀNGASUNDARĪ TĪKĀ BY KAVIRĀJA NĀRAYANA DĀSA

There is a plam-leaf manuscript containing the complete text of the ' Sarvāngasundarī Tikā ' on the Gitagovindaṃ (13) by

Kāvirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa in the Manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. The text is written in Oriya characters ot the eighteenth century and the manuscpipt is in a fair State of preservation.

From the introductory verses of this work it is known that this commentary was written by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa who begins this work after paying his respects to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Shrīkṛshnāya namah

" Sarvāngasundarī Radhā Kṛshṇa sarvāṅgasundarah
Tayorānandajananī tīkā Sarvāṅgasundarī. "

The last verse of this work runs as follows :—

"Ativishamasuprite Gitagovindagite.
Haricharaṇavisheshe Veda-vedāṅgasheshe,
Bhavati gati vichitrā hi kṛtam kartṛkāmā
Hari Hari Hari shesatrısa bhumāmavāptām
Samāptoyaṃ Granthah "

The name of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa is also found at the end of each sarga.

The author Kavirāja Narāyaṇa Dāsa does not furnish any information in the body of his Sarvāṅga Sundarī Tīkā regarding his native place, parentage, time or patron excepting that he bore the dignified title of Kavirāja.

Time of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa—The time of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa can be tentatively fixed on the basis of the age of the authorities quoted by him. The number of references to each of them is given within brackets against each :

(1) Amarakosha (more than 40 times)
(2) Agama (1)
(3) Utpalamālinī perhaps Utpalinī (1)
(4) Kavikalpalatā (1)
(5) Kāvyaprakāsha (2)

(6) Kâvyādarsha (4)
(7) Kāsikākāra (1)
(8) Kichake; perhaps Kichakabadha (1)
(9) Kumārasambhava (1)

(10) Dhṛtidāsa, a commentator of the Gītagovindaṃ (3)
(a) Dhṛtidāsādeh samikhitābhidhānaṃ 7)
(b) Iti Dhṛtidāsaprāha, p. 90
(c) Ityâha Dhṛtidāsa p. 151
(11) Trikāṇḍashesha (1)
(12) Nāgarasarvasva (4)
(13) Nātyalochana (2)
(14) Padasāgara (1)
(15) Bauddhāgama (1)
(16) Bharatâchārya (3)
(17) Bharata Kavīndra (1)
(18) Bhāravi (1)
(19) Medinīkara (3)
(20) Rasikasarvasva (3)
(21) Rudrabhaṭṭa (2)
(22) Rudra (1)
(23) Vishva and Vishvaprakāsha (15)
(26) Vishṇu Purāṇa (2)
(27) Shṛngāratilaka (5)
(28) Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa (1)
(29) Smaradīpikā (3)

Of the twenty-nine authorities referred to in this ṭīkā, Vishṇu Purāṇa is a work of the early centuries of the Christian era. The names of the two works Āgama and Baudhāgama are too vague for determination of their age. Nothing is known about Padasāgara.

Of the lexicons cited in this work Amarakosha is a work of the 4th century A. D. (14) Trikāṇḍashesha, a supplement of the Amarakosha written by Purushottama of Utkala is asigned to the

9th century A. D. (15) Utpalamālinī is a lexicon, the date of which is not known. Vishva or Viśvaprakāsa kosha was compiled by Maheśvara in 1111 A. D. Medinī Kara, the lexicographer is assigned to a period prior to 1300 A. D. (16).

Kumārasambhava by the great Kālidāsa and Kirātārjjunīya by Bhāravi can certainly be placed before 600 A. D. Nītivarman, author of the poem 'Kīchakavadha' named as 'Kichake' in this ṭīkā is assigned to the 9th century on the strength of a reference to this work by Bhoja (1005-1054).[17]

Jayāditya and Vāmana, authors of the 'Kāśikā' grammar flourished about 600 A. D.[18] Daṇḍin, the writer of 'Kāvyādarśa' and Mammaṭa, the author of 'Kāvyaprakāśa' have tentatively been assigned to the first half of the eighth century [19] and the beginning of the twelfth century respectively.[20] 'Sarasvatī Kanṭhābharaṇa' is a work of Bhoja, the celebrated king of Dhārā (1005-1054 A. D.). The date of Mahimabhaṭṭa, author of 'Vyakti-viveka' has approximately been fixed towards the last half or the end of the 11th century.[21] Kavikalpalatā written by Deveśvara, may be placed in the last quarter of the 13th century.[22]

Bharatāchārya or Bharata kavīndra, the renowned author of the 'Nātyaśāstra' is placed by different scholas between 200 B. C. to 200 A. D. Nātyālochana, an old work on the science of dance and music utilised by Jagaddhara while compiling his Saṅgīta Sarvasva was definitely written before 1300 A. D.[23] Of the works on erotics 'Nāgara sarvasvam' was written by Padmaśrī, a Buddhist author (C. 100 A. D.)[24] Sṛṅgāratilaka cited five times by K. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa is a work by Rudrabhaṭṭa or Rudra (referred to thrice), who flourished definitely before 100 A. D.[25] Smaradīpikā, a short treatise on erotics was written by Mīnanātha, which is known from a manuscript of this work preserved in the Orissa State Museum.[26] Mīnanātha or Matsyanātha certainly lived before Shrīharṣa the author of 'Naishadha charita' (C. 1111 A. D.).[27]

According to Dr. Bagchi, Matsyendranātha referred to in the Haṭhayoga pradīpikā probably flourished towards the beginning

of the 10th century A. D. [26] "Rasikasarvasva' is a work of the famous Maithila Paṇḍita Jagaddhara, who refers to this in his commentary on 'Sarasvatīkanṭhavaraṇa' e. g. 'yaduktaṃmadrasikasarvasve'. [29] There was one Shrīnivāsa, the author of Haṭharatnāvalī who is known to be a great scholar and a follower of the doctrines of Matsyendranātha , Gorakhanātha and Ātmārāma, the propagators of the Haṭha Yoga and as such the date of Shrīnivāsa can be tentatively fixed in the 13th century A. D. Shrīnivāsa cited in 'Sarvāṅga Sundarī ṭikā' may be identified with the above scholar bearing that name as K. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa has used 'Smara Dīpikā' a work of his guru.

From the discussion made above about the authorities cited in the 'Sarvāṅga Sundarī ṭīkā' this much can be said with certainty that Kaviāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa flourished after Jagaddhara who is the latest of all the authors, whose works he had utilished in writing this commentary. Thus he can be placed after 1320 A. D. the time of Jagaddhara. One Rāmanātha Sharmā, a Bengali scholar of the age of Shrīchaitanya is known to have finished his grammatical work called 'Manoramā' in Vasu (8) Vāṇa (5) Bhubana (14) Shāke Shaka year 1458 corresponding to 1536 A. D. wherein he has referred to S.S. ṭīkā of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa. Thus Nārāyaṇa Dāsa can definitely be placed long before Shrīchaitnya (30). But his date can definitely be fixed, when the date of Dhṛtidāsa, whose commentary on the Gītagovinda has been utilised in Sarvāṅga Sundarī tīkā is determined with the help of authentic evidence.

IDENTIFICATION OF KAVIRĀJA NĀRĀYANA DĀSA

Significance of the Title of Kavirāja borne by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa title of Kavirāja is significant as he feels pride and glory in using it in the second introductory verse and at the end of each sarga of his ṭīkā. It is known from the history of Sanskrit literature that the celebrated poet and scholar Rājaśekhara takes pride in calling him 'Kavirāja' in his 'Karpūra Mañjarī' and 'Viddhaśāla bhañjikā'. This distinction was attained by him, when he had become the

author of many important works. Kavirāja is defined in the 'Kâvya-mīmāṃsā of this Rājaśekhara, as one who is unrestrained and proficient in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments. Thus Kavirāja is one satage higher than a Mahâkavi and Kavirājas are rare e. g.

"Yoanyatara pravandhe praviṇah sa Mahākavih.
Yastu tatra tatra bhāshā viseshe teshu pravandheshu tasmiṃstashmischa rase svatantrah sa kavirājah."

Relation between Narayana and Vishvanatha Kaviraja

By applying the criterion prescribed by Rājaśekhara, which was followed by the poets and scholars of that age it can safely be concluded that Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa must have attained celebrity by the time he began his 'Sarvāṅga Sundarī ṭikā' on the Gītagovinda. Such a celebrated poet of the age was Kavipaṇḍitamukhya Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, who is respectfully mentioned by his descendant, the renowned Viśvanātha Kavirāja of Orissa, in his 'Sāhitya darapaṇa' and 'Kāvyaprakāsha darapaṇa'

From the quotations given by Viśvanātha Kavirāja from the above two works, it is known that this Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, fore-father of Viśvanātha was adorning the court of Mahārājādhirāja Narasiṃha Deva, the emperor of Tri-kaliṇga (Orissa). He was an authority on 'Rasa' and vanquished a notable scholar named Dharmadatta of Mithila in a learned discourse on this subject held in his court. His patron Narasiṃha was either Narasiṃha II (1279-1307 A. D.) or Narasiṃha III (1327-1353 A. D.). Most probably he was a court poet of Narasiṃha III and as such he can he placed in the middle of the 14th century A. D.

Importance of this commentary—This ṭikā being one of the earliest commentaries of Gītagovinda written by a great scholar of the land of birth (Utkal) of the saintly poet has got some special importance. The thing first deserving consideration is the appropriate interpretation of the significant and chronological

verse "Vāchah pallavayati—Dhoyīkavikshmāpati' of the G. G. which really contains disparaging remarks about four estimable poets of his age, while apparently describing the particular literary quality of each of them as will be evident from the explanation of the verse quoted below—

'Sampiati kavinām praśasti vyājena nindām krvannātmanah proudhimāha." Vāchah-Kavikshmāpatih" Umāpatidharanāmā sāndhi-vigrahika vāchah pallavayati vistārayatityarthah. Etenāsya vyākhya-śakti darśitā Nindā tu pallavagrahiṇī syāt Yaduktam.

'Pallavagrāhipāṇḍityam krayakrītam cha maithunaṃ
Bhojanaṃ cha parāyattaṃ tisrah puṃsām viḍamvaneti.

Sharaṇah slāghyo duruhadrute iti. Duruhe prameye samasyādvon drute śighrate shlāghyo drutakavi ityarthah. Druta dukhopahavākya nindā tu duruhadruta eva shlāghya, nānyatreva dhāranāt vedyā.

Śṛngārottarasatprameyarachanai rchāryə Govardhanaspadhhi kopi na viśṛta. Shṛṅgārapradhāna satprameyaprathanāyā māchārya Govardhanaṃ sparddhituṃ tamabhibhavantuṃ Kohi na shakta ityarrthah. Atrāpi avadhāraṇena na rasāntarābhiprāyā nindā jñeyā.

Shrutidhara Dhoyi kavikshmāpatiriti. Dhoyināmā Kavirājah śrutidhara śravaṇamātrādeva gṛhitagrantha ityarthah. Nindātu śṛuti-dharatayā heyāpādeya buddhirahitapaśutvāpatteh. Yaduktaṃ.

"Udīritārthah paśunāpi gṛhyate
Hayāscha nāgāscha vahanti choditāh"

Anuktamapyuhati paṇḍito janah parengitajñānaphalā hi buddhayah iti.

Ataeva te girām sandarbhaṃ granthaviśeshaṃ na jānate Kastarhi jānātītyāha Jayadeva eveti"

Poet Umāpatidhara, a minister for peace and war can no doubt make the words sprout, i. e. he is proficient in the use of

bombastic and florid words, but his knowledge of the use of words is only superficial and not deep. Sharaṇa is praise-worthy only in quick and difficult compositions, but in nothing else. Āchārya Govardhana is unrivalled in the composition of faultless erotic verses, but he has no mastery in other ' Rasas ' except 'Shṛṅgāra', Kavirāja Dhoyi, can remember what he hears once, which implies that he has a strong memory and imitativeness, but lacks in originality. But Jayadeva alone had profound mastery over the use of words and had originality and spontaneity.

On the wrong interpretation of this significant verse has been based a wrong theory that all the five poets mentioned in it belonged to the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena of Bengal, which has been unquestionably accepted by many scholars. But the quotation made above from S. S. Ṭīkā clearly proves that Jayadeva has only established his superiority over four other contemporary poets, and says nothing about his own association with any royal court. Of these four poets Umāpati and Dhoyi definitely adorned the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena. Sharaṇa no doubt belongs to Bengal, but he being a protegee of this king is quite probable as his verses have been quoted in the Saduktikarṇāmṛtam. Āchārya Gavardhana was an inhabitant of Puri and never lived in his court (32). This is proved by the fact that none of the stanzas of his famous Āryāsaptashatī is quoted in the S. K. M. of Sridhara Dāsa composed under the patronage of Lakshmaṇa Sena (33). This omission is significant which clearly proves that he was not known to Sridhara and as such did not adorn the court of this Sena king. This is further corroborated by the fact that Govardhana Āchārya and a verse of his A.S.S. 'Anyamukhe dhūpah' has ben quoted by Arjuna Varma Deva, a king of Mālava (1211—1215) in his commentary on ' Amarushatakaṃ ' (34) which clearly proves that he became well known in other parts of India, within a few years of its comoposition, and as such its omission in S. K. M. S. K. H. disproves the theory of his connection with the Sena court.

Umāpatidhara, mentioned first in this verse, Dhoyi Kavirāja and probably Sharaṇa having been known as the court poets of Lakshmaṇa Sena, it was wrongly assumed in later years that all the five poets belonged to his court like the famous traditional verse " Dhanvantarī ... ...nava Vikramasya " associating nine great poets with the court of Vikramāditya. This is also proved by the fact that Chaitanya Dāsa the famous Bengali commentator of the G. G. of the 16th century does not say anything about the connection of these five poets with any royal court.

The clear interpretation of the term "Kenduvilva-samudrasambhava-Rohiṇī-ramaṇena " is also very important as it definity states that this ' Shāsana ' or Brāhmana village which was the birth place of Srī Jayadeva flourished and came to prominence due to his attainments :

" Kenduvilvākhyaṃ Shāsanaṃ. Tachcha mahattvātat Samudratvena rūpitaṃ. Kenduvilva samudra sambhavaschāsau Rohiṇīramanashcheti. Akulobhutasyātmna kulonnatikārakadarsanāt sambhavaśabdopādānam. Tatkulotpattikatā-khyāpanārthaṃ. Dṛstānatortra Yuddhishṭirah. Tadevaṃ Kenduvilva shāshanājjātastasaivonnatikarako yathā sāgarājjātah Chandrah sāgaravṛddhikāraka itya rtha saṃpadyate "

The explanation of this line given by Kavirāja Nārāyana Dāsa of Orissa convincingly proves that the present Kenduli Shāsana near the Prachī river of the Puri district can definitely be identified with the Kenduvilva Shasana of the Gitagovindam, whereas the Kenduli village on the bank of river the Ajaya was never a Shāsana or Brāhmana village in the past or at present.

The interpretation of the word 'Padmāvatī' in the following expressions as given in this Tīkā are quoted below :

(a) Padmāvatī-charaṇa-chāraṇa-chakravartī—Atra Vāgdevatevanena kaveh pāndityaṃ, Padmāvati-charaṇachāraṅetvanena lakshmyā bhaktyātisayena dāridryāpagamah. Avashyaṃ kavinā dāridryopsamāya yataniyaṃ.

(b) Padmāvatī-ramaṇa-Padmāvatī-ramanaschāsau Jayadeva kavischetivigrahah. Etenānyāṅganā vaimukhayaṃ Jayadeva-kavinātmanah pradarshitaṃ.

(c) Vihita-Padmāvatī-sukhasamāje-vihitah Padmāvatyāh nija-preyasyāh sukhasamāja sukhochayo yenetivigrahah.

The verse "Srī Bhojadevaprabhavasya" describing the names of his parents and his friend Parāshara occurs as the last verse of this commentary.

The following seventeen verses explained by Rāṇā Kumbha in his commentary (C. 1450 A. D.) are not found in the Tīkā.

(1) Last verse of the lst canto—Rāsollāsabhareṇa... ... ... Hari pātu vah

(2) Last verse of 2nd canto—Sākutasmita...Nava Keshavah

(3) Last verse of the 3rd canto—Tiryyakkanṭha... ...katākshormayah.

(4) Last verse of the 4th canto—Vṛshṭivyākula... ...Kaṃsadvisah.

(5) Last verse of the 5th canto—Radhāmugdha··········· Devakinandanah.

(6) Last verse of the 6th canto—Kiṃ visrāmyati...garbhāgirah.

(7) Last verse of the 7th canto—'Prātahnīla... Nandātmajah.

(a) Tadevaṃ pashyantyā... ...lajjāṃ janayati

(b) Antarmohana... ...vaṃshiravah

(8) Last verse of the 9th canto—Sāndrānanda...vandāmahe

(9) Last verse of the 10th canto—Sapritiṃ tanutāṃ—kolāhala

(10) Last three verses of the 11th canto—

(a) Sānandaṃ Nandasūnu—mālokayn vah

(b) Jayashrīvinyastai... ...Murajitah.

(c) Saundaryaekanidheh... ...Mukundo mudaṃ

(11) Three verses of the 12th canto—

(a) Vyākoshākeshapashah-mugdhakāntirdhinoti

(b) Ishanmilitadṛshṭi... ...dhayatyānanaṃ

(c) Itthaṃ kelitati··· ··· ···sphitā mudāṃ saṃpadaṃ

All these seventeen verses interpolated in to the original text of the G. G. are not commented in the 'Sarvāṅga Sundarī Tikā' by Kavirāja Narayaṇa Dāsa. Interpolation of a few other verses is also found in some commentaries like 'Vālabodhini' of Shree Chaitanya Dāsa (35) and 'Rasamanjarī' of Mm. Shree Samkara Miśra. It is intended to discuss about this subject of interpolation in a separate chapter.

V

TIPPANIKĀ BY KING MĀNĀNKA

The Tippaṇikā commentary by King Mānāṅka on Shree Gītagovinda edited by Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, M. A. Ph. D. has been published by Lalbhai Dalpat Bhai, Bharatiya Sanskrit Vidyamandir, Ahamadabad. So a brief discussion on the importance of this tīkā is made below.

Mānāṅka who calls himself a king (Mahībhuja) in his gloss on G. G. is quoted by Rāymukuṭa, in his commentary on Amarakosha written in 1431 A. D. So he certainly flourished before this date. Mānāṅka was also the author of works like Vṛndāvana Kāvya relating the life of Kṛshṇa and 'Meghābhyudaya', a highly artificial poem. This date is supported by a fifteenth century Gītagovinda manuscript which contains the tīkā on G. G. by Mānāṅka (36).

The conclusion made by the Editor regarding his place of origin runs as follows :

(1) "Since Mānāṅka cites Sūtras from Kātantra as his authority one might hazard a guess that he possibly hailed from western India or Bengal where the study of Kātantra was much in vogue,—Since Mānāṅka is quoted by a Bengal writer it is more likely that he may have belonged to Bengal" (37).

But the above conclusion made by the learned editor is not tenable because Kātantra was not only studied in Bengal but also in Orissa where hundreds of this work are available. So Orissa may as well claim him as his own on this ground. Similarly it can not be said that he belonged to Bengal on the ground that he has been quoted by a Bengali writer.

If that be case, the famous Viśvanātha Kavirāja of Utkala who has been profusely quoted by Bengal may be called a Bengali which is not a fact. It is better not to hazard any conclusion till authentic material in this matter is available.

Relevant portions from this ṭīkā are quoted below :—

"Om namo Vāsudevāya—

Charānāṃ sthāvarānāṃ cha yena sṛshṭīkṛtā purā,
Sarvajñāya namastasmai Jñanadātre achyutātmane (1)
Kavīnāṃ matamālokya satāmcha sukhavṛddhaye
Kṛtā tippaṇikā mukhyā Mānāṅkena mahibhujā (2)
Prītaye Vāsudevasya sadyah pāpāpanuttye
Gītagovindakaṃ kāvyaṃ Jayadeva chakāra ha (3)"

This last verse of this work is 'Yadgāndharvakalāsu......... The gloss on the following verses found in Rasikapriyā ṭīkā of the G. G. is not given in this ṭīkā i. e.

Sarga 2 last verse—'Sākutasmita'
Sarga 3 last verse—'Tiryakkaṇṭha'
Sarga 5 last verse—'Rādhāmukhāravinda'
Sarga 6 last verse—'Kiṃ visrāmyati'
Sarga 7 last verse—'Prātarnīlanichola'
Sarga 8 last verse—'Antarmohanamauli'
Sarga 9 last verse—'Sāndrānanda Purandara'
Sarga 10 last verse—'Prītiṃ vastanutāṃ'
Sarga 11 (a) 'Jayaśrī vinyastai'
(b) 'Saundaryaekanidheh'
(c) 'Sānandaṃ Nandasūnu'

Sarga 12 (a) 'Paryaṅkīkṛta'
(b) 'Sādhvī mādhvika chintā'
(c) 'Shrī Bhojadeva prabhavasya'
(d) 'Vyākośa-keśa-pāśah'
(e) 'Īshanmilitadṛshṭi'
(f) 'Itthaṃ Kelitati'

This ṭikā being anterior to Rasikapriyā ṭikā by Rānā Kumbha the omission of the gloss over 17 verses is quite significant.

The references made by this commentatoı are few and the number of reference is indicated within brackets against each.

Anekārthah (2) Amarah (18) Kokah (1), Pañchasāyakah (1) Padmapurāṇaṃ (1) Pāṇinīya Vyākaraṇaṃ (1) Bauddhāgamaśāstraṃ (1) Bhāgurih (1) Maharshi Vyāsa (1) Vātsāyana Kāmaśāstram (1) Viśvalochanah (2) Visṭarah (4) Svetāsvetaropanishad (1) Hārāvalī (1)

VI

TĪKĀ ON G. G. BY BRIHASPATI MISHRA RĀYAMUKUTA

Bṛhaspati Miśra Rāya Mukuṭa was a kulīna Brāhmaṇa of Rāḍha and his birth place the Mahanta village stands on the bank of the river Bhāgirathi thirty miles to the south of Mursidabad.

Rāḍhāyāmapi gāḍhanirmalakulachchatraṃ Kulīnāgraṇi,
Yah prāpat praṇatah paraṃ Haripadadvandāravinde cha yah.

(6th introductory verse of Pada Chandrikā)

He was a profound Sanskrit scholar of Bengal and adorned the court of Jalal-uddin Muhammad Shah, Sultan of Bengal (1415-1431 A. D.). The following commentaries written by him have been discovered—

Pada chandrikā on Amarakosha, Raghuvaṃśa-viveka on Raghuvaṃśa, Suvodhinī on Kumārasaṃbhava, 'Nirṇayavṛhaspati'

on Shisupālavadha, Vodhavatī on Meghadūta, Pañjikā on Kāvya-Prakāśa. He was the author of a work on Dharmaśastra called Smṛtiratnahāra. His ṭīkā on Amarakosha was finished in Shaka year 1353 or 1431 A. D. A commentary on the G. G. was also written by this versatile paṇḍita, a manuscript of which containing the ṭīkā of two sargas of the Sarvāṅga sundrī ṭīkā is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (38). Some information has been furnished about this work by Shrī Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya in his Bengali book on Shrī Jayadeva. According to him this ṭīkā does not contain the gloss over the last verse 'Shrī Bhojadeva prabhavasya' and also two other verses 'Miladdṛshṭi' and 'Vyālola keśapāsa' of the twelfth sarga of the G. G. There is a new verse after 'Yadgandharva' which is quoted below :—(39)

"Jaya Shrīkāntasya prasaratarasārasvatavata
Spuradvṛnde Govardhanacharaṇareṇupraṇayinah
Iyaṃ me vaidagdhi smara-tarala māladharasudhā
Rasasyanda svādurjayati Jayadevasya kavitā"

VII

RASIKAPRIYĀ ṬĪKĀ BY RĀNĀ KUMBHAKARNA

The Rasikapriyā commentary on Shrī Gītagovindam written by the famous Mahārāṇā Kumbha Karṇa of Mewar has been published by the Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay (40) along with the Rasamañjarī ṭīkā by Shrī Shaṅkara Miśra. The first three benedictory verses of this ṭīkā contain prayers to Shrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa, Shrī Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa and Harapārvatī respectively. In the fourth verse quoted below the special feature of the ṭīkā has been pointed by the author i. e.

Natvā Mataṅga-Bharata-pramukhān sugita
Saṅgita śāstrānipuṇān Jayadevavācham
Shrī Kumbhakarṇa nṛpati vivrtiṃ tanoti
gānaṃ nidhāya sarasaṃ Rasikapriyāhvāṃ'

In the following eight verses (5-12), the genealogy, and achievements of his fore fathers have been narrated. Then again in the verses 13 to 17 the novelty of this commentary has been stressed i. e.

"Sa Shrīśabhaktipravaṇah pravīṇah saṅgītaśāstravettā
Shrī Gītagovindasaṅgītakasya nayvākṛtimātanoti 13)

Sṛṅgāre saprapañche rasavaharuchirauchityayuktau prakṛshṭe, alaṃkāre Nāyikāyā guṇagaṇagaṇane vardane nāyakasya

Gitau pritau cha vṛtau layamanurasikah kautukam chettademī Doshairmuktā guṇāḍhyāh Shṛṇuta narapateh Kumbha karṇṇasya vāchah (17).'

At the end Rāṇā Kumbha has again proclaimed the superiority of his ṭīkā which has made the divine and mysterious songs of Shrī Jayadeva intelligible to all.

''Suvarṇamuktāphalanirmiteyaṃ
Satsūktimālāsumanahprayuktā
Shrī Kumbhabhūmipatinṛpatyuktā
Shrī Vāsudevārpaṇamastu sākshāt.'

The following epithets used in the colophons of different sargas indicate that Rāṇā Kumbha Karṇa, the illustrious and powerful ruler of Medapāṭa (Mewar), a descendant of the famous hero Hammira resumed the holy tīrtha Gayā from the hands of the Muslims by crippling their power in North India. For his proficiency in science of dance and music he became famous like Bharata, the author of the famous Nātyaśāstra and deserved to be called Abhinava Bharata.

''श्रीमेदपाटसमुद्रसम्भव रोहिणी रमण,
श्रीराजाधिराज हमीरवीरवंशकरीर
प्रतापशोषित अशेष यवन पल्वल,
श्रीगयाविमुक्तिस्थल कल्पित पितृकुल,

विमुक्तिदाता श्रीचित्रकूटाधिपति
अभिनवभरत, यवनीपद्मिनीभानु

VIII

RĀSAMANJARĪ BY MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA SHANKARA MISHRA

The Rāsamañjari commentary on Shrī Gītagovindam by Mahāmahopādhyāya Shrī Shaṅkara Miśra, written under the patronage of Shrī Salinātha has been published with the Rasikapriyā ṭīkā on the G. G. by the Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay.

From the information furnished about him by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, it is known that Shankar Miśra was born in the village Sarisaba, where he built a temple for Durgā, which is still standing. His patron Salinātha was a Brāhmaṇa chieftain of Kasewara near Kāsī (41). He was the author of 'Tarkabhāṣā' and commentaries on 'Vaiśeshika Sūtra' and 'Nyāyasūtra'. His 'Vādivinoda' published by Dr. Jagannātha Jhā is a bhāshya on Nyāyasūtra. His ṭīkā on Vaiśeshika Sūtr is called 'Upaskara'. He also wrote a work called 'Kaṇāda Rahasya.' (42)

V. Varadāchāri writes about him as follows : "Shaṅkara Miśra of the 15th century commented on the Vaiṣeshika Sūtras in the 'Upaskara' and wrote two independent works Kaṇāda rahasya and Vādivinoda." (43)

This ṭīkā which was well known in North India begins with prayer to Ganeśa and Viṣṇu i. e.

'शङ्करजगदम्बिकयोरङ्के पङ्के न खेलन्तं
लम्बोदरमवलम्बे यं वेद न तत्त्वतो वेदः ।
श्यामतामरसदामसुन्दरः
पादपङ्कजनमत पुरन्दरः
वर्द्धमान भवदावपावकः
पातु कोपि वासुदेव श्रावकः ।' (२)

The last verses of the 9th and 11th Sargas of the ṭīkā speak highly of the scholarship of the poet.

"वात्स्यायनादिमतसम्मत मात्र किञ्चि-
दुद्यत्कोश जातमथ शब्दनयप्रमेयम्
यच्चाप्यलंकृति रहस्यमलेखि तच्चा-
म्नाय मूलमिति सन्मतिभिर्विभाव्यम् ॥
(नवमः सर्गः)

"तर्कान्दोलनकर्कशापि सुमतिर्या हावभावान्विता
शृङ्गारादिरसोन्नयादिकुशला सा शङ्करे केवला,
किं शम्भोरपरत्र विश्वविजयो ध्वस्तस्मर द्वेपिता
देहार्द्धीकृत कामिनीप्रणयिता च क्वापि देशान्तरे ।"
(एकादशः सर्गः)

The last verse of the ṭīkā runs as follows :

"एतन्काव्यविवेचन प्रणयिनां यन्संशयोन्मूलनान्
पुण्यं यच्चहरिस्मृतं प्रतिपदव्याख्यासु मे संचितम् ।
तेन प्रीतमनास्तनोतु सततं श्रेयोमम श्रीपतिः
शश्वन्मङ्गलमातनोत्वपि सतां संलापतां शृण्वताम् ।'

Date of the poet—As the date of the ṭīkā is not given any where in its text it has to be fixed with the help of indirect evidence. The date of the copy of the manuscript preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (44) is Samvat 1634 Shrāvaṇa, Shudi 5 Saturday, which corresponds to 20th July 1577 A.D.(45) So Shankara Miśra definitely flourished before 1577 A. D. He very often refers to 'Rasārṇava Sudhākara' of Siṅgabhūpāla, a Reddi prince who lived about 1400 A. D. (46). At one place he has referred to 'Manoramākāra'. (47) If this 'Manoramākāra' is identical with Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita, author of 'Prauḍha Manoramā' and 'Bālamanoramā' (C. 1550—1560 A. D.) then Shaṅkara Miśra flourished after 1560 A. D. But this conclusion is tentative and tenability depends on further authentic evidence.

This gloss of the following sixteen verses given in the Rasikapriyā ṭīkā is not found in the Rasamañjarī ṭīkā which may be taken as interpolations.

प्रथमः	सर्गः ...	रासोल्लासभरेण
द्वितीयः	,,	साकूतस्मित
तृतीयः	,,	तिर्यक्कण्ठ
चतुर्थः	,,	वृष्टिव्याकुलगोकुल
पञ्चमः	,,	राधामुग्धमुखारविन्द
षष्ठः	,,	किं विश्राम्यसि कृष्ण
सप्तमः	,,	प्रातर्नीलनिचोल
अष्टमः	,,	अन्तर्मोहन
नवमः	,,	सान्द्रानन्दपुरन्दर
दशमः	,,	स प्रीतिं तनुतां

एकादश सर्गः...(क) सानन्दं नन्दसूनु
(ख) जवश्रीविन्यस्तैः
(ग) सौन्दर्य्यैकनिधेः

द्वादशः सर्गः...(क) व्यालोलकेशपाश
(ख) ईषन्मीलितदृष्टि
(ग) इत्थ केलिततिः

While explaining the verses 'Vāchah pallavayati' he has clearly stated that only Umāpatidhara was the Minister of Lakshmaṇa Sena i. e. 'Umāpatidhara nāmā Lakshmaṇasenāmātyo' and gives no information about the connection of four others i. e. Jayadeva, Sharaṇa, Govardhana, and Dhoyi with the court of this king. He has emphasised the superiority of the poetry of Jayadeva over that of the four others.

'अतो अन्यकाव्यश्रवणे तथा न सन्तोषो यथा जयदेवकविताश्रवणे अतः तदेव श्रोतव्यमिति भावः ॥"

IX
SRUTIRANJINI TIKA BY LAKSHMANA SURI

The following information about Lakshmaṇa Sena Suri is obationed from the colophons at the end of the sargas of a manu-

script of this ṭīkā of the Gītagovindaṃ preserved in the Orissa State Museum e. g.

"Iti Shrimadakhilavidyāpārāvāra Dakshiṇāmūrti Mahādeva-prasāda - labdha- vidya Purvottaramīmaṃsā-Sabda - Tarka - Sāhitya Sārvabhauma Charakuri Kondu Bhattopādhyāyānunjena Sarvāmbi-kāgarbhashuktimuktāmaṇinā Lakshmaṇa Surinā Shrī Gītagovinda-vyākhyāne."

From the quotation made above it is known that Kondu-bhaṭṭa or Kondobhaṭṭa, the elder brother of Lakshmaṇa Suri and son of Sarvāmbikā was proficient in Purva and Uttara Mīmāṃsā, Shabda, Tarka, Sāhitya. He belonged to Charakuri and was a devout worshipper of Dakshiṇāmūrti Mahādeva (41). Kondabhaṭṭa who was a great Sanskrit scholar lived under the patronage of Venkatapā Nāyaka and his grandson & successor Virabhadra Nāyaka of the Keladi royal family ruling at Ikeri in the Simaga district of Karṇāṭaka. He was the son of Raṅgoji and nephew of the great Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita. The following works were written by Kondabhaṭṭa (1) Tarka-Ratna (2) Tarkapradīpa, (3) Nyāya Padārtha Dīpikā, (4) Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta bhūṣaṇa, (5) Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta bhuṣaṇasāra, (6) Laghu Vaiyākaraṇa siddhanta bhuṣaṇasāra, (7) Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta Dīpikā, (8) Vaiyākaraṇa bhuṣaṇa, (9) Sphotavāda. He as well as his patrons were the disciples of the head of the Sṛngeri maṭha founded by Shrī Śaṅkarāchārya (49).

Lakshmaṇa Suri the younger brother of Kondabhaṭṭa, the author of this commentary lived under the patronage of Tirumal Rāya the king of the reduced territory of Vijayanagara, who ruled after the famous battle of Talikota in 1565 A. D. He is also known as Lakshmīdhara.

X

SRUTIRANJINĪ TĪKĀ BY TIRUMALA RĀYA

The following information about Tirumala Raya is obtained from a manuscript of the Sṛtiranjinī tikā of the Sri Gītagovinda

written in Telgu characters, which is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (50).

That the three brothers Aliya Rāma Rāya, Tirumala Rāya and Venkatādri were the sons of Sri Rangarāja and Timāmvā. From the history of Vijayanagar, it is known that Rāma Rāya, the son-in-law of the famous Kṛshṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar (1509-1529) was killed in the famous battle of Talikota in 1565 A. D. After his death, Tirumala Raya ruled for 15 years over the much reduced territory of Vijayanagara with his head-quarters at Penukonda (51). The authorship of the Sṛtirañjinī ṭikā is attributed to him.

"Soayaṃ Tirumalla Kshauṇipati guḍhārtha saṃgrahaṃ
Sṛnvan mṛdupadaṃ Gītagovindaṃ dhvanimaṇḍitaṃ
Asyārthadīpikāṃ ṭīkāṃ karoti Sṛtiranjiniṃ.
Lokopakārakadvārā Sri Rāmaprītaye prabhoh".
"Na vudhyate vuddhair Gītāgovindasyārthagauravaṃ
Vyākhyānashatakenāpi vihāya Sṛtirañjiniṃ"

The last colophon of this ṭīkā runs as follows :

"Iti Shrīmadakhiladevatāsārvabhauma Raghunāthaprasādalabdhasakala sāmrājya Somānvayābharaṇa Dharani-varāha Ātreyagotrapavitra Sri Rangarāyaputra Tirumallarājavirachitāyāṃ Gītagovindavyākhyāyām Sṛtiranjinīsvyākhyāyāṃ Dvādaśa sargah".

From the colophon and the concluding verse it is known that Tirumal Rāya was a devout worshipper of Ramachandra.

There is close resemblance in the text of the Srutiranjinī Tikā the authorship of which is claimed by both. Lakshmaṇa Suri who was great scholar like his brother was perhaps the real author of the ṭīkā. He also wrote a commentary on 'Prasana Raghavanātakam' of Jayadeva which was dedicated in the name of Siddha Rāja Tima Rāja the nephew of Tirumala Raya. A Prākṛta vyākaraṇa was also wtitten by him. Thus the date of composition of Srutirañjinī may be fixed within 1565-1580 A. D. when Tirmula Raya was the ruler of Vijayanagara.

XI

VĀLAVODHINĪ BY SRĪ CHAITANYA DĀSA

The Valavodhinī commentary on Sri Gitagovindam written by Sri Chaitanya Dāsa was very popular in Bengal for which it has been printed and published by different editors. He was popularly known as 'Pujāri Gosāin' because he spent the last part of his life at Vṛndāvana as the worshipper of Sri Govinda, where he wrote the 'Vālabodhinī' commentary on Sri G. G. and Subodhinī tikā on Kṛshnakarnāmṛtaṃ i. e.

"श्री गोविन्द पदसेवया वृद्धिं गता स्वयं
चैतन्यदासस्य वालबोधिनी स्यात् सतां मुदे ।"
"श्री गोविन्दपादसेवा प्रभावादुदिता स्वयं
टीका चैतन्यदासस्य कृष्णकर्णामृताश्रयाम् ।"

Date of work : As Chaitanya Dāsa has not mentioned the date of composition in the text of the tīkā it is to be fixed with the help of indirect evidence. Chaitanya Dāsa as well as his Guru Bhūgarbha Gosvāmī were prominent figures among the Gauḍīya Vaishnavas of Bṛndāvana, when Kṛshṇa Dāsa Gosvāmī was compiling his famous 'Sri Chaitanya charitāmṛta' in Bengali.

"पंडित गोसाइँर शिष्य भूगर्भ गोसाइँ
गौर कथा विना आर मुखे अन्य नाइँ ।
तार शिष्य गोविन्द पूजक चैतन्य दास ।"
(Ch. Ch. 8th chapter)

According to Dr. T. C. Das gupta Sri C. C. M. was completed in the Saka year 1537 or 1615 A. D. (53) So the date of Valabodhini Tikā which was written at Vṛndāvana may tentatively be fixed near about 1600 A. D. or earlier in the last quarter of the 16th century.

The beginning of this tikā runs as follows :—

"श्री चैतन्यपादपद्‌ममधुमत्तेन केनचित्
टीका संगृह्यते गीतगोविन्दस्य समासतः ।
स्वयं वोद्धुमभिप्रायं जयदेव महामतेः
टीका चैतन्यदासेन ग्रथ्यते वालवोधिनी ।
अत्र व्याकरणादीनां ग्रन्थवाहुल्यभीतितः
विवृति र्न कृता सातु स्यात् ग्रन्थान्तरे बुधैः ।
वक्तव्या वालवोधिन्यां शब्दार्थः शब्दवेदिभिः
भावार्थदीपिकायां च भावा भावार्थलोलुपैः ।"

In some manuscripts of this work the first line runs as follows :—

"Sri Chaitanya kṛpāsindhukaṇonmattena kenachit."

There is difference of opinion regarding the parentage of the poet. According to some scholars he was the brother of Paramānanda Sena Kavikarṇapura, the author of Sri Chaitanya charitāmṛta mahakāvyam writen in 1542 A. D. But Shri Harekrishna Mukhopādhyaya who has made a list of 11 Vaishnava scholars of Bengal bearing the name of Chaitanya Dāsa, has identified the commentator with the Brāhmana Chaitanya Dāsa, son of Vansidāsa Chakravarty a contemporary of Chaitanya Mahāprabhu. It is stated in Bhaktiratnākara that he was highly respected in the great Vaishnava gathering at Khetarī (54).

Review of this tikā-Though a famous Bengali author who does not say anything about their being the poets of the court of Laksmaṇa Sena while interpreting the verse Vāchha. like Kavirāja Nārāyana Dāsa and others the verse is explained as containing disparaging remarks about Umāpati Dhara, Sharaṇa, Govardhana Āchārya and Kavirāja Dhoyi, four notable poets of the age.

The following verses not commented in the Sarvāṅga Sundarī Tīkā are explained in this tikā.

प्रथम सर्ग—(क)' नित्योत्सङ्ग' (ख) 'रासोल्लासभरेण'
द्वितीय सर्ग—'साकूतस्मित' तृतीय—'तिर्यक्कण्ठो'
चतुर्थ सर्ग—'वृष्टिव्याकुल' पञ्चम—'राधामुग्घ'
षष्ठ सर्ग—'किं विश्राम्यति' सप्तम—'प्रातर्नील'
अष्टम सर्ग—(क) तद्देवं पश्यन्त्या' (ख) 'अन्तर्मोहन'
नवम सर्ग—'सान्द्रानन्द' दशम—'प्रीतिं वस्तनुतां'
एकादश सर्ग—'जयश्रीविन्यस्तै' द्वादश—'व्यालोलकेशपाश'

In the 12th sarga the verse 'Paryaṅkikṛta' not explained in the Rasikapriyā is found interpreted in this Tikā. Its last verse is "Sri Bhojadeva" etc.

XII
SĀHITYA RATNAMĀLĀ BY SHESHA KAMALĀKARA

There are three manuscripts of the Sāhitya Ratnamālā tīkā on the Gitagovinda by Shesha Kamalākara in the Manuscripts library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Manuscripts Library, Poona. The introductory and concluding portions of this tīkā are quoted below as they give some information about the author and his work.

Beginning :—

After paying his respects to the Goddess Sarasvatī and gods Shiva, Ganeśa and Murāri (Kṛshṇa) in the first four introductory verses he speaks of his parents and his tikā in the two subsequent verses i. e.

श्रीकृष्णाय नमः

"पदवाक्यप्रमाणेषु प्रतिवादि विनोदिनम्
पितरं मे अनाथाख्यं मह्लाम्बां च नमाम्यहम् ।"

(पंचम श्लोक)

"श्रीगीतगोविन्द समुद्रजानि
सद्भावरत्नानि रसिकसूत्रे,

प्रथ्नाति शेषकमलाकरोऽयं
परीक्षतां तानि विदग्धराजः ।''
(षष्ठ श्लोक)

Concluding portion of the Tikā :—

''यन्नित्यवचनै र्विरश्चिगिरिजाप्राणेश मुख्यै र्मुहुः
नानाकारविचार सारचतुरै र्नाद्यापि निश्चीयते ।
तद्भावै र्जयदेव काव्य X X X X संशोधितैः
राज्य वस्तु चकास्तु चेतसि परं सारस्यसीमाजुषाम् ।'' (१)

''प्रतिप्रस्तुता गहनार्थशास्त्रैः
संवर्धिता सूक्तिकुमारिकेयं
औचित्यतारुण्य भारोल्लसन्ती
कान्तं पतिं प्राप्य यशः प्रसूताम् ।''

"Iti Shesha Kamalākara virachitāyām Gītagovinda-vyākhyāyām Sāhitya Ratnamālāyām Dvādasha Sargah."

From the verses and the colophon quoted above it is known that Kamalākara had the epithet of 'Sesha' like Sesha-Kṛshna, author of Pārijātaharaṇa champū in five chapters and Kaṃsavadha containing some Acts (C. 1600 A. D.) (56). It is quite plausible that both were related to each other though no definite conclusion can be made in this matter at present. Sesha Kamalākara was the son of Malāmvā and Anātha who was proficient in padavākyapramāṇa. No information is available about his date. But the date of copy of one manuscript is Samvat 1636 Pausha māsa Kṛshṇa paksha Pañchamī tithi, Thursday which corresponds to 10th December, 1579 A. D. (57). So the author definitely flourished before this date.

XIII
RASAKADAMBAKALLOLINI BY BHAGAVAT DĀSA

Bhagabat Dāsa, a famous Hindi poet wrote a commentary on the Gitagovinda known as Rasakadambakallolinī. Some information about the author and his tikā is obtained from the concluding portion of the text which is quoted below :—

"प्रकुञ्जभगवज्जनं रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी
प्रफुल्लयतु मोहने भजनतानसम्वर्धिनी
समस्तपटुचातुरी वलित गीतगोविन्दतः
प्रशस्तरसदीपिका मधुरपुञ्जमञ्जुषिका ।"

Sri Vṛndâvaneśvarapriya kṛchcharaṇa pankeruha-makaranda svādanapaṭu-chañcharika-saṁbhāshaṇa-madhvā-ndolana-chapalahṛdayena Srimadbhagavaddāsena Bhagavajjana-paritoshāya virachiteyaṃ Rasakadamva—kallolinī Srimadrasavedibhir Bhagavatpriyaih Ānandasandohasaṃdīpita paramojjvala-rasâvagāhita—manasā aharniśa vichāraṇiya"

"Iti Sri Gītagovindasya Rasakadambakallolinī Tikeyaṃ samâptā."

DATE OF THE WORK—The quotation given above states that he was a great devotee of Vṛndâvaneśvara and it may be presumed that this tīkā was composed at Vṛndâvana like some other commentaries on the Gītagovīnda. The date of this tīkā is not mentioned any where in its text. So it is to be fixed with the help of indirect evidence. The author has referred to Rasāmṛtasindhu or Bhagabadbhakti Rasāmṛta Sindhu written by Sanātana Gosvami in 1542 A. D. and Manoramā or Prauḍḍha Manoramā written by the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita near about 1560 A. D. The latest limit for his date can be fixed in 1628 A. D. as the date of copy of a manuscript of this tīkā preserved in the Manuscripts Library of rhe Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona is Samvat 1684 A. D. 58). So the date of composition of this work may tentatively be fixed between 1580—1600 A. D.

XIV

PADADYOTANIKĀ BY NĀRĀYANA PANDITA

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa or Nārâṇaya Pandita wrote a commentary on Sri Gītagovindam named 'Padadyotanikā' under the patronage of

Bhika Dāsa son of Lakshmī Dāsa. He is called Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in the Poona manuscript (65) whereas in the Asiatic Society manuscript the term Pandita is used in place of Bhaṭṭa. The beginning and closing portion of the text are given below.

Beginning :—

"भद्राय भवतां भूयात् कृष्णः सद्भक्ति भावितः
कालिन्दीजलसंसर्ग मेघश्यामोऽतिसुन्दरः ।"

End :—

"लक्ष्मीदास तनुजेन भिकदासेन धीमता
कारिता गीतगोविन्दटीकेयं सुखदाऽस्तु वः । (2)
भिषदासनियुक्तेन कृष्णपत्यात्मसेविना
नारायणेन सुकृता गीतगौविन्दटिप्पणी । (2)

इति श्रीगीतगोविन्दटीकायां नारायणभट्टकृतायां भीषदासकारितायां पदद्योतनिकायां प्रीतपीताम्बरः नाम द्वादशः सर्गः ।"

The last verse and colophon in the manuscript of the ṭīkā preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal run as follows :—

"लक्ष्मीदास तनुजेन भिखिदासेन धीमता
कारिता गीतगोविन्दटीकेय सुखदाऽस्तु वः ।
भिखिदास नियुक्तेन श्रीकृष्णपद्सेविना
नारायणेनैव कृतं गीतगोविन्दटिप्पणम् ।"

Colophon :—

"टीकायां प्रद्योतनिकायां नारायणपण्डितकृतायां"

The ṭīkā is called "Pradyotanikā" instead of "Padadyotanikā" and the patron of the poet is called Bhikidāsa in place of Bhishadāsa in the Asiatic Society manuscript. No information about the time and native place of Nārāyaṇa Pandita (Bhaṭṭa) and his patron Bhisha Dāsa or Bhikhi Dāsa and his father Lakshmī Dāsa is available from the text of the ṭīkā. The manuscript No. 192 in the Bhandarkar

Oriental Research Institute bears a date of copy which is quoted below :—

"Hyashṭa-tattva-Kalā pramitebde suklatayāsye Guru Dāsa" māyām chareti vatikā-nagaryāṃ Maukandih Pushkara vyalikhat" which has been taken as Samvat 1634. But the chronogram denotes Ashṭa (8) tattva (7) Kalā (16) = 1678 Samvat or 1621 A. D.

There was famous Pandita named Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in Kerala about this time who wrote 'Nārāyaṇīya' in praise of Krishna in 1585 A. D. He was also the author of other works namely Pāñchālī Svayamvara Champū, Prakriyā sarvasva (61). His 'Nārāyaṇīya' is held in great veneration in Kerala and used for daily recitation. The commentator Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa may tentatively be identified with this poet.

XV

SANJIVANĪ TĪKĀ OR GĪTAGOVINDAVIVRUTI BY VANAMĀLI BHATTA

Vanamāli Bhaṭṭa, son of Siva Dāsa wrote a commentary on Shrī Gītagovinda which is known as Sanjivanī or Gītagovindavivṛti manuscripts of which are preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (62). The relevant introductory and concluding portions of this tīkā are quoted below :—

"Sri Gaṇesāya namah. Sri Rādhāvara Giridharachandra jayati"

Begining :—

"स्थिराणां जङ्गमानांच येन सृष्टिर्निरूपिता
सर्वेशाय नमस्तस्मै कृष्णाय जगदात्मने । (1)
भूयात् भद्राय भवतां कृष्णः कमललोचनः
कालिन्दीकेलिसंहृष्टो मेघश्यामोऽतिसुन्दरः । (2)
लीलाद्वनादिशं सिन्धो गिरिचन्द्रविहारिणः
जयदेवद्विजद्वारा चतुरेषु प्रकाशिता । (3)

श्रीमद्‌गिरिवराधीशं वृन्दारण्यपुरन्दरं
कृष्णचन्द्रं प्रपद्येऽहं भक्तोनुग्रहकारकम् । (4)
श्रीकृष्णदेवकरुणा प्रतिलब्धविद्यः
श्रीविठलेश कृपयाप्त किशोरभक्तिः
गोविन्दगीतविवृतिं वनमालीनामा
भट्टः तनोति सुकृतिः शिवदासानुजः ।"

End :—

"टीकासप्तमालोक्य सारं सारं समुद्धृतम्
तत्रापि सुवलितं किञ्चित् क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति सूरयः, (1)
शिवदास तनुजेन भट्टेन वनमालिना
गीतगोविन्दटीकेयं रचिता शुभदाऽस्तु वः । (2)
वैशाखकृष्णपक्षैकादश्यां शुभमङ्गले
वाराणस्यां कृता टीका भट्टेन वनमालिना । (3)
काश्यां नरोत्तमगृहमध्ये माधवशर्वयोः
रचिता गीतगोविन्दटीकेयं वनमालिना । (5)
कलिन्दजातीरविहारशीलं
गोपाङ्गनानां नयनाभिरामं,
वंशीस्वनैर्मोहितमारकोटिं
वन्दे सदा तं वृषभानुजारतम् ।" (5)

"इति श्रीमत् कृष्णचन्द्रसेवको दीच्यावतंस श्रीशिवदासात्मज श्रीवनमाली भट्ट विरचितायां वनमालीसंजीवन्यां"

In the Poona manuscript we find "Sivadāsa panditātmaja" in place of "Sivadāsātmaja"

From the quotation made from the text of the tīkā it is known that Vanamālī Bhaṭṭa son of Pandita Siva Dāsa, a prominent figure from the South, wrote this Sanjivanī tīkā while staying at Kāsī in the residence of Narottama, standing between Mādhava and Sarba (Viśveśvara). This Narottama is perhaps identical with Narottama Thākur, a famous Vaishṇava preacher of Bengal of the last quarter

of the 16th century, who lived at Vṛndāvana for some time. Similarly Viṭṭhaleśa mentioned in an intorductory verse may be identified with Viṭṭhalanāthajī son of Vallabhāchārya (1479—1531) who was an eminent Vaishṇava preacher of the age and lived at Vṛndāvana for more than half a century till his death in 1585 A. D. Vanāmāli, who was a disciple of Viṭṭhala flourished in the last quarter of the 16th century.

PADABHĀVĀRTHA CHANDRIKĀ BY SRIKĀNTA MISHRA

There are two incomplete manuscripts of 'Padabhāvārtha Chandrikā ṭikā' by Srikānta Miśra in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (63). It begins thus :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

"भद्राय भवतां रूपं कृष्णसद्भावभाविताः

कालिन्दीजलसंसर्गं मेघश्यामोऽतिसुन्दरः ।"

X X X X

'Iti Shrī Gītagovinda ṭīkāyāṃ Miśrakānta

Virachitāyāṃ padabhāvārthachandrikāyāṃ"

Rājā Rājendralāl Mitra examined the manuscripts of this ṭīkā in the Rāghava Dāsa Maṭha at Puri (64) the introductory and concluding portions from which are quoted below :

Beginning—

"Samasta Rāsasundarīvilāsa rasamaṇḍitah
Karotu bhāvukaṃ madhau Manojamānahā Harih (1)
Gītagovindaṭīkāyām Padabhāvārthachandrikā,
Mahadājñākṛtārambha sāhaseti vitanyate (2)
Nodāharanti viśadāh Suratānikasāgaraṃ
Iti Shri Paramānanda rativarṇanamiryate. (3)

END:--

"Etatkāvyavivechanapraṇayināṃ yatsaṃsayonmulanā
Puṇya yachcha Harismṛteh pratipada vyākhyā sume sanchitaṃ

Tena prītamanāstanotu satataṃ śreyo mama Shrīpatih
Sasvanmaṅgalmātanotvapi satāṃ saṅgāyatāṃ sṛnvatāṃ.

Iti ShrīGītagovinda ṭīkāyām Miśra Shrīkāntavirachitāyāṃ
Padabhāvārthachandrikāyāṃ Dvādasa sargah"

In this connection the attention of the scholars is drawn to the close resemblance marked in one of the maṅgalācharaṇa verse of these three commentaries. :

(1) Padadyotanikā by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa -:
"Bhadrāya bhavatām bhuyāt Kṛṣṇa : sadbhaktibhāvitah
Kālindījalasaṃsrga meghasayāmo atisundarah"

(2) Saṃjīvanīṭīkā by Vanamāli Bhaṭṭa :-
"Bhuyāt bhadrāya bhavatāṃ Kṛṣṇa : Kamalalochanah
Kālindī-kelisaṃsṛṣṭo meghasyāmoatisundarh"

(3) Padabhāvārthachandrikā of Shrīkānta Miśra :-
"Bhadrāya bhavatāṃ rūpaṃ Kṛṣṇa : sadbhāvabhāvitah
Kālindī–jalasaṃsarga meghasyāmo atisundarah"

The reason of finding the same verse with slight variation in the commentaries by three authors cannot be treated as accidental. Similarly the last verse of Rasamañjarī ṭīkā by Shaṇkara Miśra i. e. "Etat kāvya vivechanaṃ" has been copied in toto in the ṭīkā by Shrīkānta Miśra. In this connection the opinion of Sir Charles Wilkins may be profitably quoted here :—

"As regards the commentary itself, it is practically indentical with Shaṅkara Miśra's Rasamañjarī, the difference between them being as commonly occurs between two manuscripts of the same work other than between two different works unless the authors' names are merely intended as variations of the same name, one of the two commentators has palmed off the other's work as his own' (65)

Time of the author—The plagiriasm pointed out above indicates that Shrīkānta Miśra was posterior to Shaṅkara Miśra who

flourished near about 1560 A. D. Shrī Raṅgnātha Arade in his Mādhurī ṭīkā on the Gītagovindaṃ speaks highly of Shrīkānta Miśra i. e.

"Santyeva ramyarachanā visadāscha ṭīkāh
Shrīkānta Miśrasurivarapraṇitāh"

The time of Raṅganātha Arade being about 1700 A. D. Shrīkānta Miśra who is respectfully referred to by him may tentatively be placed in the seventeenth century.

XVI
MĀDHURĪ TĪKĀ BY SHRĪ RANGANĀTHA ARADE

The quotation made below from the manuscript of the 'Mādhurī Tīkā' by Raṅganātha Arade, preserved in library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal (67) gives information about the ṭīkā and its author.

Beginning :—

नामं नामं द्विरदवदनं वारितोद्दामविघ्नं
स्मारं स्मारं सरसरचनां सारुदां सारदां तां,
ध्यायं ध्यायं गुरुपदयुगं गीतगोविन्दटीकां
माधुर्याख्यामतिमितपदां रङ्गनाथो विधत्ते ॥ (१)

X X X

"सन्त्येव रम्यरचना विशदाश्च टीकाः
श्रीकान्तमिश्रमुखसूरिवर प्रणीताः,
मच्चापलन्तु कलिकलुषहारिराधा-
गोविन्दसद्गुणकथा सुमनोऽनुवृत्त्यै ।" (५)
"नेह व्याकृत्यलङ्कारो न कोशो नापि योजना
तथापि हरिलीलेति प्रेम्णेवाद्रियतां बुधैः ॥"

END: —

"अरदोपाह्वनारायणप्राप्तसज्जन्मना रङ्गनाथेन भक्त्या कृता कृष्णलीलारसप्रेमभाजां सतां गीतगोविन्दमाधुर्यमसौ स्यात् मुदे ।' (५)

Last colophon—

इति श्रीमद्वेदान्तिमहादेवीयेन श्रीकृष्णचरणारविन्दस्मरणशरणेन अरोदोपाख्य नारायणसूनुना रङ्गनाथेन रचितायां जयदेव महाकविप्रणीतश्रीगीतगोविन्दाभिधसत्काव्य-टीकायां माधुरीसमाख्यायां द्वादशः सर्गः ।

Date of the copy of manuscripts—Jyeshṭha Kṛṣṇachaturdaśyāṃ 14 Guruvâsare Vṛṣabhānu nāma saṃvatsare 1810.

Dr. P. K. Gode has made discussion about some authors of the Arade family (68) from which it is known that Raṅganātha Arade a noted Brāhmaṇa scholar of Mahārāstra was the author of another work called 'Dasakumāracharita pūrvapiṭhikāsāra'.

The genealogy found in the Mādhurī Tikā.

Vedantī Mahādeva (1675-1725)
|
Nārāyaṇa
|
Raṅganātha

From the expressions 'Nārāyaṇaprāptasajjanmanā Raṅganāthena,' 'Nārāyaṇasūnunā Raṅganāthena' it is clear that Raṅganātha was the son of Nārāyaṇa and grandson of Vedanti Mahādeva.

So the genealogy of the author may be drawn as given above.

Date of the author—The date of copy of the manuscript being 1753 A. D. he definitely flourished before that date. His grandfather Mahādeva's time being (1675-1725) Raṅganātha may safely be placed in the first part of the eighteenth century.

XVII

RASATARANGINĪ BY NĀRĀYANA BHATTA

There is a manuscript of 'Rasataraṅgiṇī ṭīkā' on Shrī Gītagovindaṃ by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in the library of the Indian office (69) written in Devanāgarī characters from which the following quotation is made.

Beginning—

ॐ श्रीराधाकृष्णौ जयतः ।

"सकलरसविभातां कुञ्जकेलिप्रभातां
रसितरसिककृष्णां राधिकां कृष्णराध्यां,
अखिलरसरसज्ञां लम्बितश्रीपदाब्जां
व्रजयुवतिषु रम्यां श्रीकिशोरीं नमामि ।" (१)

"नत्वा श्रीकृष्ण..............रसतरङ्गिणीम् ।'

"इति श्रीगीतगोविन्दटीकायां श्रीनारायणभट्टविरचितायां रसतरङ्गिण्यां सुप्रीत-पीताम्बरो नाम द्वादशः सर्गः ।"

"श्रीराधिके तव कृपा परमा यदि स्यात्
वृन्दावने वसति X X तीर्थे,
श्रीकृष्णपदपङ्कजसेविना मे
नित्यं विलासकथने रतिरस्तु सुज्ञे ॥" (1)

From the quotation made above it is known that the Rasataraṅgiṇī commentary on Shrī Gītagovindaṃ was written by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa a devotee of Shrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa while he was residing at Vṛndāvana. As the temples at Vṛdāvana were destroyed by Aurangzeb, the author may tentatively be placed before 1660 A. D.

XVIII
GANGĀ TĪKĀ BY MAITHILA KRISHNA DUTTA

The famous Maithila author Kṛṣṇa Dutta, son of Bhaveśa and Bhāgavatī wrote a commentary on Shrī Gītagovindaṃ named Gaṅgā each 'pada' of which could be interpreted as applying to Shiva on the one hand and Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) on the other.

"Gamayati padameshā Vaiṣṇavaṃ Sāmbhavaṃ vā"

Relevant portion of a manuscript of this ṭīkā examined by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal is reproduced below in view of the information furnished by it about the author and his work.

Beginning—

ॐ नमोः गणेशाय ॥

"प्रीतिं वः परमेश्वरः परहितः प्रीतिप्रसन्नपरा
माधत्तां घनसारसुन्दरतरः श्रीकस्य सा राधिका,
गौरीभूषणभूषणीयपदतामन्योन्य शोभार्पणा
द्वैक्षरं प्रतिमासिताश्मघटिता प्राप्नोति यस्याङ्कगा।

"घनसमयनिवद्धा विलस्वेऽपि पुण्यं
प्रथयति रसच्छन्दं भङ्गिभिर्विस्फुरन्तो,
गमयति पदमेषा वैष्णवं शाम्भवं वा
जयति जयति गङ्गा गीतगोविन्दटीका ॥" (२)

"शैवं नान्द्रियते सुधीरपिमतं प्रायोऽधुना वैष्णवः
शैवोनैव च वैष्णवं निजनिज सद्वासनावासितः,
मन्योर्थं मधुसूदनोऽपि मुरज्जित्पक्षे महिम्ना स्तुतिं
व्याचक्षे जयदेव सूक्तिमपि तां शैवपथे योजये ॥"

"अस्यार्थं जयदेवपण्डितकवेर्वाणीपवित्रामृतः
प्रव्यक्ते परिशीलिताच्युतपदश्लाघ्या बुधैः सर्वदा,
संप्रत्यद्भुतयोजनाभिवलिना भक्त्याशिवे सङ्गतिः
नीता पद्मभुवः कमण्डलुपयोधरेव किं कथ्यताम् ।"

END—

'देशानां मौलिरत्नं विभवति मिथिला कौशिकी जन्हुकन्या
गण्डक्यण्ड्रपादस्थिररुचिरतरः सीमकीर्त्तिः प्रशस्तिः।
श्रीविद्यापुण्यसिद्धिश्रियामवदधति श्रीनदी वागमती च
स्वाङ्कस्यायवसाभिजनभवतया मिथिलाः स्म प्रसिद्धाः ॥"

"माता पुण्ययशस्वती भगवती देवी भवेशपिता
सन्तोपस्य पुरन्दरः कुलपतिः श्रीमान् श्रीकण्ठात्मजः,
तेन मैथिलकृष्णदत्तकविना तेनेह गङ्गाभिधा
टीकाया लहरी समाप्तिमगमन् तस्यामियं द्वादशी।

COLOPHON—'Iti Shrī Bhagavatī - Bhaveśasambhava Shrī Kṛṣṇa Dattakṛtəyām Shrī Gītagovinda vyākhyāyāṃ Sri Gaṅgākhyāyāṃ' Dvādaśi laharī' Sakābdah — 1531.

According to tradition Kṛṣṇna Dutta got as gift a sum of ten thousand rupees, a village, one elephant and a Sālagrām by pleasing a ruler of Nepal by his scholarship. The name of the gigfted village is Pancharaha. The descendants of Kṛṣṇa Dutta are still living in the village Hatarah in the District of Darabhanga in North Bihar. The date of copy of the manuscript being Shaka year 1531 or 1609 A. D. Kṛṣṇa Dutta definitely flourished before that date.

XIX

SHASHILEKHĀ TĪKĀ BY MAITHILA KRUSHNA DUTTA

This commentary like the Gaṅgā commentary by the same author Kṛṣṇa Dutta was an attempt to interprete the text of the Gītagovindam both in favour of Kṛṣṇa and Shiva. The maṅgalācharaṇa verse of both the commentaries is the same Then come the following two verses.

"विशदति शिवपक्षां गीतगोविन्दटीकां
रचयति शशिलेखां मैथिलः कृष्णदत्तः ।
इह नवविधा टीका व्यञ्जित कृष्णपक्षो
विवार्त्त उभयपक्षैकाभिधेयं पदं वा ।
दोषान्विर्ताप कुटिलापि विमार्गगापि
शुद्धास्पदं शिवपदं कथमप्यत्रापा ।
केषां विशेष विदुषामपि मोदमशेषा—
मध्यासन्ति स्फुटपदा भुवि चन्द्रलेखा ॥"

The next two verses 'Shaivaṃ' and 'Asyārthe' are found in this ṭīkā with slight variation. At the end of this ṭīkā the following new verses are found.

"गौरश्यामकमले वरं श्यामगौरपटशोभि
जयति किशोरयुगं मिथोमिलितमिवातिविलोभि ।
जयति शिवारुणनिलया दृष्ट्या यामृतशाली वा
पीठं हृदं तदुतेप्सितं नीललोहितमती वा ।
कनकरजतरुचिरवरशुचि रसशुचित ललाम
जयति युग जगदेकगुरु गुरुगणमङ्गलधाम ॥"

COLOPHON—"Iti Maithila Kṛṣṇa Dattavirachitāyāṃ Shrī Shaśilekhākhyāyāṃ Shrī Gītagovindasya Shrī Shivapakshavyākhyāyām Dvādasah sargah (71).

Of all the commentators so far known, only Maithila Kṛṣṇa Dutta had to his credit the authorship of two commentaries on the Gītagovinda which could be interpreted in two ways one denoting Kṛṣṇa and the other Shiva. This not only shows the mastery of the author over she Sanskrit language. but also his ardent desire to propound the dignity of his faith in Saivism through the medium of Shrī Gītagovinda, which is deemed as the greatest Gita Kāvya on the the līlā of Shrī Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

XX
SARVĀNGASUNDARI BY DHANANJAYA DVIJA

Like the Sarvāṅgasundarī ṭīkā by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, this Sarvāṅgasundarī ṭīkā by Dhanañjay Dvija was also very popular in Orissa as manuscripts of this are found from several places. But this ṭīkā which follows the interpretation given by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa is more elaborate and exhaustive and the number of authorites quoted in this is copious as given below :—

Authorities— Amara-57, Amaruka-1, Ākhyāta-chandrikā-1, Āgam-2, Āyurvedīyasāra-1, Utpalamālinī-1, Utpalinī-4, Ekākshara Koṣa-1, Kaliṅgarāja (Koṣakāra)-1, Kāmandaka-1, Kālidāsa-6, Kāvyaprakāśa-4, Kāvyādarśa-2, Kichaka-1, Kumārasambhava-1, Kumudākara (Koṣa)-20, Kumbhakarṇa (commentator)-1, Gāndharvaviveka-1, Govindābhyudaya (one verse from it has been quoted)-1,

Chandragomi-1, Vyākaraṇa), Chāndravyākaraṇa-1, Trikāṇḍa-1, Triliṅgādhikāra-1, Daṇḍi-7, Dvirūpakosha-1, Dharaṇī-3, Dhṛtıdāsa (ṭikākāra)-1, Dhvanīkāra-3, Nātyalochana-1, Mamaṭa-1, Padasāgara(kosa)-4, Bandhyagatīya ṭīkā-1, Bauddhāgama-1, Bharata-1, Madyalochana-1, Mahābhārata-2, Mahimāchārya-2 Māgha-3, Medinī-35, Yādava-1, Yogārṇava-1, Raghu-1, Ratirahasya-1., Ratisāgara-3, Rudra-1. Rudraṭa-3, Lilāravinda-1, Vāmanāchārya-1, Vātsyāyana-1, Vindhyavāsi-1, Visva-32, Vishnupurāṇa-1, Vyaktiviveka-5, Vaishṇavaparyāyāvali-1, Saṃkarāchārya's Bhagavadgītā bhāshya.1, Shabdārṇava-1, Sāśvata-2, Srīnivāsa-1, Sṛṅgāratilaka-2, Sṛngāraprakāsa-1, Sṛngāra sarvasva-2, Sarasvatī Kanṭhābharaṇa-2, Saṇsārāvarta-1, Sarvānanda-1, Subandhu-1, Haṭachandra(Koshakāra) 11, Harivaṃsha-1, Hārāvalī-1, Hemamamalī-2.

Importance of this commentary :—According to a traditional verse current in Orissa, the original Gītagovinda contained 12 sargas, 24 gāthās or songs and 72 slokas or verses. Dhananjaya has given the gloss of 75 verses in his work and the order of the verses has been changed.

The following 17 verses commented upon in the Rasikapriyā ṭīkā have been omitted in this ṭīkā.

Sarga	1	'Rasollāsa'
Do.	2	'Sākutasmita'
Do.	3	Tīryakkanṭha
Do.	4	Vṛshṭivyākula
Do.	5	Rādhāmugdha
Do.	6	Kiṃ viśrāmyasi
Do.	7	Prātah nīlanichola
Do.	8	Antarmohana
Do.	9	Sāndrānanda
Do.	10	Sa pritiṃ tanutāṃ
Do.	11	(a) Sānanda Nandasūnu
		(b) Jayaśṛivinyastai
		(c) Saundaryaikanidhe

Sarga 12 (a) Vyākosa keśapāśa
(b) Ishanmīlita
(c) Sri Bhojadeva prabhavasya
(d) Ittham Kelitati

Beginning :—

Vasānaṃ Nīlavasanaṃ Kundendu-dhavala Valaṃ
Ahaṃ Karīndra-pārīndraṃ vande vṛndārakastutaṃ (1)
Āste hṛdi yadi vānchchā boddhituṃ tattvena Gītagovindaṃ
Sṛṇu janaramyāmetāṃ Sarvāṅgasundarītīkāṃ" (2)

Last verse

"Vīrendrasya Mukundasindhurapatyerdīnekavandhornava—
Ttiṃśāṅke pratipattithau gurudine kanyāṃ gate Bhāskare
Tīkāṃ puttalikānvitaṃ vilikhitāṃ Sri Gītagovindakaṃ
Kāvyaṃ chāru Dhananjayākhya dharaṇīdevena pakshe site"(72

The verse quoted above states that this tīkā was written by Dhanañjaya, a Brāhmaṇa Pandita in the 36 Anka year of Gajapati Mukunda Deva on Thursday, Kanya, Kṛshṇa, Pratipat tithi. The 39th Anka of Mukunda Deva, who was the first king bearing this name in the Bhoi dynasty ruling over the Khurda territory was current from the 28th August, 1688 A. D. (73) The author Dhanañjaya most probably belonged to Orissa. No further information about him is available.

XXI
SARVĀNGASUNDARI BY KRISHNADĀSA KAVIRĀJA

There is a manuscript of Sarvāṅgasundarī tīkā by Kṛshṇa Dāsa Kavirāja written in Oriya characters in the library of the Orissa State Museum. This tīkā begins with a prayer to Hari, i. e.

"Natvā Sri Haricharaṇaṃ kurute Sarvāṅgasundarī tīkāṃ
Sriyukta Kṛshṇa dāsah Kavirajo Gītagovinde"

In the colophon of the first sarga of this tīkā it is also called "Sarvaṅkasha" i. e. "Iti Sri Kṛshnadāsavirachitāyām Sarvaṇkashākhyāyāṃ Gītagovinda tikāyāṃ".

The last verse of the tīkā runs as follows :···

"Jyeṣṭhe māsi site Budhasya divase pakshe chatruthī tithā
vaṅke saptadaśe nṛpasya sudhiyā Sri Divyasimhasya cha.
Iti Srti Kṛshṇadāsa virachitāyāṃ Srı Gītagovinda--
Sarvāṅgasundarī tīkāyāṃ Svādhīnabharttṛkā-
varṇane Supritapītāmvaro nāma Dvādasah sargah."

From the last verse quoted above, it is known that this tīkā was finished on Jyeshṭha Shukla Chaṭurthī, Wednesday in the 17th Aṅka year of Gajapati Divyasiṃha Deva, Rājā of Khurda. His 17th Aṅka was current from 2-9-1701 to 23-8-1702 A. D. (74)

This Kṛshṇa Dāsa who flourished during the reign of Gajapati Divyasiṃha Deva of the Khurda territory cannot be confused with the famous Kṛshṇa Dāsa Kavirāja Gosvāmi of Bengal of the 16th century A. D. He most probably flourished in Orissa. No further information is available about him at present.

XXII

SARBĀNGASUNDARĪ TIKĀ BY NĀRĀYANA SHARMĀ

The Sarvāngasundarī Tīkā by Nārāyaṇa Sharmā was first noticed by Rāja Rajendralal Mitra, the manuscript of which written in Bengali characters was discovered from Nayahati in Bengal. Relevant portion from this is quoted below.

"प्रणम्य जगतामीशं कृष्णरूपसनातनम्
क्रियते गीतगोविन्दटीका सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी ।"

Last verse of the Tīkā is "Yat gāndharava kalāsu"

Colophon :—इति श्रीगीतगोविन्दमहाकाव्ये स्वाधीनभर्त्तृका वर्णने सुप्रीतपीताम्बरो नाम द्वादशः सर्गः । (1) समाप्तोऽय ग्रन्थः, शकाब्द १६५०".

"खवाण ऋतुचन्द्रे च शके परिमिते मया
लिखिता जयदेवस्य टिप्पणीय प्रयत्नतः।
प्रणम्य भारती देवीं श्री नारायणशर्मणा
लिखिता शब्दशास्त्रस्य सम्मता शोधिता सुरैः॥"
ख (O) वाण (5) ऋतु 6) चन्द्र (1)

The date of composition being Saka year 1650 or 1728 A. D. it was the fourth or the last commentary bearing the name 'Sarvāṅga-sundarī' which was very popular in Orissa, because the first one by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa was simple, concise and easily intelligible.

XXIII

ARTHA RATNĀVALĪ BY GOPĀLA CHAKRAVARTĪ

A manuscript of the ṭīkā called Artha Ratnāvalī on Sri Gītagovindam by Gopāla Chakravartī first noticed by R. L. Mitra is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from which relevant portions are quoted below :

Beginning :—

तद्वक्त्रद्युतिनिर्जिता शशधरमालिन्य मङ्कितो
मन्द मूलेति भाविनीधिया व्रीडागतो दृश्यताम्।
इति चाटुकथासु दत्तहृदया मालिंग्य राधां चिरं
चुम्बन् प्रेमरसवशां हरिरसौ पायादपायान्मुदः॥"
"विलोक्यानेकशास्त्राणि विचार्य्य निपुण मुहुः
गोपालः कुरुते टीकां अर्थरत्नावलीमिमाम्।
गीतगोविन्दकाव्याब्धौ स्फुरन्ति कतिनो रसाः
कथ तान् कलये सर्वान् मदीयाबुद्धिरालेपका॥"

End :—आसीत् वन्द्यकुलोज्ज्वलगयघडि धीमान् हिरण्याभिधः। तत्सूनुः शिव इत्यभूत् शिवसूतो ज्ञानाह्व योऽभूत् ततः। दुर्गादास इति प्रमोदवसति स्तस्याङ्गजो यः कृती। गोपालः किल तेन निर्मल-

धिया टीका कृतेयं मुदा।" "नवाङ्कबाणेन्दुमिते शकाब्दे मासे मधौ चण्डकरस्य वारे। टीकामिमां रूपवतीतनुजो गोपालशर्मा व्यतनोत् समग्राम्।"

Colophon :—"इति श्री गयघड बन्द्यघट्टीयकुलप्रसूत श्रीगोपालचक्रवर्त्ती विरचितायां गीतगोविन्दटीकायामर्थरत्नावल्यां द्वादशसर्ग विवरणम्।" (76)

The quotation made above states that Gopāla Chakravartī, the gem of the Vandhyagbaṭīkula of Gayaghaḍa wrote the Artharatnāvalī ṭikā on Sri Gītagovindaṃ in Nava (9), Anka (9), Vāṇa (5), Indu (1), 1599 Saka year or 1677 A. D. He also wrote a commentary on Bhāgavata called 'Bhāgavata Vyākhyāleśa' (77).

XXIV

SARVĀRTHABODHINĪ BY GOPĀLA

Towards the end of a manuscript of 'Sāhitya Ratnamālā' by Sesha Kamalākara preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, the closing portion of a ṭikā on Sri Gītagovinda named 'Sarvārthabodhinī' is found which is quoted below :—

"श्रीमान् महीश नृपविक्रमयोगा सम्वत् भू-अश्विमातृशशि संहृति संप्रवृत्ते। शालीवाहनधरेश शकरसाहि वाणसितकिरणेषु विवर्त्तितेषु। उष्मांशुमण्डलागस्त्य ममाश्रित संगच्छति समुदिते शरदत्ययाये। अनिलपक्षयुजि च्चोजुर्भिधेऽथ मासि द्वादश्यात्युत्तम तिथाविति प्रयुक्ते।" (2) श्रीभानुजविलसदम्बु समावगाह सम्भृतपुण्य चय शोभितकायकान्तिः। ज्योतिज्ञा भूपशुकदेवाभिधाशकास्ते कामातुरी कृता सामाश्रयेण द्विजन्मा। तस्यात्मजेन पितृभक्तिपरेण नित्यम् गोपालनामा सयुजा विनयेन तेन। सर्वार्थबोधिनीयुक्ता समलेखि टीका।"

"श्रीगीतगोविन्दाभिधस्य प्रबन्धस्य लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भवत्युत्तरकर्माणि न विघ्नं च। सं १७२१ स १५८५ पृदक्षिणायनगते श्रीसूर्ये हेमन्त कार्त्तिक १२ शुक्ल (78)

From the quotation made above it is known that a Brāhmaṇa scholar named Gopāla son of Jyotishañja Sukadeva and Kāmāturī living on the bank of the Jamunā wrote the Sarvārthabodhinī Ṭīkā on Srī Gītagovindaṃ in Vikram Samvat Bhū (1), Asvi (2), Mātṛ (7)

and Sasī (1) or 1721 and Sālivāhana Saka Rasa (6), Adri (8), Bāṇa (5) Sitakiraṇa (1) or 1586 both corresponding to 1664 A. D. The tithi and day were Hemanta Ritu, Kārtika māsa, Kṛshṇa Dvādasī, Sukravāra.

No further information is available about him from any other source.

XXV

ANUPODAYA BY ANUPA SIMHA

The name of this tīkā is known from a verse of it reproduced below :—(79)

"Atha Srī Jayadeviya padabhāvārthavodhakaṃ
Bhupānupa vinodārthaṃ Anūpodaya mārave" (79)

'Anūpādaya tīkā' on Srī Gītagovindaṃ was written to please Anupa Simha, the Raṭhor Rāṇā of Ex-Bikanir State in Rājastana who ascended the throne in 1674 A. D. after the death of his father Karṇa Sinha. Anupa was himself a man of letters and patron of poets and scholars. So this tīkā written during his reign may be placed near about 1674 A. D.

According to Krishnamāchāri, Bhāva Bhaṭṭa at the instance of his patron Anupa Sinha wrote this Gītagovinda commentary. This Bhāva Bhaṭṭa was a profound Sanskrit scholar and proficient in the science of music. He is known as the author of following works : (80)

(1) Anūpasaṃgīta ratnākara
(2) Anūpa saṃgīta varttamāna
(3) Anūpa saṃgīta vilāsa
(4) Anūpa saṃgītānkura
(5) Anūpa rāgasāgara

XXVI

GITAGOVINDA TIPPANA BY CHIDANANDA BHIKSHU

The following quotation made from a manuscript preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona indicates that a

'Bhikshu' or Sannyāsī, Chidānanda by name wrote ṭippaṇa on Srī Gītagovindaṃ. (81)

"Yanmūrtidhyānagamyā śṛutiniyatapathā yogivṛndairamandai
ryadvākyaṃ vedahṛdaṃ śvacitanijapadaṃ mānabhutaṃ vidhātuh
Yatkāryaṃ viśvasṛshṭi-sthiti-layanilayaṃ viśvatoyannivāsa
Yannāmāmaṅgalaghnaṃ jayati yuvatitah Kṛshṇa Gopālavālah (1)

Antaryatrāniyuktena Chidānandena bhikshuṇā,
Rachitaṃ Kṛshṇatushṭyarthaṃ Gitagovindaṭippaṇaṃ (2)
Prīṇātu Bhagvāmstena visvarupo Jagatpatih
Hṛshikeśa vrajavāsa Gopīmaṇḍalamaṇḍanah. (3)

Colophon :—

"Iti Sri Gītagovindaṭikāyāṃ Dvādaśasargaṭippaṇaṃ samāptimagamat."

"Sri Kṛshṇārpaṇa mastu. Saka 179 (0)"

XXVII

MĀDHURĪ TĪKĀ BY RĀMA TARKACHUDĀMANĪ

From the maṅgalācharaṇa and last colophon quoted by Rājā R. L. Mitra and reproduced below it is known that one Rāma Tarkachūḍāmaṇi wrote a ṭīkā named Mādhurī on Sri Gītagovindam i. e.

Beginning :—

"Navīnanīradasyāmaṃ Govindaṃ Nandanandanaṃ
Praṇamya kriyate ṭīkā Gītagovindamādhurī."

Colophon :—

"Iti Sri Rāmatārkachūḍāmaṇi kṛtāyāṃ Gītagovinda-Mādhuryāṃ ṭīkāyaṃ dvādasah sargah". (82)

The author most probably belonged to Bengal about whom no other information is available.

XXVIII

GĪTAGOVINDA PRABODHA BY RAMĀKĀNTA

A manuscript of 'Gīta Govindaprabodha' discoverad from Dacca in Bengal was first noticed by Rājā R. L. Mitra. The intro-

ductory and concluding portions of this tīkā are quoted below :—(80)

Oṃ namo Gaṇesāya

Beginning :—

"Gopikālakavidhāsu Rādhikā
Bhrūvibhaṅga parikaṃpitāntarah
Navīnanīradharaj itvorattarah
Shyāmalah jayati Yadunandanah (1)
Praṇamya mānyān vahumānapūrva
Manyānupasthāya kṛtāñjalikaṃ
Sri Gītagovindaprabodha Murvī
Devo Ramākānta imaṃ chakāra (2)
Anekaśah pūrvavichakshaṇāṃ
Vistāritāh santi yadasya ṭīkāh
Tathāpi saṃskhepe viseshahetor
Mama śramah sadhirayaṃ na vāchyah (3)

End :— "Sri Bhojadeva"

"Yo jāto vasudhāsanaguror Govindapadāmbuja dvandva-dhyānakarajirājītahṛdah Sri Rāmabhadrāt sutah Tenaivājñamude mudeya muditā tıkā tarīvaśrīyaṇ Prāyah kelikalākalānidhi-lasat kvāyābdhipārāgraṇih

Na tota———Dvijarāja śāke
Devīprabodhīya tithau navamyāṃ
Sri Gītagovinda kavitvatīkā,
Mimāṃ Ramākānta kṛtī lilekha.
Samāptoyaṃ granthah"

From the quotation made above it is known that Gītagovinda-prabodha, a brief tīkā on Srī Gitagovindam was made by a Brāhmaṇa Pandita named Ramākānta, son of Rāmabhadra. The portion containing the words indicating the Saka year having been torn the date of the work can not be ascertained. The author most probably belonged to Bengal.

XXIX
RASIKARANGADĀ BY LAKSHMANA BHATTA OF PURI

Pandita Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a resident of Purushottama Kshetra or Puri wrote a comentary on Sri Gīta Govindam called 'Rasikaraṅgadā' manuscripts of which are discovred in different parts of Orissa, due to its popularity among the Pandits. Relevant portions from the manuscripts of the tīkā preserved in the Manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum are quoted below :—

Beginning—

अन्योऽन्यप्रेमपीयूषास्वादनतृप्तमानसौ
स्फुरतां हृदि मे नित्यं राधामदनमोहनौ । (1)
मद्विधदुर्विधवन्धुः स जयति नीलाचलेन्द्र पूर्णेन्दुः
येनाहं वहुकृपया निजांघ्रिसेवामृतैः पुष्टः ।। (2)
संसारतापसन्तप्तं स्वप्रेमरस वर्षणैः
विश्वमाप्यायितं येन तं चैतन्यघनं नुमः । (3)
इयं श्रीगीतगोविन्दटीका रसिकरङ्गदा
मया सगृहीता तत्तद्भावलुब्धेन केनचित् । (4)
पूर्वैः विरचिता यास्तु टीकाः सर्वार्थवोधिकाः
ताभ्यः सारं समाकृष्य ग्रथ्नाम्यत्र यथारुचिः । (5)
नाहं व्याकृतिवेत्ता नापि च भावान्धभावनालुब्धः
नैवालंकृतिकुशल स्तथापि केनापि लिखामि लोभेन ।(6)
रमन्तामत्र सुधियः क्षमन्तां मम चापलं
तुष्यन्ति पितरो यद्वा वालस्य कल भाषणे । (7)

End :— "इयमुज्ज्वलरसपूर्णावचनतति हारसौरभकीर्णा
हरिचरणस्मृतिभाजां निवसतु हृदये प्रसूनमालेव ।
ये श्रीमुकुन्द भजनक्रम लब्धदीक्षाः
निर्मत्सरा रसविवेचनसाधु शिष्याः
स्निग्धाशयाः सहृदयाः सदयाः सदैव ॥
ते भारतीं परमिमां परिशीलयन्तु ।"

"शकाब्दे षोडशशते चतुः षष्ट्यधिकं गते ग्रथिता लक्ष्मणेनासौ टीका श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे"

Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Puri has begun his Rasikaraṅgadā ṭīkā on Sri Gītagovindam by invoking the blessing of Rādhā-Madana-mohana, Jagannātha, and Mahāprabhu Sri Chaitanya. He was somehow connected with the 'Sevā' of Lord Jagannātha. This ṭīkā was finished in Saka year 1742 A. D at Purushottama or Puri. He is also known to have written a Kāvya named Srī Kṛshṇagitāmṛta in Oriya which was finished in the 53rd Aṅka year of Gajapati Virakeśari, the exact date of which was 23rd October, 1778 A. D. (14).

XXX
GITAGOVINDA VIVARANAM BY RUPADEVA

There is a manuscript containing the commentary of 11 sargas of the Gītagovinda called Gītagovinda Vivaraṇa in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore from which the relevant portion is reproduced below :

"Iti Sri Gitrgovindavivaraṇe Kṛshṇacharaṇāmbujaikasaraṇa Pandita Rūpadeva Kavi virachite Gītagovindavivaraṇe Sānandagovindo namaikādasah sargah"

The author simply gives his name and no more pariticulars about his time,family or native place.

XXXI
SARASVATĪ COMMENTARY ON THE G. G.

Māhārajā Sri Sukla Dhvaja, the minister and commander-in-chief of King Naranārāyaṇa, who ruled in Cooch Behar and Assam during the 16th century, wrote a commentary on the G. G. called 'Sarasvatī'. The concluding lines of this tikā are as follows :—

"Vaśya Sri Jayadevapanditakavervāṇī navīnāṅganā
Na prayāti niveśituṃ prabhavati sriyaṃ svayaṃ kañchana
Sri Shukladvaja bhāratīva vasati yasyā vayasyātatah
Tātparyāṇi gatāni lasati padaṃ jānīta vidvajjanāh (1)
Nānālaṃkṛtibhūshitāṃ gunavatīṃ hṛdyancha mātraparāṃ

Kshitipālamaulimuktā praslishṭa pādadyuteh
Sri Shukladhvaja bhubhujo vijayatāmākalpameshā kṛtih.

The manuscript of this commentary was examined by Dr. S. N. Sharma, M. A. Ph. D. while searching for the manuscripts of few Sanskrit plays and commentaries in Assam. The discovery of this new commentary in the far off Assam clearly indicates the popularity of this immortal work in that region. (86)

SOME OTHER COMMENTARIES ON GĪTAGOVINDAM

Besides the thirtyone commentaries briefly discussed in this article the names of some other commentaries are also known from the famous Catalogus Catalogorum. (87)

(1) Vachana Mālikā noticed by Burnell;
(2) Artharatnāvalī by Chaitanya Dāsa (German catalogue)
(3) Sānanda Govinda by Pandita Rūpa Deva;
(4) Gītagovinda prathamāsṭapadīvivṛti by Viṭṭhala Dīkshita (noticed by Hall),
(5) Srutiranjinī by Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa,
(6) Gītagovindatilakottama by Hṛdayābharaṇa.

In the Gujurat Vidyā Sabhā collection (88) there are three new commentaries of the Gītagovindaṃ which are noticed below :—

Serial No.	Accession No.	Title of the work	Name of the Commentator	Condition and age
2137	866	Gītagovind tīkā (Sandeha bhedikā)	Kumāra Khana	About 50 years old.
2138	1894	(Rasasandīpanī)	Bhaṭṭa Ratnākara	Samvat 1678 Jyesṭha Shudi 5, Ravi. This is an old commentary, written in 1621 A. D.
2139	2324	(Bhāvaprabodhinī)········		About 150 years old.

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1 A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts existing in the Central Provinces edited by Dr. F. Keilhorn, 1874. p. 62 No. 42.

2 Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts at Jammu p. 28

3 From the manuscript preserved in the Orissa State Museum.

4 J. Bihar & Orissa R. S. Vol. XVII. 1951, pp. 1, 19-135

5 Edited by Pandit Shree S. N. Rajaguru in O. H. R. J. and Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I

6 Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,Madras,Vol. XX Kavyas.

7 Mitra ' Notices of Manuscripts ' Vol. VI, Part-II, 1882, pp. 202-203.

8 J. A. S., Bengal, Vol, XI. N. S., 1915, p. 431

9 Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol, I, pp. 364-376

10 History of Mithila by Dr. Upendra Thakur pp. 234-275.

11 Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India office,by Julicus Eggeling Ph. D. V, part II, p. 1619.

A) Proceedings of A. I. O. Conference, 18th Session. p. 189.

12 Information collected from the Bengali book on Shree Jayadeva by Shree Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya pp. 220-225.

13 An elaborate article on this famous Tika has been published by me in the ' Orissa Historical Research Journal ' Vol XIII No, 3 pp. 26—41

14 'Amarakosha' edited by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma and Dr. N. G. Sardesai, Introduction., p. 10.

15 Vide my article " Purushottama Deva, the lexicographer " O. H. R. J. Vol. II Nos. 3—4 p. 71.

16 'Studies in Indian Literary History' by Dr. Gode, Vol. I, pp. 281—290.

17 'A History of the Sanskrit literature' by Varadachari—p. 79

18 " " P. 191

19 A History of Sanskrit Poetics by Dr. S. K. De, p. 67

20 " " by Dr. S. K. De,p. 146

21 " " by Dr. S. K. De, p. 142

22 " " by Dr. S. K, De, p. 260

23 Gode-Studies, Vol. I, p. 339

24 Gode—Studies, Vol. III, p. 10

25 History—Varadachari, p. 184

26 ' A Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. Orissa by Shree K. N. Mahapatra, Vol. II, Text. p. 129

27 Vide my article ' Studies in the Naishadhacharita of Shree Harsha " O. H. R. J. Vol. VIII, Part I. pp. 64—74.

28 Gode—Studies, Vol I, p. 380

29 Gode—Studies, Vol. I, p. 320

30 Bengali work on Jayadeva by H. K. Mukhopadhyaya. 220.

31 Kavyamimansa, Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Vol, I, Introduction P. XXXII, p. 91

32 Vide my article Govardhana Acharya and Udayana Acharya O.H.R.J. Vol. VI April, 1958 p 43—46.

33 "Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit Literature" Dr. S. K De p—76.

34 'Proceedings of the Indian History Congress' 6th Session, Aligarh, 1943 p—171.

35 Published in Bengali characters by Shri Harekrushna Mukhopadhyaya.

36 Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, part V, P. 125.

37 Introduction XXI.

38 (a) Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XVII, p. 442, R. C. Hazra

(b) Ditto Vol. XXVIII, p. 215, Ahmad Hasan Dani.

(c) Ditto Vol. XXIX, p, 183, D. C. Bhattacharya

39 Kavi Jayadeva O Sri Gitagovinda, pp. 222-235

40 Printed in 1937

41 A Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the A. S. Bengal, Shastri Vol II, p. 122.

42 A Des. Cat. of Mss in Mithila Vol. II, p. 48.

43 'A iHstory of the Sanskrit literature', by Dr. V. Varadachari, p. 230.

44 A Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. Vol. VII, No. 5154. p. 124

45 An Indian Ephemeris—Pillai. Vol. V

46 History—Varadachari, p. 180

47 P. 48 of Nirnaya Sagar Press edition

48 A Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. in Orissa by Shree K. N. Mahapatra, Vol. II p. 48

49 The chronology of works of Kondabhatta (A nephew of Bhattoji Dikshita) Studies in Indian literary history by Dr. P. K. Gode, vol. III, pp. 207—212.

50 A Des. Cat. cf Sans. Mss. in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Vol. XX,Kavya pp. 7988—7996.

51 Sources of Vijayanagar history, pp. 212-213 by S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar,M.A.

52 A Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. of Orissa edited by Shri K. N. Mahapatra, Vol, II pp. 40—4

53 'Prachina Bangala Sahityer Itihasa' by Dr. Tamonasa Chandra Dasgupta, p. 542.

54 Kavi Jayadeva and Sri Gitagovinda By H. K. Mukherjee. p. 232.

55 Des. Cat. of Mss. in the B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XIII, Kavya, Nos. 201—203, pp. 244—249.

56 History—Varadachari p. 116 and p. 161

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SOME IMITATIONS OF THE GĪTAGOVINDAM
(II)

POET Aanādi Miśra whose 'Manimālā nātikā' written under the patronage of Nārāyaṇa Mangarāja, Rājā of Khandaparā (खण्डपल्ली) is a notable contribution to Sanskrit literature, wrote two other works on the līlā of Shrī Rādhā and Kṛshṇa, drawing his inspiration from the famous G. G. The first one containing five 'tarangas' or chapters given below is called 'Kelikallolinī' (33)

राधाकृष्ण सन्दर्शन, वार्षभानवीविप्रलम्भ, श्रीराधाभिसार,
श्री राधामाधवसम्भोग and छलित्त वन्धुवर्ग।

'After praying to Gopīpati in the maṅgalācharaṇa the poet gives the significance of the name in the second verse.

'श्रीराधाकुचकुम्भकुङ्कुमरजोराजोविराजत्तया
सन्ध्यादीधितिसान्द्रसुन्दरतरः निन्दन्नमन्दं नभः
सुस्मेरः स्मरचन्द्रसागर हृदि श्यामादिरामाजने
बृन्दारण्यवरेण्यकल्पविटपी गोपीपतिः पातुः वः ॥"
"मदनमुदितराधाकृष्णहासैक फेना
विलसितरसलोलोल्लोल कल्लोलिनीयम्
प्रतिपद मनुरागानल्परागाब्जतुङ्गा
स्फुरतु रसिकसिन्धौ केलिकल्लोलिनीयम् ॥"

The flowing melody of his verses is illustrated by the quotation made below :

"रतिपति परतर वीर निनादं
भ्रमकृति कृतिवन कुक्कुट रावं
अलिकुल कलकल कोकिल केलो
मधुर रवमधु भूधव तूर्य्यम् ॥"

"तुङ्गरङ्गसङ्गभृङ्ग वासितस्य दम्भतः
काम काम वल्लकीय सान्द्रमन्द्र माश्रितम्
केलि शालि सारसालि कूजितस्य कैतवात्
काञ्चिदाम सिञ्जितं च यावदेव योषिताम्"

XIX

Rasagoshthirupakam of Anadi Kavi

'Rāsagoshṭhiaūpakam' of Anāndi Kavi is an one Act drama depicting the Rāsa līlā of Shrī Rādhā and Shrī Kṛshṇa which was written under the patronage of Vanamālī Jagadeva, the Raja of Khandapada. In the mangalācharaṇa of this work the 'वशीध्वनि' of Sri Kṛshṇa has been eulogised.

'श्रीराधा प्रभृति व्रजाम्बुजदृशां संमोहसिन्धौषधिः
कन्दर्पस्य जगज्जयप्रकरणप्रस्तावनानान्दिका
वाणीमङ्गलरङ्गधामकुतुकान् सङ्गीतदीक्षाविशो
रासोल्लासविलासिनो भगवतो वंशीध्वनिः पातु वः'

Like Jayadeva Āchārya, author of the Piyūshalaharī discussed before, poet Anāndi drew his inspiration from the immortal G. G. to write this work.

The poet has extolled the Rāsalīlā of Srī Kṛshṇa in another verse. :—

"कालोऽसौ कलहंसकेलिकलिका प्रोल्लास कल्पद्रुमो
गोपीशस्य विलासरासचरितं चित्रं प्रियार्थास्पदम्
वीर श्रीमदनादिविप्रकविता भावाम्बुकादम्बिनी
सङ्गीताधूशता धृगात्वयमपीत्यानन्दमास्कन्दति ॥"

XX

Samriddha Madava Natakam by Kavibhushana Govinda Samantaraya

Kavibhūshaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya having Bharadvāja gotra, a descendant of the famous Kavichandra Visvanātha Sāmantarāya

who was honoured in the court of Akbar (34) was the author of some valuable works in Sanskrit. Of these his 'Samṛddamādhava nāṭakam' was first noticed by Mm H.. P. Shastri who wrote about this "Samṛddha Mādhava Nāṭaka by Govinda Kavibhūshaṇa Sāmantarāya is an imitation of the Gītagovinda" (35).

From the review of this work made by Mm. Shastri (36) it is known that this drama contained seven Aṅkas or acts as given below :

"इति श्री समृद्धमाधवे गोकुलमङ्गलो नाम प्रथमोऽङ्कः, नि-राधिकाराधितो नाम द्वितीयोऽङ्कः, विप्रलब्धराधो नाम तृतीयोऽङ्कः, सानन्दगोविन्दोनाम चतुर्थोऽङ्कः, तथ्यमनोरथो नाम पञ्चमोऽङ्कः, सर्व्वनिर्व्वाणो नाम षष्ठोऽङ्कः, तथ्यमनरथो नाम सप्तमाऽङ्कः ।"

From the introduction of this work it is known that this drama was staged before an assembly of learned pandits in the temple of Lord Jagannātha at Puri.

सूत्र— "नीलाचलमौलिनीलाचलधरमण्डलाडम्बरस्य श्रीमधुसूदनस्य जीवातुकृततच्चरणराजीवभजनानां भक्तजनानां ।

नानांहः संघसंहारि तदीय सिंहप्रतिहारीय-वेदिकावास्तव्य वास्तव्यापि काव्यादिभिः सभासभावनमण्डनस्तथा × × देवतामाराधयामः"

सूत्र—"भरद्वाजवंशावतंसावतारस्य × गोविन्द कविभूषण सामन्तरायस्य ×"

सूत्र—"तस्य कृतिः कृतिरुचिरं चिरं रसादिध्वनिप्रचुरम्
नव्यं काव्य मुदिते मधुरं हि समृद्धमाधवं नाम ॥" (३७)

The time of Kavibhūshaṇa can be fixed in the midle of the 18th century as his 'Suri-sarvasvam' was finished in 'Kha-Shūnya-Muni-Chandramā prāmita Shaka-Saṃvatsara' or Saka year 1700 or 1778 A. D. (38). The title of Kavibhūshaṇa was conferred on him by Gajapati Virakesari Deva of Khurda (1736-1793 A. D.),who was a great patron of learning. He was a follower of Nityananda, the great disciple of Sri Chaitanya, e. g.

"अत्युद्दाम-प्रेम भूम-प्रकाशी
श्रुत्यामोदी यत् प्रसादाऽनुरुपः
आस्तां नित्य मानसे मामकीये
श्रीमान् नित्यानन्दनामेष्टदेवः ।"

XXI

Sangita chintamani by Kavichandra Kamalalochana Khadgaraya

V. W. Karambelkar deserves the thanks of the Oriental scholars for bringing to light three more imitations of the Gītagovindam. Of these two i. e. Sangīta chintāmaṇi and Gītamukunda or Gitāmṛta were the works of Kavichandra Kamalalochana Khadgarāya and Sangita Rāghava by Gangādhara (39).

While discussing the place of origin of Kamalalochana, Sri Karambelkar has arrived at the following conclusion. "The poet Kamalalochana was, with a greater probaliity, a Begali Brāhmaṇa brought over to Nagpur by Bhonsle Raja from Bengal in one of his campaigns in that province. This conjecture may justify the presence of the work of Kamalalochana in Nagpur only and not elsewhere in India. This solitary lamp of Chaitanya Bhakti burning in such a far off place from Bengal leads into such a conjecture."

This conjecture made by the learned scholar is not tenabale as Kavichandra Kamalalochana, who was an Oriya Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra takes pride in calling himself the grandson of Kavibhūshaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya, an eminent Sanskrit poet and scholar of Orissa of the 18th century about whom discussion has been made before i. e. "कविभूषणसुतसम्भवभणितं', 'कविभूषण-सुतनन्दन भणितं'. After the treaty of 1751 the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur lost all control over Bengal and his territory comprised the area between the Suvarnarekha in the north and the Chilika lake in the south or central Orissa. Poet Kavichandra Kamala lochana, who was a great Oriya scholar of the age was honoured in the court of the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur, the sovereign of Orissa through the efforts of his vassal Gajapati Virakesarī Deva of Khurda (Puri). The manuscripts of other works of Kamalalochana not found in Nagpur have been discovered in the district of Puri (40). Thus like many other imitations of the G. G. these two works were made by a Pandita of Orissa and not of Bengal as conjectured by Karambelkar.

From the closing verses of 'Sangīta-chintāmaṇi' it is known that depiction of the Rāsalīlā of Shrī Rādhā and Kṛshna in eight praharas of a day in Vṛdāvana is the theme of this work e. g.

"यद् यद्वृन्दावनभुवि नवं भक्तभावानुसारात्
राधाकृष्णाविह् विहरतः स्पष्टमेवाष्टकालो
तत्तत्सर्वं हृदिरसविदामेव विवर्त्तिनित्यं
प्रेमश्रेणीचरणशरणस्सोऽस्तु सन्देहकृद् यः । ३ ।
सङ्गीतचिन्तामणि नाम्नि काव्ये
प्रीणाति हीनप्रमवेऽति भव्यः
सिद्धे बुधानां मधुमक्षिकाभिः
माध्वीरसे बुद्धिरुदेति साध्वी । ४ ।
यः कृष्ण खड्गरायोऽभूद् गोविन्द कविभूषणात्
तन्नन्दनः प्रबन्धस्य कर्त्ता कमललोचनः । ५ ।"

The classification of the līlās is as follows :—

निशान्त लीला, प्रातर्लीला, पूर्वाह्णलीला, अपराह्ण लीला, सायाह्न लीला, प्रदोष-लीला, नक्त लीला ।

"All these līlās are described in the form of songs in the same tunes as गुर्ज्जरी रागेण, रामकरी रागेण, कामोदी रागेण, धनाश्री रागेण etc., the language too is modelled on the lines of the original, also as in the Gītagovinda the beginning is set up with a background, after every song some verses explanatory of the situation are added. But the work obviously lacks the melody, the diction, the rhythm, the emotional expression of the original.

XXII

Gitamukunda by Kavichandra Kamalalochana Khadgaraya

Gītamukunda or Gītāmṛta which is a Mahākāvya contains in its mangalācharaṇa salutations to Gaurachandra (Vr. 1), Chaitanya chandra (Vr. 2), Vakreśvara Guru (Vr. 3), Rādhā (Vr. 4) and the musical notes of the Divine flute (Vr. 5). The Mahākāvya contains 14 cantos or sargas :

"(1) सङ्गीत मङ्गलः, (2) वृन्दावनानन्दः, (3) दर्शनहर्षः, (4) संजातकुञ्जोत्सवः, (5) सानन्दकिशोरद्वन्द्वः, (6) चन्द्रोदयानन्दः (7) सोज्जागरनागरः, (8) विप्रलब्धराधः, (9) सातङ्कपङ्कजाक्षः, (10) बाधितमाधवः, (11) निर्माणभावः, (12) किशोरविहारमनोहरः, (13) ललितमीलनलीलः, (14) मङ्गलानङ्गखेलनः

इति श्री कमललोचन कविचन्द्र विरचितं गीतामृत संपूर्णम् ।

Some of the names of the rāgas employed by Kamalalochana in his work are Gujjara, Vasanta. Aśāvarī, Rāmakerī, Gadakarī Dhanāśrī, Mālava, Deśi, Varāḍī. A specimen of the poetry is quoted below :—

गुज्जरी रागेण गीयते

मस्तकविलसदखण्ड शिखण्डकमण्डलमण्डित केशम्
मदनशतार्बुदगर्वदलनकरविरचितनटबरवेशम् । १ ।
राधे । भज व्रजराजकुमारम्
वरमुरलीकर मुरुतरहारम् । ध्रु ।
गञ्जितकञ्जविलोचनमञ्जुलगतिजितखञ्जन-पुञ्जम्
सितकरसुन्दरहसितमधुर रसदधदधिगतकुञ्जम् । २ ।
कलधौतामलल्लोललितमलकावलिकवलितभावम्
गण्डलसितमणिकुण्डल मण्डलमिङ्गित रङ्गविशालम् । ३"

The songs are placed in the mouths of Kṛshṇa, Rādhā and Visākhā, the last being the female companion of the heroine. Thus in the G. G. and Gītāmṛta the actors are the same, the settings and situations are similar, the process—estrangement, sorrow, longing, jealousy, intercession, propitiation and union—is the same.

Kamalalochana may be placed definitely in the last quarter of the 18th century as his grand-father Kavibhūshana Govinda flourished before 1778 A. D.

XXIII

Vrajayuvavilasa by Kavichandra Kamalalochana

Vrajayuvavilāsa by Kamalalochana Kavichandra, the manuscript of which was first discovered by Pandit Kulamani Misra,

Dharmasastra Achraya, Lecturer of Sadasiva Sanskrit College, Puri (41) is a Mahākāvya like his 'Gītāmṛtam' discussed before. This work containing seventeen sargas or cantos describes the līlā of Shrī Rādhā and Shrī Kṛshṇa in a charming, sweet and melodious style like the G. G. But no discussion about it is possible as the manuscript has not yet been noticed. Fortunately the verse regarding his parentage found in his Sangītachintāmaṇi is given in a slightly modified form at the close of the 'Vrajayuva vilāsa' i. e.

"यः कृष्णखड्गरायोऽभूद् गोविन्द कविभूषणात्
तस्य पुत्र कृती श्रीमान् कविः कमललोचनः ।"

His other work भगवल्लीलाचिन्तामणिः, the manuscript of which was first noticed by Mm. H. P. Shastri (42) gives a detailed genealogy of the poet Kamalalochana in three verses of its last chapter, which are quoted below :--

"आसीच्छ्रीविश्वनाथः प्रवरतरभरद्वाजवंशावतंसः
शान्तात्मा कृष्णभक्तोऽभवदथतनुजो यस्तथा रामचन्द्रः ।
तत् पुत्रश्चित्रकाव्यागमरचनपटुः श्रीलगोविन्दनामा
तस्यासीन्नन्दनो यः सकलगुणकला-वन्दितः कृष्णचन्द्रः ॥
तस्यात्मजो कमललोचननामधेयः
श्रीनीलशैलनिलयः कलयन्नकस्मात्
कौतुहलं हृदि हरीरितईशलोला-
चिन्तामणोविवृतिमारचयां चकार ।"

Colophon :

'इतिश्री भगवल्लोलाचिन्तामणौ श्रीभागवतनालीपदव्याख्याने द्वादशस्कन्दार्थ दिग्दर्शनम्"

Kavichandra Kamalalochana, the author of three worthy imitations of the Gitagovinda, a greatest achievement for a scholar--hailed from an illustrious Paṇḍita family of Orissa, the descendants of which are still living in village Patapur under P. S. Banki in the district of Cuttack.

XXIV

'Chandikā Charita Chandrikā' by Krishna Datta

Kṛshṇa Datta Jha, a Maithila poet wrote a Gīta-kāvya in imitation of the G. G. called Chandikā-charita-Chandrikā taking as its basis the Devī Mahātmya of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. This work which is divided into eleven sargas sings the glory and greatness of Chandikā, the Goddess of his devotion. The lines of this work as noticed by R. L. Mitra (43) are quoted below :—

मूल—"सिद्धिश्रीः साधकानां प्रसरति पुरतो यत्पदाराधकानां
निर्विघ्न यत् प्रसादादुदयति सहसा सापि निःश्रेयसश्रीः
त्रैगुण्यात्तान्त्रिमूर्त्तिर्निरवधि करुणाश्चर्य्यमाधुर्य्यधुर्य्यात्
तुर्य्या सा कापि कुर्य्यात् सपदि मम मनःशुद्धि-बुद्धिप्रसिद्धिम्।
चन्द्रचुडां चिदानन्दचुम्बि चन्दन चर्च्चितम्
चञ्चल चञ्चलां चारु चिन्तये चण्डिकां चिरम्।
सद्गुणाम्बुनिधिवृद्धिकारिणी तापपापतिमिरापहारिणी
सेव्यताममृतसारगर्भिणी चण्डिकाचरितचन्द्रिकाऽचिरम्।
मङ्गलमयि जनमङ्गल नामसहस्रे
प्रथयसि धामनि रुद्रतमिस्रे
श्रीमति गतिरसि जगदम्ब जय जय देवि शिवे
हरिमिव वोधयसि च रहसि च विधिखेदम्
जनयसि मधुकैटभमतिभेदम्।

इतिश्री कृष्णदत्तकृतौ सिद्धिलक्षणायां चण्डीचरितचन्द्रिकायां संप्रसादवरप्रदानो नाम एकादशः सर्गः। समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः।"

XXV

Gitagopipati by Krishna Datta Jha

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal who noticed Gītagopipati wrote as follows "A poetical work by Kṛshṇa Datta Jha on the praise of Kṛshṇa after the style of Gītagovinda of Jayadeva" (44). The beginning and end of this work as quoted by Jayaswal are given below :—

ॐ नमो राधाकृष्णाभ्याम्

मूल : तूर्णं कृष्णानुकूलं नयनरतिरसौ मज्जतिस्रस्तरश्मिः
कान्ते काश्रावलम्बी स्वयमयमुडुपो नौप्रसङ्गे सहायः
विश्वासो वाचिको वा तरल तव करं देहिदास्येस्थितेत्थं
राधागाविन्दया वः स्मितमुखमुदिताश्लेषभङ्गो पुनातु ॥

समाप्तिः "प्रतिपदं रसमादधती, नवं विबुधससदिकृष्णकथामयी
कविकथामृतभानुसमुत्थिता नवसुधावसुधामधितिष्ठति ।"
"इतिश्री मैथिल कृष्णदत्तकृतौ श्रीगीतगोपीपतौ सुप्रीत पुरुषोत्तमोनाम—सर्गः ।"

No definite information about this Maithila Kṛshṇa Datta is available. One Maithila Kṛshṇa Datta is known as the author of two dramas namely "कुवलयाश्वीय नाटकम्" (45) and "पुरञ्जनचरित नाटकम्" (46) From "the History of Sanskrit Literature" it is known that one Kṛshṇa Datta wrote a ṭīkā on the G. G. called Artha Ratnāvalī. (47). Elsewhere it is stated in the same book that 'Shaśilekhā' on the G. G. was written by one Kṛshṇa Datta son of Bhaveśa Miśra (48). It is not possible at the present state of our knowledge to ascertain whether all the Kṛshṇa Dattas were one and the same. Kaviratna Purushottama Misra of Puri has referred to one Kṛshṇa Datta 'इयमेव शुद्धवसन्त इति कृष्णदत्तः, in his famous 'सङ्गीत नारायणः' composed in 1650 A. D. If he be identical with Maithila Kṛshṇa Datta, which is quite plausible, then he may be placed before the first part of the seventeenth century. But this conclusion is tentative and awaits further research.

XXVI

Gita Girisa by Sri Rama Bhatta

Gīta Giriśa, by Sūri Rāma Bhaṭṭa, son of Shrīnātha Bhaṭṭa, an imitation of the G. G. was first noticed by Mm. H. P. Shastri (49). This work which is divided into twelve sargas like the G. G. was intended to depict the līlā of Pārvatī and Shiva in which Shrī Harsha, Bhāravi, Kālidāsa and Jayadeva are referred to respectfully e. g.,

ॐ श्री विश्वनाथाय सात्मजाय नमः
कर्षन्ता वितरेतरस्य मनसो विद्धेव बद्धेव ते
संमोहं ददताकथाश्रुसुधया सिच्येव हर्षप्रदौ
किञ्चित् सङ्कुचितौ पुनर्विकसितौ श्वेतौ शितीलोहितौ
पीतामीश्वरयो स्तरङ्गतरलौ लोकान् कटाक्षावृत्तौ ।
हर्षं श्रीहर्षनामा रचयति वचनैरद्भुतार्थैर्दुरूहैः
गम्भीरै र्भावितो भारविरपि चित्तपद्म प्रबोधं
वाग्गुम्फैः सप्रसादैर्मृदुगदितपदैः कालिदासः प्रसीद-
तून्चैर्लोकेषु तेषामहिमपि चरणाम्भोज भृङ्गोऽस्ति रामः
हर्य्यक्षं कपिरनुवर्त्तते यथायं
खद्योतरविमपि निर्धनोधनाढय
औत्सुक्यादहमधुना तथानुकुर्वे
लालित्यं कविजयदेवभारतीनाम् ।

Example of a song :—

गजवरवदन विभूपित मदरूपित ए
मधुकर गायक गीत सुखय गणाधिपतये…

समाप्तिः

आसीदसीममहिमा हिमावदात-
मूर्त्तेर्भवस्य चरणार्च्चनयाप्तकीर्त्तिः
श्रीनाथ भट्ट इति तत्तनयेन राम
नामाद्भुतं व्यरचि गीतगिरीश मेतन् ।

Colophon :

"Itiśri Gitagiriśe Supritapārvatipatirnāmo Dvādaśah Sargah"

The date of copy of a manuscript of this work being Samvat 1759 आ, वदि, 13 शनौ or 1702 A. D., the author Shrī Rāmabhaṭṭa certainly flourished before that date. We find one Shrīnātha Bhaṭṭa in the court of Rāmachandra Deva. Rājā of Mithilā (1513 A. D.). Rāma Bhaṭṭa was also patronised by him for some time (50). If

this Rāma Bhaṭṭa is taken to be the author of Gītagiriśa which is quite plausible, he may be assigned to the beginning of the 16th century.

XXVII

GITA SAMKARA BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA BHISMA MISHRA

Gītasamkara by Mahāmahohādhyāya Maithila Bhīsma Miśra, a manuscript of which was first noticed by Mm. H. P. Shastri (51) contains the following maṅgalācharaṇa.

श्री गणेशाय नमः
सानन्दं सुरवृन्दवन्दितपदो वृद्धश्रवप्रार्थन-
प्राग्भारेप्सितपार्वतीपरिणय प्रौढप्रसादोन्मुखः
सद्यः संहृतकाम कोपि जगतां कामार्थसिद्धिप्रदः
कल्पद्रुः कलयत्वनेककुशलं कैलासवासी शिवः । १
श्रीमान् मैथिलधीरजेन कविना पर्णापुरे
धीरोत्साहिमनः प्रमोदकरणं हीरेश्वर प्रीतये
माहात्म्य गिरिजा गिरीश पद्यो गीतं मिथः प्रीतयोः
भक्तानामनिशं तनोतु सुधियामानन्दकल्पं मुदं । २

Example of a Gita :—

गौड मालव रागे
वससि वितत वपुषा कुसुमामोदसम्भारं
तरुवरभूधरनरपरिवारम् । १
शङ्कर धृतभूमिस्वरूप जय भुवनेश विभो । ध्रु ।

Another song quoted dy Dr. K. P. Jayaswal :—

'निखिलभयारि दयापरिपूरित पञ्चवदनमतिरूपम्
अनलकलाम्बर तरणिविलोचनरुचिनिचय कलिताशम्
सम समयोदित रविहिमदीधिति गिरि शिव गैरिकवाससं ' (५२)

समाप्तिः—
प्रख्यातैक तमोगुण स्त्रीजगतामुत्पत्तिकर्मक्षमो
रुद्र भूतपतिः सुयोगकरणे शान्तेन्द्रियः सर्वदा

यामाश्रित्य विमोहिनीं गिरिसुतामानन्दतः स्वान् गुणान्
विस्तृत्या भवदीश्वरोपि जगतां तां देवमायां भजे।"
अयुक्तानपि संयुक्तौ नलिनीजलसन्निभां
शिवौ कलयतां मोदं गायतां गीतशङ्करम्।

इति श्रीगीतशङ्करे श्रीमन् मैथिल महामहोपाध्याय भीष्ममिश्र विरचिते एकादशः सर्गः।

XXVIII

GĪTA SAMKARA BY HIRA

A manuscript of Gīta Shaṃkara by Hira, which was first noticed by K. P. Jayaswal is an imitation of the G. G. (53) The last two verses of Gītasaṃkara by Bhīsma Miśra i. e.

"प्रख्यातैक तमोगुण.........देवमायां भजे
अयुक्तावपि............गीत शङ्करम्"

are also found at the close of work by Hira which clearly indicates that both the works were written by Bhīsma Miśra. Hira, who is eulogised in the second introductory verse of Gītaśaṃkara by Bhīsma Miśra i. e. "Shrīmān Maithila dhīrajena Hīreṇa Parṇāpure, dhīrotsāhi manah" was also a scholar and patron of Bhīsma Miśra. Both the works are complete in evelen sargas.

A song from this work is quoted below—

"भैरवी रागे

भ्रमदरकलित रसालसमीलित विलसितविहित विनोदम्
अलिरिव नयनमिदं तव सम्प्रति कथयति मानसमोदम्
शिव शिव पाहि शङ्कर नीललोहितम्
मा कुरु चेतसि खेदम्
ता मनुनय नयकोविद साधय मादनभेदम्"

No definite information about the time of Bhīsma Miśra and his patron Shrī Hira is available.

XXIX
SANGĪTA GANGĀDHARA BY NANJARĀJA

Nañjarāja, who was himself a scholar and patron of poets was the real ruler of Mysore territory from 1739 to 1760 A. D.

कल्पद्रुकल्पशशिनः शकुलीन नञ्जक्षितीन्द्रं सुधिया सेवितम् ।
नवैः प्रवन्धैरभिनन्दयन्तो कुवेरतुल्याः कवयो भवन्ति ॥

(नञ्जराज यशोभूषणम्)

Nañja was a great devotee of Chandeśvara Shiva and Devi Marakatamvā worshipped on the summit of the "Bhadragiri" near 'Nutanapuri." Bhadragiri stands near the town of Hosur 30 miles to the east of Bangalore by which flows the sacred river Dakshiṇa-Pinākini. In the 'Saṅgīta Gaṅgādhara' the Rāsalīlā of Shrīkanṭheśvara Shiva with the wives of Riṣis in the Taruchavana is very impressively depicted in 24 Asṭapadi songs by Nañjarāja. It is divided into six cantos and 16 Rāgas current in the South India in the eighteenth century have been used in this work. It was very popular in the South India like the G. G. of Jayadeva, of which it is a laudable imitation. Kāsipati, a paṇḍita of the court of Nañjarāja has written a commentary on this work named, 'Shravaṇa Nandinī' (54).

"प्रौढस्य प्रतिमस्य विश्रुत महीश्वरस्य विद्वन्प्रभोः
श्रीमत् कृष्णमहीभुजो नरपतेः विद्वत्प्रधानाग्रणोः
श्रीनञ्जक्षितिपालकेन रचितं सङ्गीतगङ्गाधरं
तं प्रीत्यै तदुदीरतो विवृणते काशीपतिः पण्डितः ।

XXX
GITA SITĀVALLAVAM BY SHITIKANTHA KAVI

'Gīta Sītāvallabham' by Sitikantha Kavi, only two sargas of which have yet been found in a manuscript is a notable addition to the imitations of the G. G. already known (55). This manuscript discovered by Shri Vasudeva Nanda, Principal, Sadāśiva Sanskrit

College Puri, has been printed in the 'Manoramā' a Sanskrit quarterly magazine published by Paṇḍita A. P. Sharma.

The beginning of the work runs as follows :—

'यौ मातापितरौ समस्त जगतां यौ स्तौति शम्भुर्मुदा
याभ्यां भूमितलं महार्घ्यभवनं याभ्यां क्षितौ रोचते
याभ्यां मोक्षसुखं ययोः कृतिरिदं सर्वं ययोर्लीयते
सीताराघवयोः पवित्रयतु मे चित्रं चरित्रं तयोः । १

नीलाम्बरीय पदपङ्कज युग्मशश्वन्निर्य्याद्रसप्रसरलोलुपचित्तभृङ्गः
श्रीरामचन्द्रचरितामृत सान्द्रगर्भ मेतं करोति शितिकण्ठकविः प्रबन्धम्

यदिमतिनिरतापसमद्धृतौ यदि रति दुरितौघनिराकृतौ
लसदलङ्कृतिमञ्जुपदध्वनिं शृणु तदा शितिकण्ठ-सरस्वतीम्

वाचः श्रीकविचन्द्र वक्त्रगलिताः पीयूषवत्तोषदाः
चञ्चद्गाङ्गतरङ्गसञ्चरि जगन्नाथस्य तावद् वचः
काशीनाथ कवे र्गिरश्चिरतर धेयाः सदावासिनो
वाणी कापि च नीलकण्ठ कलिता विद्वन्मनोहारिणी

After paying his respects to Sītā and Rāghava in the first verse the poet extols his work in the second verse which can aptly be called "Shrī Rāmachandra Charitāmṛta." He takes pride in the excellence of his style and like the celebrated Jayadeva calls the scholars to listen to his poetry i.e. "Shṛṇu tadā Shitikaṅtha Sarasvatīṃ'.

No information is available about the poets Kavichandra, Jagannātha, Kāsinātha, and Nīlakantha referred to in the fourth verse. The first four verses are followed by 'Daśāvatāra stuti' in which the Avatāras are the same as in G.G. but in the next verse we find "दशाकृतिरति त नौमि सीतापतिं' in place of 'दशाकृते कृष्णाय तुभ्यं नमः' After this is given a song in Maṅgalagujjarī rāga with "Jaya Jaya Dāśarathe' as the Druvapada (Jaya Jaya Devahare of the G. G.). The colophon of the first sarga which runs as follows. :

"Iti Shri Gītasītāvallabbe mahākāvye viśvāmitrasamāgamo nāma prathamah sargah" describes the childhood of Rāmachandra i. e.

"ShrīShitikaṇtha gaditamidamaddbhuta Rāghavavālacharitaṃ"

In the second sarga residence in the Anaṅgāśrama has been described. In the two sargas the following Rāgas i. e.

मङ्गलगुज्जरी रागः, वसन्त रागः, रामकिरी रागः, गुर्जरी रागः, मालवगौड रागः

have been used. The poet has creditably imitated the style of the G. G. which will be evident from a verse quoted below : ···

"गुज्जरी रागः

विहरति चञ्चलतर चरणोज्ज्वल नूपुरनवरावकामे
कलितशिखण्डक कुण्डलमण्डित गण्डयुगाधिकदामे
रामे मुनिवरनिवेशितचित्तम्
असुसहितं मम नयवहुवित्तम् । १ । ध्रुवपद
नूतनजलधरकान्तिकलेवर वररुचिशालिनिवाले
विलसदकर्मविग्रहशर्मणि घम्मजलोज्ज्वलभाले । २
कोकिलकलरवकोमलभाषिणि केलिकलारुचितन्द्रे ।
मृदुमधुरस्मितरश्मि धराधर विम्बलसन्मुखचन्दे । ३
निर्जितनवनवनीतकलेवर विदलितमामकतापे
रुचिरनवोदितपल्लवकोमलपाणितलाञ्चितचापे । ४
भुसुरगुरुसुरभक्तिवशम्वदचेतसि सुन्दरहोरे
पलित मलीमस मामकलोचन लोचनभूतशरीरे । ४
X X X
श्रीशितिकण्ठ गदितमिदमद्भुत राघवरूपमुदारम्
वलयतु भूतलसारतर तव कलिभवकल्मषभारम् । ८
X X X

At the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to arrive at any conclusion about the birth place and date of the poet Shitikaṇṭha. But it may be conjectured from the use of the word

Shrī Rāmachandra charitāmṛta that he flourished in the post-Chaitanya period when Charitāmṛtas were very popular.

XXXI

RĀMAGĪTA BY KRISHNA KAVIKALĀNIDHI.

Kavikalānidhi Kṛshṇa Bhaṭṭa, a Brāhmaṇa scholar from the Āndhra Deśa who adorned the court of Sawai Iswara singh (1743-1750), Rājā of Jeypur, wrote Rāmagīta in imitation of the G. G. (55). It is divided into thirteen sargas i. e.

श्रीराममहिमावर्णन, मधुवर्णन, प्रियाप्रियासङ्गम, प्रणयाभिवर्द्धन, मधुकेलिवर्णन, कामानुरागवर्णन, रासवर्णन, राममहत्त्व, खण्डितानायिकावर्णन, वर्षार्तुवर्णन, शरद्वर्णन, विपरीतरतिवर्णन, रतिवर्णन and describes the Rāsalīlā of Sītā & Shrī Rāmachandra. In the beginning, like the verse 'Shṛṇu tadā Jayadevasarasvatīṃ' of the G. G. we find in it :

"इदमलौकिकमाद्यरसात्मकं कलित कोमल काव्यकलाकुशलम्
रघुपतेर्विरुदं विशदं वचः शृणु कविप्रवरस्य कलानिधेः ।

After this follows the Daśāvatārastutih e. g.—

"तादृश-सिन्धुजले-तरणैकनिदानं,
धृतवानसि शृङ्गे जलयानम्
राघवसृशमद्भुतमीन तारय दीनजनम् । १
मन्दरधरणविधौ धृतविपुलशरीरं
पृष्ठकलित-कण्डु-सुखघोरम्
त्वामद्भुत कमठ मुपैमि, पालय दीनजनम् । २

X X X

वेदोद्धारकरं धृतक्षितिधरं विश्राणमुर्वीश्वरं
दैत्येन्द्रासुहरं वलिच्छलकृते त्रैविक्रमाडम्बरम्
क्षीण-क्षत्र-परम्परं रघुवरं सीराग्रजाग्रत्करं
वन्दे जीवदयाधरं यवनहृन् कोलान्तरं तं परम् ।

Like 'Shritakamalā Kuchamaṇḍala' of the G. G.—

"भवभय-दुःखनिवारण सुखकारण ए
भवति करुणात्तरभाजि रघुवर राम रमे ॥
जनकसुतापरिरम्भण धृतसम्भ्रम ए
निजजनसुरतरुरूप रघुवर राम रमे ।

Similar verse like the verse of the G. G. is found in this work.

"त्वं पीयूष दिवोपिभूषणमसि, द्राक्षे परीक्षेत को
माधुर्यं तव, विश्वतोपि विदिता माध्वीकसाध्वी कथा
एतत् किन्तु, तथाप्यरुन्तुदमिव ब्रूमो वयं साम्प्रतं
यः काव्यामृतपानजो मधुरिमा नान्यत्र कुत्रापि सः ॥

This work also called 'Gīta Rāghava' was composed on the basis of 'Mahārāsotsava prakaraṇa' of Hanumat saṃhitā having five Prakaraṇas which vividly describe the Rāsalīlā of Sītā and Shrī Rāma in the groves on the bank of the river Sarayū.

XXXII

KRISHNALĪLĀ-TARANGINĪ BY NĀRĀYANA TĪRTHA

The manuscript of Kṛṣṇalīlā-taraṅgiṇī by Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha was first noticed by H. T. Colebrooke in the Catalogue of the India Office (57) relevant portions from which are quoted below :—

प्रारम्भः—
हिमगिरितनयापत्यं हेमाचलचापसमुदितं तेजः
कामपि महत्तममयस्मर्त्तव्यं विघ्नतिमिरहरणाय ।

गिरिराजसुतासूनुर्गजराजवराननः
परिपन्थिगणध्वंसी सुरसेव्यो विराजते । १

गीतमालवरोगोऽट्टताल :—
मूषिकवाहन मुनिगणवन्द्य दोषरहितदुरितासुरवृन्द
शेषभूषणशैववारिधिचन्द योषितपरिजनपुण्यैककन्द ॥
जय जय स्वामिन्, जय जय । १

जय जय जितवैरिवर्गप्रचण्ड जय जय जय गजमुखवक्रतुण्ड
जय जय स्वामिन्, जय जय

अद्रिसुतासुत अनवद्यचरित भद्रभक्तभयदूरमुदित
रुद्रोदितगजमस्तकसहित सद्रूपसरसिजसमुदितविनुत
जय जय स्वामिन्, जय जय । ३

लम्बोदरधीरलावण्यसार, कम्बुसुधानिधिकर्पूरगौर
सांवसदाशिवसंस्कृति चतुर सामवेदगीत सकलाधार
जय जय स्वामिन् जय जय । ४

The author gives some indication regarding the plan of his composition in which the different episodes of Kṛṣṇa's career are treated in songs, i. e.

"आदौ कृष्णावतार स्तदनु नरहरे र्बाललीला विलासो
वत्सानां पालनं तच्चरितमथ गवां पालनं प्रौढभावः
गोपीवस्त्रापहारस्तदनु गिरिवरोद्धारणे रासलीला
कंसादीनां निरासस्तदनु जलनिधौ द्वारकायां प्रवेशः ।
रौहिणेयस्य कृष्णस्य विवाह स्तदनन्तरं
रुक्मिण्याद्यष्टमहिषीसहितो गीयतेऽमरैः
इत्येवं संग्रहेणोक्ता कृष्णलीलातरङ्गिणी"

This work which is divided in to eight taraṅgas begins with the comming of Ugrasena and brought down upto the Rāsalīlā. The musical modes and changes of rhythmic time are specified throughout and explanatory slokas are constantly inserted between the songs. On examination of a manuscript of this work preserved in the Manuscripts Library of the Utkal University cotaining only seven Taraṅgas, it is found that the author has called himself as Yati Nārāyaṇa, Shiva Nārāyaṇa Tirtha, or simply Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha e. g.

"यति नारायण कथितं यदुकुलभूषणमुदितं (Folio 26)

शिव नारायण तीर्थ सुगीतं श्रीहरिगोपीजन संवादं (F 39)
शिवनारायण तीर्थ सुघटितं शुकादिवमिह गुरुकृपया
तुष्ट्यः स्वैरं रमन्ते चिरमिह गुरुणा श्रीधरेणाप्तकामः ।

इति श्रीनारायणतीर्थविरचितायां श्रीकृष्णलीलातरङ्गिण्यां श्रीकृष्णरासक्रीडावर्णनं नाम सप्तमस्तरङ्गः ।"

The preceptor Shrīdhara respectfully referred to in the quotation made above, may be taken as identical with the famous Shrīdhara Svāmī head of the Govardhana Pīṭha at Puri. It may be noted here that the high estimation shown to Lord Jagannātha by the author in his work 'Iti stutvā Jagannāthaṃ Kṛtāñjaliputāh surāh' (folio 7) may be taken as an indication of his association as the head of some maṭha at Puri like the famous Shrīdhara Svāmī. The following rāgas and tālas have been used in this work.

प्रथम तरङ्ग

मालव गौडा (अड्डताल), आशावरी (आदिताल), नटराग (अष्टकला झम्पताल) सौराष्ट्र राग (त्रिपटा ताल), भैरवी राग (आदिताल), सौराष्ट्र राग (एकताल), मुरारि राग (अडताल), माधवी राग (आदिताल), शङ्कराभरण राग (शरीमान ताल), शुद्ध कल्याणी राग (आदिताल), केदार गौडा (आदिताल)।

द्वितीय तरङ्ग

कामोदी राग (एकताल) केदार गौडाराग (आदिताल), सौराष्ट्र राग, मोहन राग (अट्टताल), कामोदी राग (आदिताल,) तोडि राग (अट्टताल), मुखारी राग (आदिताल) शावरी राग (अट्टताल), कल्याणी राग (अट्टताल), नाद रामकेरी, कामोदी राग (अष्टकला झम्पाताल), केदार गौडा (आदिताल), भैरवी, वराडि (रूपक ताल), भैरवी, कुम्भकामोदी ।

तृतीय तरङ्ग

वराड़ि राग (रूपक ताल), भैरवी राग (त्रिपट ताल), कुम्भकामोदी राग (आदिताल) कामोदी राग (आदिताल), रेवगुति (रेहगुप्ति ?) (आदिताल), नाद रामक्रिया (आदिताल) रेवगुप्ति(त्रिपट ताल), अड्डताल, त्रिपट ताल, झम्पक ताल, पडिताल, एकताल, रूपक ताल।

चतुर्थ तरङ्ग

मारुधनासी (अट्टताल), सौराष्ट्र राग (आदिताल); सारङ्ग राग (त्रिपट ताल), सारङ्ग राग (अड्डताल), मुखरी(मुखारी ?) (आदिताल), कोमोदी राग(पडिताल),आशावरी राग, काफिताल (अड्डताल), कुम्भकामोदी (आदिताल) ।

पञ्चम तरङ्ग

सुराट राट (सरिमानताल), पुंनाग राग, मारुधनासो राग (पडिताल), कामोदी राग (अड्डताल) मुखारी राग (त्रिपुटा), सौराष्ट्र राग (अड्डताल)।

षष्ठ तरङ्ग

कल्याण राग, (त्रिपटा ताल), तोडि (पडिताल), नाद रामकिरि (पडिताल), धनाश्री (त्रिपटा ताल), शावरी राग (त्रिपटा ताल), पुंनाग राग (त्रिपटा) मुखारी राग (आदिताल) भैरवी राग (आदिताल), श्रीराग (पडिताल) कर्णाटराग (ध्रुवताल)

सप्तमः तरङ्ग

मुखारी राग (रूपक ताल), वराडि राग (झम्पताल), केदारगौड़ा राग (त्रिपटा ताल) आनन्दभैरवी राग (अट्टताल), पाली राग (एकताल) ।

समाप्तिः—

उरसा मनसा दृष्ट्वा परिष्वज्य मुहुर्मुहुः
कृतकृत्यास्तदात्मान कृष्णं मत्वा समागताः । १
आत्मारामोऽपि भगवानात्मान दर्शयन् परं
ततः प्रभाते गोपीभिः सह गोकुलमागतः ।२

इति श्रीनारायण तीर्थ विरचितायां श्रीकृष्णलीलातरङ्गिण्यां श्रीकृष्णरासक्रीडा-माहात्म्यवर्णनं नाम अष्टमस्तरङ्गः ।

The tradition about Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha runs as follows :—

"After his death he (Vilvamaṅgala) was born as Jayadeva and composed the Gītagovinda. In the next birth he was born as Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, also a (58) votary of Kṛṣṇa and wrote the Kṛṣṇa-līlā-Taraṅginī"

According to Dr. Dāsgupta and Dr. De "The Kṛṣṇalīlā-taraṅgiṇī of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, pupil of Shivarāmānanda Tīrtha comprehends

hends in twelve Taraṅgas the entire story of Kṛṣṇa from birth to establishment of Dvārakā and includes songs in musical modes, it is sometimes ranked with the poems of Līlāsuka and Jayadeva as the third great work on Kṛṣṇalīlā, but it is a late and laboured imitation which never attained more than a limited currency. "The author flourished in the Godavari district about 1700 A. D." (58)

XXXIII
KĀSHI GĪTA BY CHANDRA DATTA

The Maithila poet Chandra Datta wrote 'Kāśigīta' in imitation of the G. G. in which the Rāsalīlā of Saṅkara on the bank of the Gaṅgā has been depicted in its twelve sargas. Relevant portions from this work are quoted below :

''ॐ गणेशाय नमः

प्रारम्भः

"मोहैर्भङ्गुर मेतद् त्रिभुवनं विज्ञाय भूतेश्वरो-
भव्यार्थी जगतोऽकृतातिकरुणं काशीशरीरं परां
इत्थं भेद्वतोर्जयन्ति जगतोरेकात्मनोरेतयोः
काशीशङ्करयो श्चिरं सुरधूनीकूले रहः केल्यः ।
आस्ते यद्यपि रामजन्मधरणी श्रीकृष्णजन्मावनी
मायानामपुरी तथा भगवतीकाञ्चीपुरी पुण्यदा
नाम्नैव प्रकटीकृतस्वमहिमावन्ति तथा द्वारका
एताः सन्तुः परन्तु जन्तुनिकरोद्धारे न काशीसमाः ।

यदि हरिस्मरणे सरसं मनो यदि विवेककलासु कुतूहलं
सदुपदेश महेशकथापथं शृणु तदा किल मैथिलभारतीं ॥

समाप्तिः—

उक्तं यज्जयदेव पण्डितकवे रत्रोचितं तन्मया
सर्वं तादृशमेव केवलमिह प्राकेलि पद्यं शुभं
अन्यत् कल्पितमेव मे यदि पुनस्तत्रापिचेद्दूषणं
तत्सर्वं कृपया विशोध्य सुधिया क्षन्तव्य मेषोऽञ्जलिः ।

मत्कृतेन च गीतेन भवानीशङ्करौ परं
प्रीयेतां × × काशीपरिवारसमन्वितौ (59)
पुष्पिका...इति श्री मैथिलचन्द्रदत्तकृत काशीगीते द्वादशः सर्गः"

Chandra Dutta was the author of another work called 'Vira-viruda' which was also greatly influenced by the G. G. as will be evident from the quotations made below :

आरम्भः

विमलाजिनवसने सुविकटदशने चञ्चलरसने भीमरवे
करधृतकरवाले रणविकराले नागरवाले ललित शिवे ।
मधुरस्मितहासिनि शम्भुविलासिनि गिरिवरवासिनि मयि सकल
सुरवैरिविदारिणि मृगवरचारिणि मङ्गलकारिणि कुरु कुशलं ।

भूभारोद्धरणाय भूसुरसुरत्राणाय भूमितले
ब्रह्मेन्द्रामरवृन्दवन्दित पदे वंशे प्रशंस्ये यदोः
त्वय्याविर्भवति प्रभौ विलसति ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदरे
चण्डीभर्त्तुरकाण्डताण्डवविधौ शङ्खध्वनिः पातुः मां ।
जयघनसुन्दर नमितपुरन्दर नन्दितचरणतलागत
निज शरणागत वन्दित ॥

समाप्तिः—

जय जय दितिसुतलक्षयज्ञविक्षेपविधायक
परजन फलदानदायक शायक कान्तकलिका

Colophon :—"Iti Shrī Viravirudaṃ Chandradattanirmitaṃ."

He also composed a ṭīkā of this work called Virudâvali e.g.

प्रणम्य हरिपादाब्ज जानकीजन्मभूमिभूः
चन्द्रदत्तः स्वरचितां व्याचष्टे विरुदावलीं "

One Chandra Dutta of Mithilā became famous by writing the 'Bhaktamālā' in Sanskrit. It is quite plausible that he is identical with this Maithila poet Chandra Datta.

XXXIV

SANGĪTA RAGHUNANDANA BY PRIYA DĀSA

The great Sanskrit and Hindi poet Priya Dāsa who adorned the court of Viśvanātha Siṃha, Ruler of Rewa in Bundelkhand wrote Saṅgīta Raghunandana in 1832 A. D. in imitation of G.G.(62) This work, the authorship of which has been attributed to Mahārājā Kumāra Visvanātha Siṃha contained the following sargas as noted below :—

इति श्रीमहाराजकुमार श्रीबाबुसाहेव विश्वनाथ सिंह कृते सङ्गीतरघुनन्दने मङ्गलवर्णनं नाम प्रथमः सर्गः, गृहरासवर्णनं नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः, वसन्तरासवर्णनं नाम तृतीयः सर्गः, जानकीअन्तर्द्धानवर्णनं नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः, कामवसन्तिकागमनवर्णनं नाम पञ्चमः सर्गः, चारुशीलाकृतमानिन्यनुनयवर्णनं नाम षष्ठः सर्गः, जानकीसमागमो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः, श्रीजानकीभूषणविधानं नामाष्टमः सर्गः, दोलावर्णनं नाम नवमः सर्गः, सर्वाङ्गशोभावर्णनं नाम दशमः सर्गः, श्री जानकी रघुनन्दन सम्मिलनानन्दजनित संङ्गीत नृत्यवर्णनं नाम एकादशः सर्गः।

Relevant portions are quoted from this work :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

"रामप्रेमपयोविवर्द्धनविधुः शृङ्गारसारास्पदं
संसारार्णवत्रासतारणतरिः मायातमोदीपिका
विद्युत्भासुखवृन्दवर्षणकरी कादम्बिनी काप्यसौ
मद्धृत्कञ्जनिवासिनी विजयतां श्रीजानकी सर्वदा । १
कीर्त्यकीर्त्तिरथो भुवोपि च तथा भूः श्रीः श्रियश्चोत्तमा
ह्लादिन्यादिसुशक्तिसेवितपदा मायादिकस्वामिनी
सर्वेषामपि कामदो रघुपतिः तस्यापि या कामदा
सा सीता नयतां मदीय भणितं रामेश्वरीचारुतां । २

जयति सच्चिदानन्द घनवरदवर सर्वगुणशाली शृङ्गाररसपालमूर्त्तिः
सर्वजनवत्सलः प्रविगलितमत्सरः प्रेमपाथोधि पुरुषार्थपूर्त्तिः
सर्वगतसर्वमतसर्ववन्दितचरण सर्वशरणागतोद्धृतिविहारी
गुरुरूपरघुवरः श्रीप्रियदास इह विश्वनाथान्तरगीतकारी (63)

Viśvanātha Siṃha also wrote a commentary named 'Vyaṅgyārtha Chandrikā' on this work.

XXXV
SANGĪTA RĀGHAVA BY GANGĀDHARA KAVI

Gangādhara Kavi, a famous author of several works in Sanskrit like 'Harililāmṛtam' , 'Prasanna Mādhava Kāvya' and 'Rasakallola' who adorned the court of Janoji Bhonsle of Nagapur wrote an imitation of the G. G. called 'Saṅgita Rāghava' to gain the good will of his patron.

'श्रीभोसलकुलमणिना ज्ञाननृपेणार्थितः प्रभुप्रीत्यै
सङ्गीतराघव कविगङ्गाधर उच्चकार सम्मुदितः ।
ग्रन्थरचनाकाल—षडष्टसप्त्येकमिते शालीवाहनशाकेऽमले
गङ्गाधरकविश्चक्रे ग्रन्थं सङ्गीतराघवम् ।।

The work was completed in षट् (8) अष्ट (8) सप्त (7) and एक (1) or 1786 Shaka year or 1864 A. D. The work is divided into six sargas i. e.

प्रमुदित राघव (बालकाण्डः) प्रवासि राघव अयोध्या काण्डः
विरहि राघव (अरण्यकाण्डः) उद्युक्तराघव (किष्किन्दाकाण्डः)
उद्युक्त राघव (सुन्दरकाण्डः) सानन्द राघव (युद्ध काण्डः)

Different Rāgas like Mālava and others have been used. One of its songs is quoted below for comparative study.

'राघव धृत मनुजशरीर जय जय राम हरे । ध्रु
तनयसुवंशकृते धृतवानवतारं
विहितपवित्रचरित मुदारम् । १ ।
रविकुलतोयनिधौ धृतवानसि देहं
दशरथभूपजनि त्वमदाहम् । २ ।
कुवलयदुःखहृतौ श्रुतिसंख्यशरीरं
कलयसि कोमल सद्गुणधीरम् । ३ ।
रमयसि विश्वमिदं स्वगुणैर्गुणसिन्धो
पतितजनाद्भुत सुन्दरवन्धो । ४ ।

दशरथ मुख्यमहो दनुजकुलं स्वशरैह तत्रांस्त्वं प्रथयन्निजतत्त्वम् ॥५ (64)

XXXVI
GITA RĀGHAVA BY HARISHANKARA

A paṇḍita named Harisaṅkara wrote Gita Rāghava in imitation of the G. G. which was first noticed by Mm. H. P. Shastri (65) Relevant portions from this work are quoted below :—

ॐ श्रीरामचन्द्राय नमः

वाग्देवताचरितचित्रितचित्तसद्मा
श्रीजानकीचरणचारणचक्रवर्ती
श्रीरामचन्द्रवनवासकथासमेतं
काव्यं करोति हरिशङ्कर-भूमिदेवः ।

समाप्ति

अतनु वनास्त सपरि शिथिलाकृति
रिन हृदि विलसति हिमवती सीता ।
दिनपति-कुञ्जरकरनिभ वाहुक-
वलयति सुतनु रतनु राणभीता ।
द्विज हरिशङ्कर विरचितगीतक
मिद मुदयतु हरिजनहृदि सारम्
कलियुगमानुष-वहुविध-किल्विष
निविड-विजन पाहि हननकुठारम् ।

The different sargas of this work as follows :...

प्रथमः सर्गः—रामपरिवेदना कथनम्
द्वितीयः सर्गः—भरत सम्भाषणम्
तृतीयः सर्गः पञ्चवटीवृत्तान्त सूर्पणखा दर्शनादि
चतुर्थः सर्गः मृगचरितादि कथनम्
पञ्चमः सर्गः जानकी दर्शनम् ।
षष्ठः सर्गः हनुमन् प्रेषणम् ।
सप्तमः सर्गः अयोध्यागमनम् ।

Mm. H. P. Shastri made the following remarks about this work "Gītarāghava is a wretched imitation of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda by Harisaṅkara" (66)

XXXVII
JĀNAKĪGĪTA BY HARI ĀCHĀRYA

Mm. H. P. Shastri first noticed a manuscript of Jānakīgīta by one Hari Āchārya discovered at Chandrakona in the Midnapur district. The blessings of Jānakī have been invoked in the maṅgalācharaṇa verse. Relevant portions are quoted from this work.

"मूलः— गान्धार रागे एकताली ताले
"जय जय जानकि रघुपति दयिते
विधि-शिव-सनक शुकादिक-महिते ।
देवि शरणं तव करुणाभिलाषिता
त्रिभुवन गुरुणा" । ध्रु

शेषः—
"जय जितदूषणा रघुकुलभूषणा जय जय हरिदयिते
जय जय कविकमलविरोचनसुन्दर जय जय निखिलहिते ।
जय दशमुखतृणनिकरहुताशन जय जय युवतिमणे
जय जय सदय हृदयसकलेश्वर जय जय नतचरणे ।।

X X X

विद्यादिभूषणयुतो हरिरञ्जनाभ
पादारविन्दमधुपो यदिदं व्यधत्त
श्रीजानकीचरितगीतमुदप्रभावात्
तत् साधवः प्रतिदिनं मुदिताः पिबन्तु" ।।

पुष्पिका : इति श्रीहर्याचार्य विरचिते श्रीजानकीगीते आनन्दसीतारघुनन्दनो नाम षष्ठः सर्गः' ।

This is one more Gīta Kāvya writtten in imitation of the G. G. having the līlā of Shrī-Rāma as its theme.

XXXVIII

RĀMAGĪTAGOVINDA BY JAYADEVA

Rāmagītagovinda is a work in imitation of the G- G. treating the fortunes of Rāma and Sītā written by one Jayadeva Kavi, who is wrongly identified with the author of the G. G. Portions of this work, which has been published are given below :

"श्यामं सहासवदनं सरसीरुहाक्षं
केयूरकुण्डलकिरीटविराजमानं
कामाभिराममुरुमौक्तिकदामदीप्तं
पीताम्बरं किमपि धामं विचिन्तयामः ।

X X X

वाल्मीकिनादिकविना शतकोटिसंख्यां
रामायणं विरचितं शशिमौलिना च
कापेय वायुतनयेन तथा परेण
किञ्चित् करोति जयदेव कविश्चरित्रं ॥ ३

यदि रामपदाम्बुजे रति
यदि वा काव्यकलासु कौतुकम्
पठनीयमिदं तदोजसा
रुचिरं श्रीजयदेवनिर्मितम् ॥४

(मालवरागे रूपकताले)

स्मृतिवेदानुद्धारक जनतारक
शङ्खशमन सुरवंद्य जय जय राम हरे ।
मधुमदाखण्डलशेखर धृतमण्डल ये
सन्ततजगदाधार जय जय देव हरे ।
हेमनयनसंहारण खलदारण ये
भुवनानन्दमुकुन्द जय जय राम हरे ।

X X X

श्रीजयदेव विधायक युतशायक
कुरु कुशलं प्रणतेषु जय जय राम हरे ।

समाप्ति

वसन्ततिलक :—
श्रीमन् विदेहनृपदेशकृताधिवासो
निःशेषभूमिपतिमण्डल माननीयः ॥
एतत् चकार बत वीररसप्रधानं
काव्यं कविप्रकरमौलिविभूषणं सन् ॥

श्लोकोऽनुष्टुप्छन्दः—
श्रीमद्रामायण-क्षीरसागरान्मन्दरोपमः
जयदेवो रामगीतगोविन्दरत्नमाकरोत् ।

इति श्रीमद्रामगीतगोविन्दे महाकाव्ये सकलकविकुल-
मुकुटमणिश्रीजयदेवकृतौ रामराज्याभिषेको नाम पञ्चःसर्गः

The first verse at the end quoted above states that this poet Jayadeva was an inhabitant of Mithilā (Videhanṛpadeśakṛtādhivāso) and as such he is different from Jayadeva, author of G. G. who was a native of Utkal. No authentic evidence is available to fix the date of this poet.

XXXIX
Sangita Raghavam by Cinna Bomma Bhupala

There is a manuscript of 'Saṅgīta Rāghavaṃ' by Cinna Bomma Bhupāla in Tāñjore Mahārāja Serfogi's Sarasvatī Mahal library, Tāñjore (69).

After invoking the benedictiou of 'Rāmāyaṇa, Gaṅgā and Rādhā Kṛṣṇa' the author speaks of himself in the following verse.

"श्रोतव्यं मधुरं वचो यदि यदि स्मर्त्तव्यमाद्यमहः
सङ्गीतामृतमज्जनं यदि पुनः कर्त्तव्यमव्याहतम्

गीतं संसदि गीतराघवमिदं धीरास्तदाकर्ण्यतां
साहित्य नल्वोम्मभूपजनुषः श्री वोम्मभूमिपतेः ।

As an illustration a portion of the song is quoted below :—

सौराष्ट्रः । अटा ।
श्रीरमण पुराण पुरुष पुरुषेण
दारुणरभसतरेण शरेण,
कारुणिक विभो न चिरेण । ध्रुवपदम् ।
जहि जहि दशवदनं हे स्वामिन्
पश्य गुणे महितानस्य रणे विजिताम्
पश्यमवश्य मनन्त समस्तं
तस्य न च द्वितनोपि निरस्तम् । २

X X X X

वोम्म महिपतिना
कथित मिदं कृतिना

समाप्तिः

सकृदपि पन्तामपि निशमयतामिह कलिकलुषभयापहम्
कृतिना वोम्म महीपसुकृतिना कृतमिदमखिलसुधावहम् ।

अथ रघुपतिर्यानं धेनूर्मणीर्मणिभूषणं
सदसि वितरन् प्राज्ये राज्याभिषेकमहोत्सवे
प्रकृतिसुभगै र्लोकं
न्नलभत सता माचन्द्राकं स्थिरां महतीं श्रियम् ।

इति श्रीमत् पादजकुलकलशोदधिपूर्णसुधाकरस्य नल्वोमभूपालतनूजस्य चिनवोम्म-भूपालकस्य कृतौ सङ्गीतराघवाख्ये महाकाव्ये षष्ठः सर्गः । श्रीरामार्पणमस्तु ।"

The work was complete in eight sargas. It is doubtful if this author is the same as Cinna Bomma, the patron of the famous Appayadīkshita.

XL

GĪTASUNDARAM BY SADĀSIVA DĪKSHITA

A manuscript (No. 10950) of Gītasundaram by Sdāśiva Dīkshita is preserved in the Tāñjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahal library, Tāñjore (70). The author after invoking the benediction of Mīnākshī and Sundareśvara in the first verse speaks of himself and the work in the next two veres quoted below :—

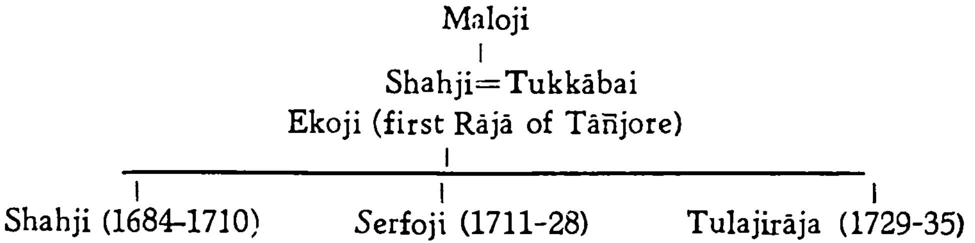
"श्री गणेशाय नमः । श्रीमीनाक्षीसुन्दरेश्वराभ्यां नमः
श्रीमद्भोसलवंशरत्नतुलजक्ष्मापालचूडामणेः
कल्याण कलयतु संततममी लीलाविशेषोज्वलाः
काम हेमपयोजिनीपरिसरे मध्ये कदम्बद्रुमं
मीनाक्ष्या सह सुन्दरेश्वर विभो रानङ्गनित्योत्सवः ।
त्यागेश-दिशिक-निदेशवशंवदाना
माज्ञानभक्तिवशनीत सदाशिवानाम्
श्रीचोकनाथमखिनां निखिलेडितानां-
मुल्लासयन्तु मम वाचमपाङ्गलीलाः ॥
भारती सरसकेलिमन्दिरं
सोमसुन्धरकथाधुरन्दरम्
श्लाघनीयरसभाववन्धुरं
लालयतु मम गीतसुन्दरम् ॥ ३

Colophon : श्रीमन् परमशिवातिवादिमूर्द्धन्यस्य सदाशिव दीक्षितस्य कृतिषु चतुर्णा सारसंग्रहे गीतसुन्दरे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

"श्रीमीनाक्षीसुन्दरेश्वरार्पणमस्तु"

The auothor Sadāśiva Dīkshita was the court poet of Tulajendra (Tulaji) one of the Marhaṭṭā Rājās of Tāñjore and a disciple of Cokkanātha Makhin. So he should have flourished in the first half of the 18th century. Gītagovinda was the model for this work containing six sargas.

The genealogy of Tulajendra is given below :



So Gītasundaram which praises Tulaji must have been written during his reign.

XLI

GĪTA SANKARAM BY ANANTA NĀRĀYANA

The manuscript of Gīta Shaṅkaraṃ by Ananta Nārāyaṇa is preserved in the Tāñjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tāñjore, relevant quotation from which is made below (71)

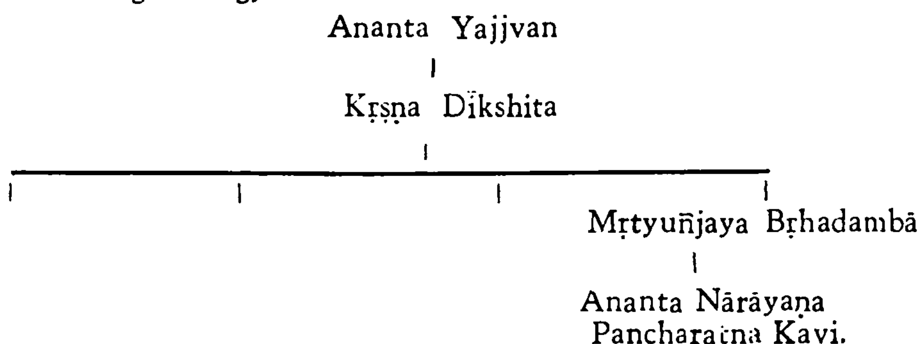
"प्रागीप्सितस्य ग्रन्थस्य निर्विघ्नेन समाप्तये
मङ्गलायतनं शम्भुं वन्दे वागीश्वरं हरिम् ।
मालवी रागेण गीयते
शमितजगत्त्रितये त्वयि माया लीना
गर्भगताखिलजगदति दीना

कामजनित जपा कमनीया रूप
विहरति रहसि पुरारिपुणा । ८ ।

Colophon—श्रीअत्रिकुलतिलकायमानानन्त यज्व कुलकलशसिन्धुकौस्तुभायमान कृष्ण दीक्षिततुर्यतनय मृत्युञ्जयार्यतनुसम्भवानन्तनारायण नामधेय पञ्चरत्नकविकृतं गीतशङ्करं समाप्तम् ।

रचितं शङ्करचरितं
वृहदम्बागर्भसम्भवेनेदम्
मोदाय भवतु सुदृशा
मनुरणितं शुकबालकेनेव ।

The genealogy of the author runs as follows :—



XLII

SHIVAGITI MALIKA BY CHANDRASEKHARENDRA SARASVATI

There were two manuscripts of this work in the Tāñjore Mahārāja Serfogi'g Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tāñjore. The portions cited below speak of the author who clearly states that it was written in imitation of the work of Shrī Jayadeva. It contained 12 sargas like the Gītagovinda (72).

श्रीशिवाय नमः

"सकलविघ्ननिवर्त्तक शङ्कर
प्रिय सुतप्रणतार्त्तिहर प्रभो
ममहृदम्बुजमध्यलसत् मणी
रचिते मष्टपदा सरसो भव ।

समाप्तिः

विद्याविनीत जयदेव कवेरुदार-
गीतप्रवन्धसरणि प्रणिधान मात्रात्
एपा मया विरचिता शिवगीतिमाला
मोदं करोतु शिवयोः पद योजनीयम् ।
गुणानुस्यूतिरहिता दोपग्रन्थिविदूपिता
तथापि शिवगीतिर्नो मालिका चित्रमीदृशी
अष्टपदी

Colophon : इति श्रीकाञ्ची कामकोटिपीठाधीश श्रीचन्द्रशेखरेन्द्र सरस्वतीय-विरचितायां शिवगीतिमालिकायां दशमः सर्गः ।

The author Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati who was the 62 nd pontiff of the Kāmakoti Pitha of Kāñchī is placed in the middle of the 17th century.

XLIII

Ramastapadi by Rama Shastri

A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Tāñjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tāñjore (73).

Beginning : जय सम्पद्विजितधनपनिमद रतिपतिसदृश करुणावरुणालय ।

END : अनुकम्पय मयि श्रीराममहीभुजेन्द्रं श्रितकवीन्द्रं नुतनरेन्द्रसान्द्रम् ।

Rāma Shāstrī, brother of Bañchhesvara Dikshita, the court poet of Shāhji Mahārāja of Tāñjore (1684-1710) wrote one 'Rāmāṣṭapadī' in imitation of 'Shivāṣṭapadī' of Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati (74).

XLIV

Sahavilasa Gitam by Dhundhirāja

The manuscript of this work is preserved in T. M. S. S. M. Library, Tāñjore, relevant portions from which speaking about the poet and his patron are reproduced below.

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः, रेणुकायै नमः"

Prayer is offered to the dancing Shiva in the maṅgalācharaṇa verse of the work.

'कीर्त्तिर्यस्य नरीनृत्यति महति स्फीता जगन्मण्डपे
मर्मवित् प्रतिजाज्वलीति विमतक्षोणीभुजां यन्महः
तेनावोंपतिवर्यशाहु विभुना व्यासान्वयेन्दुःस्विकां
लीलां वर्णयितुं न्यदेशि सदसि श्रीधुण्ढिराजः सुधीः ।

विधीयते व्याकरणे पुराणेष्वधीतिना शाहनृपाश्रितेन
स्वप्नेमधाम्मा किल धुण्डि नाम्ना मनोहरं शाहविलास गीतम् ॥ २४

विधृतयवनवेषान् यातुधानानशेषा-
नधिकलि विनिहन्तुं शौरि मेवावतीर्णम् ।
भुवि नरपतिमेनं साधु गायामि गीतै-
रभिनव जयदेवः सोऽहमेवं प्रणीतैः ॥

समाप्ति

बुधो धुण्डिर्नाम्ना जगति विदितो लक्ष्मणसुधी-
मणेः श्रीमद्व्यासान्वयजलधिचन्द्रादजनि यः
शुभः शश्वद् विश्वप्रथितयशसः शाहनृपते
र्विलासस्तेनायं सरसमुपगीतो विजयते । ६

Colophon : इति श्रीशाहमहाराजपौराणिक धुण्डिव्यास विरचितं शाहविलासगीतं विजयतां" (75)

This work, complete in eight sargas was written by Dhuṇḍi Kavi of Vyāsagotra, son of one Lakshmana Paṇḍita on the model of the Gītagovinda praising Sāhaji; one of the Marhaṭṭa Rājās of Tāñjore (1684-1710 A. D). He calls himself Abhinava Jayadeva. He was according to himself the Paurāṇika of Shāhji.

XLV
Sahajirajastapadi

There is a manuscript of this work in Tāñjore M. S. S. M. Library, portions from which are reproduced below. (76)

Beginning "राग केदार गौल । तालम् आदितालम् ।

उद्याने मृगयाविहारमनसो यस्यासिसंदर्शना-
दारम्य प्रसवासतापविधुरां संप्रत्यसौ ते दशाम् ।
शृण्वन् शाहविभुर्मनोभवमखे साकं त्वया दीक्षितुं
त्वामाकाङ्क्षति याहि सत्वरमपि ब्रूते स्म वालां सखी

शाहमहीशे सुदतिसकाशे चलति तवानु वनान्तम्
न चलसिकथमिवकिमितिमिषदसि पुनरासर निशिकान्तम्
शाह महीशे । सुदति सकाशे । इति पल्लव्य

समाप्ति—

शहजोन्द्र एलेलो
गुणसान्द्र एलेलो
क्षितिचन्द्र एलेलो
नृपतीन्द्र वीरातिवीर
विजितारिवार ।
साकारमार सौन्दर्य्यसार
तुल्य कल्य पल्यधीश
बालसमशील गुणलील रतिरोल । एलेलो ॥ ४ ।

. XLVI .

Krishnagiti by Manaveda

Manaveda, a prince of Kerala wrote Kṛṣṇagīti which describes the story of Kṛṣṇa's life in eight cantos composed on the model of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda. It contains verses as well as musical portions and is intended to be enacted. The performance is called Kṛṣṇa-aṭṭam. It became very popular in Kerala not only because of the royal support, but also because of its intrinsic merit. There is a story that Kathakali was modelled on Kṛṣṇaṭṭam. Even now it is staged annuallly in Guruvayur temple. Manadeva wrote Kṛṣṇa-gīti in 1652 A. D., which is represented by a chronogram referring to Kali age which is given in the text itself. (77)

XLVII

SAMGĪTA MĀDHAVA BY PRAVODHĀNANDA

Probodhananda, a disciple of Shrī Chaitanya and Guru of Gopala Bhaṭṭa wrote a lyrical poem 'Saṃgīta Mādhava' modelled after Shri Gītagovinda. The author pays his homage to Shrī Chaitanya in the concluding verse of his work. It has got 15 cantos

instead of 12 cantos of the G. G. But 'Prabodhānanda is only an ingenious imitator and a poor poet. Even the frame work of his poem is flimsy and unconvincing".

"The number of songs (in musical modes) introduced in the manner of Jayadeva's padāvalis is twenty eight, which to a certain extent relieve the monotony of the stereotyped erotic scheme, but they are closely imitative, even if melodious and some of these are exuberantly lengthy but it is the besetting weakness of an unoriginal poet to produce literary counterfeits which seldom become current coins of poetry". (78) A few lines from the lengthy specimen are quoted below.

नव ललितकुण्डल विधुत-विधु-मण्डलं
चारुमुखं अमृतनिधिसारम् ।
स्मरति मम मानसं किमपि रविलालस
स्यन्दिमृदु हासित मधुधारम् ।
प्रिय, क्वासि राधे, देहि मयि किमपि शुभदृष्टिम्
तव निमेष कौतुके किरति मयि दारुणां
विषमविषशरवृष्टिम् " । ध्रुवपद ।

Out of 47 imitations of the immortal Shrī Gītagovindam by Jayadeva, about 19 were written in Orissa, which bear convincing testimony about its tremendous popularity and influence on the Paṇḍits of Orissa from the time of its composition till the beginning of the last century. Next to Orissa, comes Mithilā, where seven imitations were made, the second one being a worthy work by the famous Bhanu Kavi. The five works of Bengal influenced by the G. G. were all written in the post-Chaitanya period after it had been made popular by the Mahāprabhu Shrī Chaitanya who used to listen to its recitation daily during his long stay at Puri for about eighteen years. Six works were composed in Tamilnadu on the model of G. G. in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the Christian era. Of the remainning works two belong to Āndhra

whereas Madhyapradesa, Rajasthana, Mysore, Maharastra and Kerala had each one imitation of this celebrated work. Of the other scholars who followed Shrī Jayadeva Priya Dāsa was a famous Hindi poet but the native places of Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa and Hari-śaṅkara are not definitely known.

On the analysis of these works it is found that the Līlā of Shrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa formed the theme of twenty five works whereas the depiction of the divine sports of Shrī Pārvatī and Paramesvara and Shrī Sītā and Rāma formed the subject matter of ten and nine imitations respectively. The glory of Chaṇḍikā has been sung only in a single work. The glorification of Sāhaji formed the basis of the two remainihg works.

No disscusion has been made about some other imitations, the names of which are only known from different histories of Sanskrit literature. But they have not been noticed in any descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts.

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38 From the verse 4 of the 40th Samgraha of the second part of 'Suri-sarvasvam', the manuscript of which is preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

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40 They are " Bhagavallila chintamani " and " Vraja yuvavilasa "

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43 Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Raja R. L. Mitra, 1881 Vol, VI, part 1, p. 30

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64 Three more imitations of the Gitagovinda. I. H. Q. Vol. XXV pp. 95-101

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77 The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature by K. Kunjunni Raja p. 101.

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VISHVANĀTHA MISHRA
A SMRITI WRITER OF ORISSA.

Smṛti-sārasaṃgraha by Vishvanātha Mishra is very popular in Orissa, and palmleaf manuscripts containing this work are being discovered in all parts of this State. There are six manuscripts of this work in the Manuscripts library of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswer. It was first briefly noticed by the late Manamohana Chakravarti in his learned article under the caption ' Language and Literature of Orissa ' (1). An attempt is made in this paper to fix tentatively the date of this well-known Smṛti-writer of Orissa and to assess the value and importance of this popular work with the help of the six manuscripts so far collected, and the printed copy of this work, which was published in Oriya characters in 1915 by late Pandit Govinda Ratha of Cuttack. The six manuscripts refered to above are noted below :—

A. This manuscript contains the complete work and from the colophon it is known that the manuscript was copied by one Narasiṃha- Purohita, the recipient (Dānādhyaksha) of the Vira Nārāyaṇapur Shāsana, on the 2nd day of the month of Vṛschika, in the cyclic year Vilaṃbi, which fell in the third Aṅka of Mahārajā Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva.

B. This manuscript is complete, and the scripts used appear to be old The colophon at the end states that S. S. S. (2) by Vishvanātha Mishra is finished but does not give its date of copying.

C. This manuscript is complete and the colophon at the end is similar to that found in Ms. 'B'.

D. This manuscript is complete and the colophon is similar to that of Ms. B except the word Mishra, which is not found. The date of copy is not given.

E. This manuscript which is the most important of the lot, was acquired this year from Sri Rādhāramana Rajaguru of the Par'a-khemidi town in the district of Ganjam in Orissa. In the colophon at the end of work it is stated that S. S. S. contains 2250 verses and it was copied in the 3rd Aṅka of Raja Gopīnātha Deva as noted below.

इति श्री विश्वनाथकृतः स्मृतिसारसंग्रहः समाप्तः ।
श्लोकानां तु सहस्रे द्वे द्वे शते द्वे च विंशतिः
ततः दश पुनः श्लोका ग्रन्थसंख्या प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
गोपीनाथ नृपस्याङ्के तृतीये मासि कार्त्तिके
वासरेऽर्के भगवता लिखितः स्मृतिसंग्रहः ॥

F. This manuscript is incomplete.

So of the six manuscripts noted above only Mss. A and E are helpful in calculating the date of the author as the date of copy is given at the end of both the manuscripts. Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva mentioned in the colophon of Ms. A was undoubtedly the Rājā of the Parlakhemidi State, where two chiefs bearing the same name are found in the genealogical table of the Rāj family. Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva I in his unpublished Oriya Kāvya 'Nava Vṛndāvana Chandravihāra' states that his work was finished in Shaka 1689 (1767 A. D.) in the year Sarvajit which according to southern cycle only fell in that year. (3) So the southern cycle of Jupiter was foll-wed in that region. According to this cycle the year Vilambī, in which the manuscript was copied fell in 1718 A. D. and 1778 A. D. As neither of the two dates fail during the region of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva I (C 1725--1768 A. D.) he may be taken as the second king of that name, who lived in the first half of the last century when the year Vilambī according to southern cycle fell in 1838 A. D.

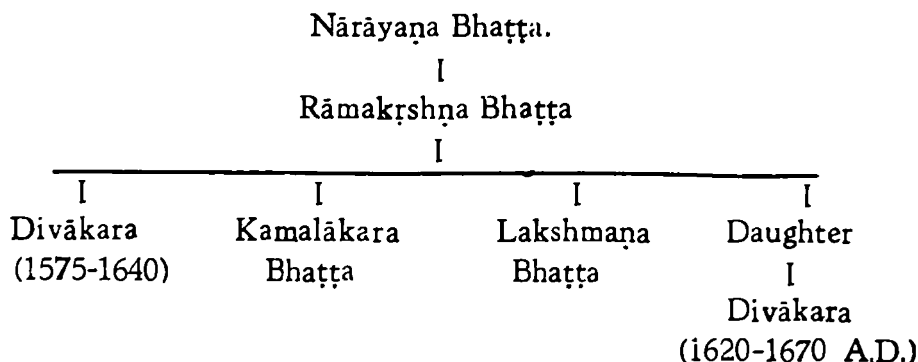
King Gopīnātha Deva mentioned in manuscript E was evide-ntly the king of Khurda of the Bhoi dynasty who ruled from 1718 to 1725 A. D. So the date of the manuscript which was copied in his

third Aṅka or the second year of his reign is 1719 A. D. This provides the latest limit for fixing the date of Vishvanātha who may tentativly by placed some fifty years before that date.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that Gadādhara Rājaguru, a great Smṛti writer of Orissa who wrote his Kālasāra (4) during the reign of Rāja Harekṛshṇa Deva (1714-1718 A. D.) of Khurda is found to quote verses from S. S. S. (5) without giving the name of the author or his work. This proves that S. S. S. was regarded as a standard work in Dharmashāstra before the days of Cadādhara Rājaguru who wrote his works in the first quarter of the 18th century and as such S. S. S. may be placed some 40 years before 1715 or in 1675 A. D., which is an approximate posterior limit for his date.

The anterior limit for his work may be fixed by careful examination of the quotations made from previous Smṛti works and mention of his predecessors. Of the Smṛti-writers of the historical period mentioned by Visvanātha e.g., Ananta Bhaṭṭa.Karka, Lakshmīdhara, Dhavalāchārya, Vishvarūpācharyā, Govindarāja, Jīmuta-Vāhana, Vidyākara, Vijnāneshvara, Mādhavāchārya, Saṃbhukara, Satānanda, and Divākara ; all except Divkāara are definitely known to have flourished before 1350 A. D. So only the mention of Divākara in the section on " Upākarma kāla nirṇaya " in S. S. S. e. g. "Iti Divākarah yat tu Ananta Bhaṭṭa ṭīkākāreṇa likhitaṃ " furnishes the clue to fix the anterior limit for his work.

Let us now try to ascertain who was this Divākara referred to in S. S. S. Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane gives the names of five Smṛti-writers having the name of Divākar (6) of whom only two are known to have lived before 1675 A. D. the posterior time-limit fixed for Vishvanāth. Both of them were related to each other as will be evident from the genealogical table given below :---



Of the two, Divākara, the grand-son of Ramakṛshṇa Bhaṭṭa, was almost a contemporary of Vishvanātha. So Divākara, the elder brother of Kamalākara, a great Smṛti-writer of India, was perhaps referred to in S. S. S. Kamalākara in the sixth introductory verse of his renowned work " Nirṇayasindhu " pays obeisance to his elder brother Divākara who was held in high esteem by him e. g.

" Vindu Mādhava pādābja rolambīkṛta vigrahaṃ
Jyāyāsaṃ bhrātaraṃ Bhaṭṭa Divākara mupāsmahe. "

Divākara was the author of ' Karma vipāka sāra ', ' Prāyashchitta sāra ', ' Shānti sāra ' and ' Dinakaroddyota ' and his time has been fixed by Dr. Kane between 1572-1640 A. D.

So 1640 A. D. may be fixed as the anterior time limit for Vishvanātha. The anterior and posterior time limits fixed above being 1640 A. D. and 1675 A. D. respectively. Visvanātha may be assigned to the middle of the seventeenth century A. D.

Unlike most of the Smṛti-witers of Orissa, Vishvanātha does not say any thing about his fore-fathers, gotra, birth place, or the Rājā of his time, in his S. S. S. But this much is known definitely from the copies of S. S. S. that he was a Brahmin having the surname Mishra and he may be taken as a Smṛti-writer of Orissa, due to the circulation of his work in this State alone. He does not refer to any other work written by him in S. S. S. nor do we find

the name of any other work written by him from the notices of the manuscripts so far made in different parts of Orissa, during the last sixty years. So, S. S. S. may by taken as the only work written by him.

Review of Smṛti Sāra Saṃgraha :—As the very name implies, S. S. S. is a small compendium of older Smṛti-works dealing on Kāla (calculation of time) Āchāra (daily rites) and Shrāddha. So the author has mentioned the names of many Smṛti-kāras and quoted from a large number of Smṛti-works in S.S.S. which are arranged below alphabetically for the benefit of scholars. The number of times quoted or referred to has been given within brackets against each name arranged alphabetically in Sanskrit.

A—Atri (1), Ananta Bhaṭṭa (16), Aṅgirā (1),

Ā—Āgneyapurāṇa (4), Āditya purāṇa (2), Āpasthambba (10), Āshvalāyana (2), Āshvalāyana Gṛhyaparishishṭa (1).

I —Ishāna Saṃhitā (2)

U—Ushanā (3)

R—Rishyasṛṅga (1)

Ka—Karkopādhyāya (2), Karkabhāshya (4), Kalpataru (8), Kalpatarukāra and Lākshmīdhara (21), Kalpatarubhāshya (1), Kātyāyana (14) Kānva (1), Kālādarsha and Kālādarsha-kāra (27), Kāshayapa pañcharātra (1), Kāshyapasaṃhitā (1), Kārshṇājina (3), Kūrmapurāṇa (7), Kṛtyakaumudī (8).

Ga—Garuḍapurāṇa (6), Gārgya (10), Gālava (4), Gṛhyaparishishṭa (1), Gobhila (8), Govindaraja (3), Goutama (4),

Cha—Chintāmaṇi (1), Chyavana (1)

Chha—Chhandogyaparishishṭa (8)

Ja—Jamadagni. (1), Jayantī (1), Jayantīprakaraṇa (1), Jātukarṇya (4), Jāvāli (7), Jīmūtavāhana (1), Jyotihshātra (11), Jyotihsārasamuchaya (2)

Da—Daksha (2), Divākara (1), Devīpurāṇa (5), Devala (11), Daivajña chūḍāmani ( )

Dha—Dhavalāchārya (1), Dhavalasaṃgraha (9)

Na—Nandīpurāṇa (1), Nagarakhāṇḍa (5), Nārada (3), Nāradasaṃhitā (1), Nāradīya (14), Nāradīya purāṇa (3), Nigama (3)

Pa—Padmapurāṇa (11), Parishiṣṭa (1), Pāraskara (3), Pāraskaragṛhya-bhāshya (1), Pitāmaha (4), Purushottama Māhātmya (1), Pushkara purāṇa (1), Paiṭhinasī (16), Prachetā (3) Prajāpati (1), Prāyaschitta Prakaraṇa (1)

Ba—Brahmapurāṇa (20). Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa (8), Brahmasiddāhā-nta (4), Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (7), Boudhāyana (5), Bahvṛcha parisiṣṭa Kārikā (1), Balabhadra saṃgraha (1), Byāghra (1)

Bha—Bhagavatī Purāṇa (1), Bhagavadgītā (1),Bhavishyapurāṇa (19),Bhavishyottara Purāṇa (12),Bhāgavata (2),Bhārata (Mahābhārata) (9).

Ma—Manu (20), Madanapārijātakāra (2), Marichi (7), Matsya Purāṇa (18),Mahārṇava prakāshakāra (1),Mādhavīya (11), Mādhavīyakāra (28), Māṇḍavya (1), Mārkandeya (3,) Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (3)

Ya—Yama (20), Yamasmṛtī (1), Yājñavalkya (13), Yogīshvara (1)

Ra—Rājamārtaṇḍa (10)

La—Laghu Hārīta (1), Liṅga Purāṇa (5), Lougākshī (2)

Va—Varāhapurāṇa (7), Vashishṭha (4), Vākyaratnāvalī (1), Vāyu Purāṇa (12), Vālmīki (1), Vyāsa (6), Vijnanesvara (7), Vidyākara (7), Vidyākara paddhati (3), Vishvarūpāchārya (1), Visvāmitra (3), Vishṇu (5), Vishṇudharma (3), Vishṇudharmottara (18), Vishṇu paddhati (1), Visṇu Puraṇa (5), Vishṇurahasya (4), Vṛddhagārgya (4), Vṛddha Shātātapa (2), Vṛhadāraṇyaka (3), Vṛhat Manu (2), Vṛhat Vashishṭha (3), Vaishvānarasaṃhitā (1), Vaishampāyana (1)

Sha—Shaṅkaragītā (1),Saṇkha (5),Shatānanda (11),Shatānandasaṃgraha (24), Shatānadasaṃgraharatnāvalī (1), Shatānanda Ratnamālā (1), Sambhukarapaddhati (5),Shāmvapurāṇa (1),Shātātapa (4),Shivakhaṇda (1),Shivarahasya (2),Shivarāghavasaṃvāda (2),Shuddhimuktāvalī (1),Shaunakasūtra (1), Shrāddhaviveka (9),Shrāddhavivekakāra (5)

Sa—Saṃgrahanirṇaya (1), Satyavrata (3),Samayaprakāsha,Sanatkumāra (1),Saṃvarta (1),Saṃvatsarapradīpa (2), Sāvitrīsmṛtisaṃgrahakāra (1),Siddhāntashiromaṇi (3),Sumantu (5),Smṛti āra (1),Smṛtisaṃgraha (1), Smṛtisamuchchaya (4),Smṛti ratnamālā (2), Skanda Purāṇa (37)

Ha—Hariharasamuchchaya (1), Harita (8),

From the above alphabetical list it is clear that the largest number of quotations (40 times) have been made from the works of Mādhavācharya, the great Smṛti-writer of Southern India of the 14th century A. D. and next from the works of Satānanda (30 times) one of the greatest astronomers of Purushottama or Puri in Orissa, whose well-known work on astronomy called ' Bhāsvatī ' was completed in 1099 A. D. He wrote two other works on Dharmaśāstra called afterwards 'Shatānanda samgraha' and 'Shatānanda Ratnamala' or 'Shatānanda Ratnāvali'. Manuscripts of Ratnamālā have been discovered in the Puri district But no report about the discovery of the manuscripts of शतानन्द् संग्रह् is yet available. But it seems to be a notable work as it has been quoted 24 times in S.S.S. Then numericall come 'Kṛtya-Kalpataru' of the great Lakshmīdhara Bhaṭṭa of the 12th century (quoted 29 times) and Kālādarsha of Āditya Bhaṭṭa (quoted 27 times) who flourished before Mādhavāchārya.

Besides the works of Shatānanda, Vishvanātha refers to the following Smṛti works written in Orissa namely Shambhukara Paddhati, by Shambhukara Mishra Vājapeyī, Vidyākara Paddhati by Vidyākara Mishra Vājapeyī. Kṛtyakaumudī quoted 8 times in S. S. S. seems identical with the work of that name, compiled by Bṛhaspati (c 15th century) who most probably belonged to Orissa, as his work is only quoted by the Smṛti–writers of Orissa. But it seems strange that he does not mention the name of any work of Narasiṃha Vājapepī, one of the great Smṛti-writers of Orissa of the second half of the sixteenth century. This omission was perhaps due to the fact that Vishvanātha who was posterior to Narasiṃha only by some 30 to 40 years purposely omitted the name of this great Smṛti-kāra and his work out of jealousy either to him or his family. This was also the case with Gadādhara Rājaguru who quoted from S. S. S. in his work 'Kālasāra' without mentioning the name of the work or its author.

Though S. S. S. was a small digest from the older Smṛti works, it was accepted as an authority by the later Smṛti-writers of Orissā like Divyasiṃha Mahāpātra and Kṛshṇa Mishra. Divya-

siṃha quotes from S. S. S. in his Shrāddha Dīpa and Kṛshṇa Mishra refers to Vishvanātha four times as noted below in his work 'Kāla-sarvasva' which is not yet published. (7)

(1) महाष्टमी प्रकरण—अत्र विश्वनाथ folio 47)

(2) श्रवणद्वादशी प्रकरण—विश्वनाथादिभिः महाप्रामाणिक रुक्तेः (f 73)

(3) वलभद्र पूर्ण्णिमा—विश्वनाथ दिव्यर्सि हौतु (f 87)

(4) अमावास्याश्राद्धविचार—तस्मात् वाजपेयी रघुनन्दन विश्वनाथादि वहु स्मार्त्त सम्मतेयं (f 93)

From the above discussion it will be clear that S. S. S. did not lose its position and popularity among the latter Smṛti-writers of Orissa in spite of compilation of voluminous works on different branches of Dharmashāstra by the famous Gadādhara Rājaguru.

References

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVI, 1897 p, 341

2 Smriti Sara-Samgraha is abbreviated as S. S. S.

3 An Indian Ephemeris by Swami Kannu Pillai Vol. VI, p. 334

4 'Kalasara' publiihed in Oriya scripts by the Raja Saheb of Bamra in 1898 A. D.

5 (a) Discussion on 'Prathamastami', 'Kalasara' p, 120 S. S S. p. 70
(b) ,, ,, 'Kusmanda Dashami' ,, p. 131 ,, p. 65

6 History of Dharmashastra literature Vol. I, pp.702-703.

7 Three plamleaf Manuscripts of कालसर्वस्व are preserved in the manuscripts library of the Orissa State Museum, two of which are incomplete and the third is comlete. The qotations are made from the complete one.

SECTION—II

Papers on Orissa History and Archaeology.

RASHTRADEVATA SRI JAGANNATHA

Bhagavan Sri Sankaracharya, the greatest reformer of Hinduism, (788-820 AD) proclaimed Jagannath as Vishnu in his 'Bhashyam' on 'Vishnusahasranama' and placed his favourite disciple Sri Padmapadacharya, as the head of the monastery built at Puri for the propagation of his faith. To commemorate this epoch-making event in the history of Orissa, the images of Sri Samkara and his disciple Sri Padmapada were installed for worship on the Ratnasimhasana of Sri Jagannatha, and the management of the religious affairs of the deities was entrusted to the spiritual heads of Samkaramatha, since those days.

After this memorable event, the sanctity and greatness of Jagannatha was accepted by the entire Hindu community throughout India. So the author of the 'Kalika Purana' compiled before 1000 AD in the far off Kamarupa (Assam) speaks of Jagannatha as 'Odresa' on the greatest deity of Odra or Orissa in growing terms. The same sentiment is echoed in the long stone inscription of the Saraswati temple on a hill in the Village of Majhar in the Satna district of Madhyapradesa, wherein the poet sings with deep reverence the virates of the 'Larsana of Purushottama (Jagannatha) after a ceremonial bath in the ocean, which were the means to attain salvation after death (Brahmapada prapti).

The fame of Shri Purushottama inspired Murari, the greatest Sanskrit poet of the nineth century to stage his drama 'Anargharaghava Natakam' before an assembly of learned Pandits at the time of the car festival of Sri Jagannatha. Murari, the great devotee of the Lord has sung the eulogy of the round white, sparkling eyes of the Lord appearing like 'Indra Nilamani' in the first benedictory verse of his drama, which is unique in the whole Sanskrit literature.

The author of the great Tantric work called 'Rudrayamala' a work of the nineth century offers his respects to Jagannatha (Hari) embracing Kamala

or Lakshmi, which is a veiled reference about the worship of the Goddess in the compound of Jagannatha. The author of Tantrayamala, another notable Tantric work of this age sings the eulogy of 'Darurupi' (appearing in the wooden form) Jagannatha, worshipped in the Purushottama Kshetra or Puri, in Utkaladesa, which was 'Bhuswarga' or veritable paradise on earth.

The popularity of Lord Jagannatha was immensely gaining ground in Northern India, where great temples of hoary antiquity beginning from the temple of Somanath were systematically being pulled down by the invading Muslim forces from the time of Mahmad of Ghazni (1000-1030 A. D.)

The present magnificent and lofty temple of Lord Jagannatha built by Gangeswara Deva. the founder of the Ganga Empire, washed by the Ganga in the north and the Godavari in the south between 1112-1147 A. D. which was the highest temple in that age, served as a beacon light for the whole Hindu World, especially on northern India, repeatedly tormented by Muslim invasions.

Just after a few year of the building of this temple, Narapati Nalha, the first great poet of Rajasthan speaks in glowing tunes about the pilgrimage of Jagannatha, the Lord of the Yadavas in his historical work called 'Bisaldev Raso' first in the series of the Raso Mahakavayas in Hindi, compiled in Vikram Sambat 1212 or 1156 A. D.

Chand Bardai the great Hindi poet of the court of Prithviraja, the last independent emperor of Delhi, who was dafeated and killed in the famous battle of Tarain (1142 A. D.) not only sings the praise of Sri Jayadev, the saint, who passes his days in singing the glory of Govinda in a introductory stanza of his work, but describes with reverence about the worship of Lord Jagannatha installed in a Kataka (City) on the sea-shore of Utkal, while narrating the story of Vijayapala, the ruler of Kanyakubja. The references to Lord Jagannatha in these two great and extremely popular Raso Mahakavays in Hindi composed between 1150-1200 in the far-off Rajasthan bear unmistakable evidence about the high estimation in which Sri Jagannatha of Puri was being held by the learned men as well as the common people of Nothern India.

After the very rapid expansion of the Muslim supremacy over the entire IndoGangetic plains within a decade after the battle of Tarain (1192 A. D.) the victorious Muslim army knocked at the northern gates of Utkal near the sacred Ganga, but was completely repulsed by the brave, heroic militant Paik mi.itia of Orissa led by Vishnu Acharya, the commander under the great Ganga King Anangabhima Deva (1211-1238 A. D.) of Abhinava Varanasi Kataka, or present Cuttack. To inspire the people of his vast empire with the sentiments of patriotism and devotion to Lord Jagannatha, he proclaimed himself as the 'Rout' or representative of God Purushottama (Jagannatha), at whose august feet he dedicated the whole territory in his famous Lingarja temple inscription, which since then became 'Purushottama Samrajya' or the realence of Lord Jagannatha. Thus from the days of Anangabhima Deva, Jagannatha became the 'Rastradevata', the presiding deity, the Saviour, the Protector of Utkal rashtra. The patriotic fervour of the grand paik militia of Orissa, born out of great devotion to Lord Jagannatha, enabled them to inflict a crushing defeat on the vast combined army led by the Sultans of Bengal and Delhi, in the historic battle of Lakshnavati, near Gauda in 1245-1246 A. D. To commemorate this great victory over the muslim prons, which knew no defeat during their rule of about half a century all over Northern India, Langula Narasimha Deva (1238-1264 A. D.) built the world famous Sun Temple at Konaraka on the sea-shore.

The achievement of this great victory, which had far-reaching political consequence was denounced as a boon and blessing of Lord Jagannatha to the powerful monarch, Narasimha. So many temples for Jagannatha and Dadhivamana (Single Jagannatha) began to raise their heads in strategic places of the whole eastern region, comprising Orissa, the northern districts of the Andhra State, Eastern districts of Madhya Pradesh, Chotanagpur Division of Bihar, Bengal (undivided), Kamarupa (Assam) and Manipur in the subsequent periods.

Of these temples of 'Bala, Krishna and Subhadra' latter known as the Ananta Vasudeva temple at Bhubaneswar, the strong hold of the Saiva faith in

Orissa from the 6th century built by Chandrika Devi, the sister of Narasimha Deva in Saka year 1200 or 1278 A. D. is a notable event in the religious history of Orissa. Though it was a solitary Vishnu temple in this sacred city dotted with innumerable Saiva Shrines of different ages, it became the foremost deity of the place since then. The Jagannath temple of Kalarapa, and the Dadhivaman temple of Koeli, both in the Salepur P. S. of the Cuttack district, the Jagannatha temple and Muktimandapa at Jajpur, the Valadevaji temple of Kendrapada (these two temples were destroyed by the Muslims), the Jagannatha temp'e at Kantilo within the compound of Nilamadhava, the Jagannatha temple, Patnagarh (the capital of the Chaudhan territory of western Orissa), the Jagannatha temple at Ratnapura in the district of Bilaspur (M. P.), the Jagannatha temple in Bastar (M. P.), the Jagannatha temple of Sava Kata 12 miles far from Somapentha (Andhra), the Jagannatha temple in Danton on the Puri road, the Jaganntha temple of Bankura of 1358 A. D. (W. Bengal) are a few typical example of the spread of Jafannatha worship in the eastern zone.

Gajapati Capileswara Deva, (1435-1466 A. D.) the destroyer of Kalabarga, the captial of the vast Muslim Bahamani Empire in the Deccan, and a hero of several successful expeditions till his death on the bank of the Krishna river was a great devotee of the Lord Jagannatha which is recorded in his Puri temple inscriptions. His Commander-in Chief Gopinath Mahapatra, founded the Gopinathpur Sasana and built a big temple wherein was installed 'Rama' (Balarama), Sri Purushottam (Jagannatha) and Bhagyavati (Subhadra) in 1450 A. D. This temple was later on destoyed by the Muslim army.

The queens of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, named Patamahadevi, Sriya Devi, Elana Devi and Satyabhama Devi founded four Brrahmana villages on the left bank of the Mahanadi, between 1466-71 A. D. called after their names as 'Pittapura' ? 'Sriyapur', 'Elanapur' and 'Satyabhamapur' respectively in each of which a temple for Dadhivamana was erected. To commemorate his victory in the expedition against the ruler of Kanchi, he installed two beautiful images of Jagannatha and Balarama, carved of chlorite stone, each riding on horse back in the village of Deulgaon not far from the Raibania fort

in North Balasore, as his victory is traditionally ascribed to the help of these two Gods.

Entire Bengl and Orissa was flooded with deep devotion to the Lord Jagannatha due to the stay of Mahaprabhu Sri Chaitanya during the last 18 years of his life at Sri Kshetra (1515-1533 A. D.) where hundreds of his disciples from Orissa and Bengal sang the glory and greatness of the Lord in their writings and preachings.

The hold of Jagannatha became so deep rooted not only in Orissa but also in Bengal, whose greatest Smruti-writer Raghunandana Bhattacharya of the 16th century accepted and prescribed the observance of the twelve important festivals of Jagannatha as the national festivals of Bengal; of these festivals, the car festival called Gundicha Yatra began to be celebrated in almost all the important seats of the Landlords and the holy places.

Of the other important Jagannatha temples built within the period from 1435 to 1568 A. D., the year of Muslim occupation of Cuttack, mention may be made of those at Ranapur, Indupur (near Kendrapara), Medinipur, Vishnupur (Bankuda 1450 A. D.) Vijayanagara (Andhra), Nandapur ond Narayana Patana in the district of Koraput, and Junagarh (Kalahandi district).

Even after the disemembermert of the Orissa Empire, though the political power of the Gajapatis of Kataka became a thing of the past, the hold of Jagannatha over the feudal Lords and the common people of the eastern region remained deeply entrenched as before. So we find the building of the Jagannatha temples at Niladriprasada (Banapur 1692), Belpada (Daspalla), Kujang (1570), Balikuda, Jagatsinghapur, Gud, Badagaon, Mangalpur, Nilagiri, Jaleswar (Balasore district), Baripada (1575), Pratapapur, Haripur, Ratnapur (Mayurbhanj district), Keonjhargarh (1670-A. D.), Talcher, Sambalpur (1600 A. D.), Brahmapalli in Sambalpur (1561-1591), Barapalli, Devagarh (1780), Pujaripalli (1630 A. D.) Chicacole (1693 A.D.), Vizayanagaram (1711 A. D.), in the Andhra State, Hijili (1584 A. D.),Kesiadigarh (1600 A. D.), Mahisadal (1788

A. D.), Midnapur district, Doisugarh (1613), Jagannathapura (1691), both near Ranchi, Rajim Saranagarh, Raigarh and Raj Nandagram in Madhyapradesha and several other places of the eastern region.

Thus the deity of Lord Jagannatha worshipped in a magnificent lofty temple in Srikshetra on the sea-shore of Utkala, with its replicas installed in numerous temples dotting over the entire eastern region, has played a very important part in the political, religious, social and the literary histories of this vast tract of land for about thirteen hundred years, which may be accepted as the greatest contribution of Orissa to the History of India as a whole.



The Jagannatha Temples In Eastern India

The Peculiar wooden images of the Trinity consisting of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra are a special contribution of Orissa to the field of Indian iconography as such images are not found all over India excepting Eastern region like the images of Vishnu and Siva (both in the human form or as Lingas), Durga-Pa rvati, Surya, Ganapati ; the existence of which through out Bharatavarsha and beyond symbolises the fundamental Unity of Hinduism inspite of apparent manifold diversities. So the foundations of temples, maths, mandaps even sheds for the worship of these three images collectively or for Jagannath singly (called Dadhivaman) clearly inicate the sphere of political influence of the Rulers of Orissa, which the tremendous cuccess achieved by the renowned Anangabhima Deva and his illustrious son Langula Narasingha Deva against the Muslim power of Bengal during the period from 1215-1245 A. D. and reached its zenith during the reign of Gajapati Kapileswara Deva of the Solar dynasty (1435-1466 A .D.) who gave a death blow to the Bahmani empire of the Deccan in the historic battle of Devarakonda (1458 A. D.) and smashed its capital Kalabarga (present Gulbag).

It was Anangabhima Deva, who popularised the adoration of Purushottama, (Jaganttha) by dedicating his whole empire at his feet (called Purushottama-samrajya), and by ruling over his realm as his 'Rout' or representative. He not only built a magnificent temple for Purushottam (Jagannath) at the imperial capital known as Abhinava Baranasi Kataka (modern Cuttack) but in other administrative centres and holy places of his empire. Gajapati Kapilendra Deva, greatest warrior-king of the Muslim period, was also a great devotee of Jagannatha like Anangabhima Deva and donated for the deities an enormous quantity of gems, jewels, ornaments and clothes worth crores of rupees, which he had obtained as presents from the vanquished or vassa chieftains in his numerous successful expeditions in the South. By his devotion and munificence he made Jagannath, the real supreme lord of the Hindu Community.

Purushottama (Jagannath) who first gained prominence in the realm of Vaishnavism by the establishment of Govardhana Matha (one of the four pithas) by Bhagaban Sri Sankar (788-820 A. D.)mathas assumed further importance by the foundation of the four great Vaishnava Acharyas of the South named Sri Ramanuja, Sri Vishnu Swami, Sri Nimbarka and Sri Madhavacharya for the propagation of their respective faiths. Their cults were accepted through out India whether they had been approved by the Pandits of Purushottama (Puri) in Utkala, i. e.

"Sri Brahma-Rudra-Sankara Vaishnavas Kshitipavanas
Chatvaraste Kalau bhavyas Sampradayapiavartakas
Sri Vishusvami Nimbarka-Madhva Ramanuja Vhyaya
Bhabishyanti prasidhaste heutkale Purshottamat

(Padma Purana)

The composition of the immortal Sankrit work 'Sri Gita-govindam' at Srikshetra by Sri Jayadeva, the celebrated Sanskrit poet of Orissa, for the propitiation of Lord Jagadisa, or Jagannath and incorporation of its recitation in the daily seva of the deity, made Jagannatha well-known through every nook and corner of Bharatavarsha.

The imporatnce of Sri Jagannath was immensely enhanced by the stay of Mahaprabhu Sri Chaitnya with hundreds of disciples at Puri for about eighteen years and by the writings of his five famous Oriya associates called "Panchasakha" namely Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Achyatananda Dasa, Ananta Dasa and Yosavanta Dasa, who were not only saints but prolific writers. Another important factor which contributed towards the popularity of Lord Jagannatha, through out India, especially Northern India was the continued existence of his shrine in all its glory, splendour and with its comprehensive administrative system called 'Chhatisa-Niyoga' and innumerable rich endowment in the age of Muslim occupation of Northern India when hundreds of beautiful Hindu temples in the noted sacred cities like Kangra, Somanath, Mathura, Brindavana, Ayodhya, Kasi, Kanyakubja, Gaya, Triveni, Ujjayini, Dhara, etc. were being pulled down one after another by the victorious Muslim

rulers. So the people of the North looked towards Jagannath with deep devotion & profound inspiration and its poet & saints like Chand Bardai, Malik Muhammed Jaisi, Ballabhacharya, Kavir. Vishnupuri, Chandra Dutta & hundreds of poets of Bengal and Assam, sang the glory and sanctity of Jagannath who was regarded as the real saviour of the Hindu religion.

After the break of the Orissan Empire during the reign of Akbar, the great (1556-1605 A. D.) the prestige and greatness of Jagannath and the calculation of the Anka years of the Gajapati rulers of Khurda, who though powerless were acknowleged as the incarnations of Jagannath (Chalanti Vishnu) like their glorious predecessors on the throne of Cuttack i. e. the Emperors of the Ganga and Surya dynasties served not only as a unifying link for the dismembered Oriya speaking tracts, but also as a source of inspiration & strength to boldly resist the repeated onslaughts of the Muslim forces for about two centuries (1668-1751 A. D.)

The constant danger of Muslim invasion to the temple of Jagannath at Puri during this period goaded the local chieftains, dignitaries & saints to build temples for single figure of Jagannath (Dadhivamana). or Balabhadra, or for the whole Trinity, for the purpose of observance of 'Dvadasayatras' (twelve festivals) which were accepted as national festivals not only in Orissa but also in Bengal as will be evident from the 'Yatra Tattva' of Raghunandana Bhattacharya, the greatest Smriti writer of Bengal of the age of Sri Chaitanya.

It is in the light of the facts stated above that the trend of building temples for Jagannath in different places in the Eastern India is to be judged and investigated by the research scholars.



REBIRTH OF ORISSA

Dismemberment of the Orissa-empire.

The dismemberment of the Orissa empire extending from the Ganga in the North to the Godavari in the South started within two decades of the death of Gajapati Mukunda Deva in 1568 A. D. whereafter it was divided into four political divisions. (1) Mughalbandi or the Mughal Subah including fhe districts of Midnapur, Balasore, Cuttack and the coastal portion of the Puri district (2) the semi independent Hindu kingdom of Khurda comprising the major portion of the present district, (3) Southern Orissa under the Sultan of Golconda (4) Garjat area or small princly States covering the entire forest-clad hilly tracts of Orissa.

The advent of the British power in the political areas of India from 1757 A. D. proved detrimental to the interests of the Oriya people as the East India Company was solely interested in the extension of the British empire without looking into the interests of the people of the areas conquered and annexed to the British Dominion. So when the East India Company got the dewani of Bihar, Orissa (Midnapore) and Northern Sircars in 1765 from Shah Alam, the titular Mughal emperor of Delhi, it kept Midnapore in the Bengal presidency and annexed the Northern Sircars containing the Oriya-speaking tracts of Ganjam and Jeypore under the Governor of Madras. After the occupation of the Marhatta province of Orissa demarcated by the river Suvarnarekha in the North and the Chilka lake in the South in 1803 A. D. the East India Company Annexed the western part of Orissa comprising the area of the present districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Balangir and Kalahandi, to the Central province and Berar. The disintegration was complete when separate treaties and engagements were made with the chiefs of the princely States of Orissa. Consequently only three coastal disricts formed the Orissa division in the vast presidency of Bengal.

Decline of Oriya language.

Due to the political disintegration, the development of the Oriya people was totally neglected by the provincial Governments located in far off Calcutta, Madras and Nagpur. The Oriyas being docile minorities in the extensive provinces of Bengal and Madras and the province of C. P. the Oriya language, which was in a flourishing State in the beginning of the 19th century was slowly and steadily being replaced by Bengali. Telugu and Hindi respectively in the law courts, offices and ecucational institutions.

It will be evident from the speech of Rajendra Lal Mitra, made on 4th May, 1870 in the Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta how in the name of fusion the use of Oriya was suppressed in the districts of Midnapur and Bankura within 1850-1870 and attempts were made for its abolition in the Orissa Division.

"Nor is the fusion of the Oriya language in to ours at all impracticable. The experiment has already been tried and found completely successful.

Some twenty years ago (1850) when the district of Midnapore was transferred from commissionership of Cuttack to that of Burdwan, the language of the courts there and of the people was Oriya. The new commisionership for the sake of uniformity in all the districts, on some other cause suppressed Oriya and introduced Bengali language and the whole of Midnapore and Bankura had now become Bengali-speaking districts. People of these places often feel offended if they are called Oriyas. That similar measure in the districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore would effect a similar change. I have no doubt. The climax was reached when Oriya was proclaimed as a dialect of the Bengali language by some educated Bengalis of Orissa.

The Oriya language wag saved from imminent extinction due to the learned article entitled "On the relation of Oriya to other modern Indian languages" read in the some meeting of the Asiatic Society by John Beams, I. C. S., Collector of Balasore, who was a great scholar and an authority on the modern Aryan languages of India. In his paper he convincingly proved that

the Oriya language was older, and more developed than the Bengali language and would never be called its dialect. His views were accepted by the Government of Bengal as a result of which Oriya became the medium of instruction in the schools and was used in the law courts in the Orissa Division.

Revival of the Oriya language (1870-1900 A.D.)

Like John Beams, Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa division was a great patorn of the Oriya language and it was duriug his regime, the Ravenshaw College, the first college in Orissa was founded at Cuttack. Under the inspiration and guidance of these two noble minded civilians, a host of patriotic Oriya poets and scholars devoted all their time and energy in composing original works, editing Oriya news papers and writing hundreds of text books for the Primary and M. E. Schools. The following eminent writers, who contributed for the revival of the Oriya language during this period were Vyasakavi Phakira Mohana Senapati (1843-1918), Kavivara Radhanath Ray (1848-1908), Brahmajna Madhusudan Rao (1834-1912) Karmavir Gaurisankara Ray, 1838-), editor of the Uatkal Dipika, Natya-kara Ramasankana Ray (1858)-Kapileswara Nanda Vidyabhushana (1834-1902), Biplabi Pandita Govinda Rath (1848-1918), Govinda Chandra Pattaniak (1833-1893) Editor of 'Sambada-Vahika', Pyarimohana Acharya (1851-1883), Bagmi Visvanath Kara (1864-1634)' Chandramohana Moharana (1866-1929), Bichitrananda Das (1827-1875), Dwarikanatha Chakrvarti, the great educationist (1835-1918), Govinda Chandra Mohapatra, Kavi Sekhara Chintamani Mohanty (1867-1943), Gopal Chandra Praharaj (1874-1945), Mahamahopadhya Sadasiva Misra Kavyakantha (1857-1929), Maharaja Baikuntha Natha Dey, Damodar Pattanaik (1853-1918), Kamapala Misra (1875-1927), Gopal Ballabha Das (1860-1914), Bhikari Charan Pattanaik (1878-1962) and Kavi Krishna Mohana Pattanaik (1877-1940).

Like John Beams and Ravenshaw, another eminent English Officer under the Madras Government named T. J. Maltby took up the cause of the Oriya language and wrote a book 'A practical Hand Book of the Oriya language' in 1873 in which he strongly advocated the introduction of the Oriya

language in the law courts and schools, as it was being used by nine millions of people living in the provinces of Bengal, Madras, C. P. and feudatory States. In south Orissa, the following eminent persons took part in the agitation for the revival of the Oriya language i. e. Sribatsa Panda (1869-1943) Nilamani Vidyaratna (1867-1923), Gopinath Nanda (1869-1924), Harihar Mardaraja (1862-1909), Raja of Khalikote, founder of the Khalikote College, Padmanabha Narayan Dev (1872-1904), Raja of Parlakhemundi, Syamasundara Rajguru (1862-1909) the first Oriya graduate of Ganjam Radhamohana Rajendra Dev of Chikiti (1881-1945), Maharaja Vikrama Dev Varma of Jeypore (1869-1947), Harihar Mishar of Jeypore (1886-1975), Mohamahopadhyaya Ramanatha Nanda (1881-1964), and others which gradually became very forceful and awakened the Oriyas of the south to realise the importance of union with the Oriyas of the North after political separation of more than three centuries.

The success achived by the agitation in over-throwing the imposition of Bengali in the three coastal districts of Orissa suimu lated the patriots of the Sambalpur area to start agitation for the abolition of Hindi from the courts and schools of that zone. The lead was taken up by Shri Basudeva Sudhala Dev (1850-1903), Sachidananda Tribhuvan Dev (1873-1916), Shri Jalandhara Dev (1867-1952), Badakumar Balbhadra Dev, (1877-1937), all belonging to the illustrious Gánga royal family of Bamra. Shri Sudhala Deva was a great patron of Oriya literature, while the other three were eminent writers in Oriya. Shri Viramitrodaya Singh Deo. Maharaja of Sonepur State strongly supported this agitation. Nisarga Kavi Gangadhara Mehera (1862-1924) awakened the sentiment of Oriya speaking people of Sambalpur by his axcellent poetrical literature. Other eminent persons who strengthened the Oriya movement were Chandrasekhara Behera (1873-1935), Swapneswara Das Kavibhusana (1875-1962), Baikunthanath Pujari, Brajamohona Panda and others.

Amalgamation of the Oriya speaking areas.

The necessity of amalgamating the Oriya speaking areas, then forming parts of Bengal, Madras, C. P. and South-West frontier Agency was very strongly recommended by Mayor Chesney a highly placed English Officer in

his memorable work named 'Indian Polity' P. P. 120-121 published in 1868. A few lines from his book are quoted below :

The necessity of amalgamating, the Oriya speaking areas, then forming parts of Bengal, Madras ,C. P. and Southwest Frontier Agency was very strongly recommended by Mayor Chesney, a highly placed English Officer in his memorable work named 'Indian Polity' P. P. 120-121 published in 1863. A few lines from his book are quoted below.

"Cuttack would indeed make but a small indepedent province, as Indian provinces 90 X. X. X. The people speak a different language from the Bengalees and the river system of the country, which takes its origin in central India, tends to separate it from the delta of the Ganges. This is olation, and especially the differenee of language, render a separate administration X X a great desideratum for Cuttack. X X The part of ancient Orissa, which forms the basin of the Mahanuddy and has lately been attached to the central provinces might be rejoined to the maritime districts. X X But a very appropriate addition to such a province would be the northen portions of the Ganjam district on the Madrass coast adjacent to Cuttack which are peopled by the same Oriya-speaking race and are very inconveniently placed for communication with supervision by the distant Government of Madras. The Oriya portion of the Midapore district of Bengal would also with propriety be transferred to the new administration".

In the same 1868 Sir Stafford North Court recommended for the creation of two separate provinces of Orissa and Assam. Assam was separated from Bengal as a separate province in 1875, but Orissa division remained in Bengal till 1912.

After the creation of the province of Assam the leaders of the Oriya movement realised the importance of amalgamating the Oriya-speaking areas then lying in four different provinces for efficent administraion, improving means of communication. Development of the Oriya language and literature and for securing jobs in the Government Offices and local bodies- Late lamented Utkal Gaurava Madhusudana Dasa (1847-1934) the leader of the Oriya

movement organised the Utkal Union conference in 1903 on the model of the Indian National Congress, the sittings of which used to be held at different places of the Oriya speaking zone, for fulfiling the objects, of the Oriya movement. The first meeting held at Cuttack was presided over by Shri Ramachandra Bhanja the enlightened and partriotic ruler of the ex-State of Mayurbhanj.

Luckily for the Oriya people, Lord Curzon an ablest Viceroy of India (1899-1905) who visited Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack on the 16th December 1900 was overwhelmed with suprise and sorrow to see the beauty and grandeur of the dilapidated monuments ef Bhubaneswar. He was shocked to realise the present down fall of the Oriyas, and strongly recommended for amalgamation of the outlying Oriya tracts with the Orissa division. During his regime in 1905 the district of Sambalpur and the fudatory States of Kalahandi, Patna, Sambalpur and Bamanda were taken from central provinces and the two States of Bengal and Gangpur were also transferred from the South-western-Frontier Agency and integrated with the Orissa division. Thus practically the whole of Western Orissa was ruined with the coastal region under one administration after separation of 337 years.

Lord Curzon's proposal for amalgamating Ganjam and Jeypore areas which was delayed due to strong opposition of the Madras Government under the pressure of influential Andhra leaders, could not materialise on account of his sudden resignation from the post of Viceroy. So the people of South Orissa had to suffer for 3o years more.

Undaunted by this decision, the Oriyas of South Orissa undder the inspiring guidance of the leaders, who had joined the 'Ganjam Jatiya Samiti' organised in 1901 could fight tooth and nail with Andhra opposition, for their union with the people of North Orissa.

The Oriya movement spread like wild fire throught the length and breadth of Ganjam and Jeypore areas through the sustained efforts of Utkalamani Gopabandhu Das (1877-1928) a front rank leader, his associates and

supporters like Pandita Nilakantha Das (1884-1967), Pandita Godavarisa Misra (1886-1956), Pracharaka Ananta Misra, Samskaraks Sribatsa Panda, Pandita Nilamani Vidyaratna (1827-1923), Pandita Gopinatha Nanda Sarma, Srijukta Visvanatha Das, Lion hearted Sasibhushana Ratha, Niranjana Pattanaik, Pandita Shri Satya Narayan Rajaguru, Tarini Charana Ratha, Pandita Baikoli Jyotisha Visarada, Pandita Sruya Narayan Das, Dr. Radha Charan Panda, Harihar Misha, Sadasiva Tripathy, Radhakrishna Viswas Raya, Kumar Vidyadhara Singh Deo. Pandita Yugal Kishore Panigrahi, Sarata Chandra Mahapatra, Madana Mohana Ratha, Lingaraja Panigrahi, Krupasindhu Narendra Deva.

The leading Oriya Zamidars of South Orissa like Maharaja Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deb of Parlakhemundi, Maharaja Vikrama Deva Varma of Jeypore, Raja Ramachadra Mardaraj Deo of Khallikota, Gaurachandra Deva of Chikiti whole heratedly supported the Oriya movement. Inspite of strong opposition from influential Andhra leaders, Phillip Duff Commission was appionted in 1924 to examine the question of amalgamation of Ganjam with Orissa.

Creation of separate Orissa Province.

The movement for creating a separate Orissa province went on in full swing under the guidance of UtkalaGaurava Madhusudan Das, Pandita Nilakantha Das, Pandita Godavarish Misra, Brajasundara Das, Biswanath Misra, Bar-at-law, Lakshmi Narayan Sahu, Jagabandhu Singh, Mass Poet Banchhanidhi Mahanty, Shri Sasibhushana Ratha and others within the Orissa division and Ganjam district. Sasibhushana Ratha started two Oriya dailies 'Dainika Asha' and 'New Orissa' to strengthen the Oriya movement by all means. Brajasundara Das, Editor of "Mukura" rendered very valuable service by publishing a number of pamphlets incorporating historical information about the teritorial units and past glory of Orissa with the help of Paramananda Acharya the eminent Archaeologist of Orissa.

In spite of the non-co-operation of the Congress ledaers, powerful non-Congress Oriya leaders like Mr. Das, Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo and

others fully co-operated with the Attele Sub-Committee of the Simon Commission in 1927 which recommended the creation of a separate Orissa province and amalgamation of the Oriya speaking areas.

At this critical juncture Maharaja K. C. Gajapati Narayana Dev, who was then a member of the Madras Legislative Council, became the leader of the Oriya movement. He was elected by the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa to put forth the demand for a separate Orissa province in the First Round Table Conference in 1930, which he did very ably and effectively.

After this the Government of India constituted the Odenel Committee on 18th September 1931 to examine the question of demarcation of boundaries of the new province of Orissa of which the Maharaja was also amember. The report which was published in 1932, recommended the amalgamation of the Zamindari of Khariar from C. P. and some Oriya speaking areas of Ganjam excluding Paralakhemundi and Jeypore Zamindaries.

This boundary was not accepted by the people of Orissa. Maharaja K. C. G. Narayana Dev convinced Lord-Linglithigo, Governor General and Viceroy of India about the injustice incurred in fixing up of this boundary and started for London in 1933 to attend the Round Table Conference where he ably and successfully fought for the inclusion of Paralakhemundi and Jeypore agencies in Orissa. He agreed to part with the places Zamindari about 2/3 areas of his Estate to keep the Paralakhemundi taluk in Orissa. The creation of this new province constitued by the Government of India Act 1935 and functioning as a separate political entity after a lapse of nearly three cenutries and a half.

Integration of the States

The necessity of integrating the princely States with the province of Orissa was deemed indispensable for improvement of the means of communication, irrigation and drainage, illetricfication, land reforms, organisation of forests and especially for the maintenance of law and order in the whole region.

So a strong agitation for the merging of the states with Orissa was started by powerful leaders like Sarangadhara Das, Pabitramohan Pradhan, Kapileswara Prasad Nanda and others, who were strongly supported by Dr. H. K. Mahatab, the active prominent leader of the Orissa Congress since 1937.

So just after four months of attainment of independence from the British crown on the 15th August 1947, the Oriya princely States were completely integrated with the province of Orissa with effect from the Ist January 1948 due to the diplomacy of Sardar B. V. Patel, the iron-willed, Home Minister of the Central Cabinet. But just after it, the two small Oriya States of Saraikalla and Kharasuan areas were taken from Orissa and merged with the province of Bihar in 1949.

Orissa marches ahead

Thus now nearly 25 million Oriyas are united by three successive stages (a) amalgamation of the district of Sambalpur in 1905 (b) addition of the two districts of Ganjam and Koraput in 1935 (c) integration of the princely States on the 15th December 1947 which now constitute seven districts. Thus the compact State of Orissa with 13 districts is physically divided into three belts, the extensive hilly and forest clad belt, very rich in minerals and forest products, alluvial coastal region washed by the big rivers like Suvarnarekha, Vaitarani Brahmani, the Mahanadi and its branches and irrigated by a net work of canals in the districts of Puri and Cuttack, fed by the water of the Hirakud Dam; long dry sandy sea-shore with the facilities of coastal navigation and over-sea trade.

Orissa, very backward in education, which started with only 5 colleges, three at Cuttack. one at Berhampur and the other at Paralakhemundi has now got nearly one hundred colleges under four Universities, Utkal University at Vanivihar, Orissa University of Agricultue and Technology at Bhubaneswar, Berhampur Univeristy at Bhanjavihar and Sambalpur University at Jyotivihar. It had only 30 High Schools including those in the princely States in 1935 but has now nearly two thousand High Schools in 1978.

The means of communication have greatly improved with roads of different categories connecting Bhubaneswar, the Capital of the State with all the districts and Subdivisional Headquarters. The growth of Tele-communications within the last 25 years is tremendous. The number of Radio listeners is steadily increasing with the foundation of Radio Station at Cuttack, Sambalpur and Jeypore.

Electrification of the State is slowly progressing with the energy received from the Balimela Dam project, Duduma project in the Koraput district and Hiradkud Dam Project at Sambalpur and gigantic Thermal Station at Talcher Town. The pace of industrialisation is becoming rapid after the establishment of the big steel plant at Rourkela.

The face of Orissa is changing rapidly after the opening of a major port named Paradip in 1962 during the regime of Shri Biju Patnaik, a dynamic personality and the greatest Industrialist of the State who was then the Chief Minister. Under the patronage of Department of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, many tourist centres have developed and new museums have been opened at Balasore, Salipur, Khariar and Sambalpur. The Oriya literature has been enriched by the publication of a large number of worthy books by the Oriya Sahitya Akademi, Natak Akademi and Lalit Kala Akademi and by the publication wing of the Cultural Affairs Department.

Thus Orissa, which is reborn after lapse of three and half centuries will again become a prosperous and advanced State provided its people work hard with heart and soul to fully utilise its tremendous natural resources.



Some Interesting Ancient Remains Of The Brahmani Valley.

The importance of the study of the river valley civilisation has immensely increased after the discovery of very old and interesting antiquities as a result of excavation at Harappa and Mohenjodaro in the Indus valley, which have thrown a flood of new light on the development of Indian civilisation three millenniums before Christ. This has inspired the archaeologists to explore the antiquities lying unnoticed on the surface or buried underground in the valleys of other important rivers of India. In the eastern region of India known as Kalinga in the past (present-day Orissa) the march of civilsation followed the courses of the Mahanadi, the Brahmani, the Vaitarani, the Subarnarekha, the Rushikulya, the Vansadhara and the Nagavali, some of the noted rivers running into the Bay of Bengal. Majour portion of the valley of the Mahanadi, its branches and tributaries like the Tel has been explored by Archaeologist i. e. Kittoe, Cunningham, Beglar & others. But very little is known regarding the antiquities in the valley of the Brahmani, which is the second biggest river of Orissa. An attempt has been made here to draw the attention of the scholars to some important antiquities in this valley.

The Bhringesvara temple at Bajrakota—One is simply astonished to see an ancient Siva temple called Bhringesvara in the village of Bajrakota, standing at a distance of thirty miles to the north of Talcher on the south bank of the Brahmani river, which is a prototype of the famous Lakshmanesvara temple of Bhubaneswar. This temple facing east & without any Jagamohan or ante-chamber is Trirtha in architecture and square in size, each side measuring 16 at the base.

In the lintel over the entrance are carved the figures of eight planets instead of nine, like that of the Parasuramesvara temple of Bhubaneswar, which is assigned to the seventh century A. D. On the facade of the temple,

Siva is depicted in his dancing pose. It has got a corbelled roof in which there is no loadstone as is found in the Lakshmanesvara group of temple, but only a covering at the top made of three long slabs. Out of the three Parsvadevtas, Ganesa in the right is in a good state of preservation, but the original Kartikeya on the western wall has been replaced by an ugly modern figure. On the left wall is found an eight-handed Mahishamardini, in stead of Parvati, which is generally found in the Siva temples of Orissa. A similar Mahishamardini is found in the north wall of the Mallikesvara temple on the Jagamunda hill in the Gunpur subdivision on the Vansadhara valley, which is also one of the earliest temples of Orissa resembling the Parasuramesvara group. The geometrical designs on the upper portion of the walls are hidden from view due to plastering of the surface. The existence of some monolithic pillars on the temple site indicates the construction of a mandapa in front of it, in a subsequent period. This is one of the ancient monuments of the State, which may be assigned to the 7th or 8th century A. D. It is in a fair state of preservation and has been declared as a protected monument by the Archaeological Survey of India.

Kanakeswara temple of Kualo—In the village of Kualo, situated in the Parjang Block of the Dhenkanal District are still found six ancient temples of Orissa dateable in the 7th-8th century A. D.

The existence of these ancient monuments prove beyond doubt that Kualo can definitely be identified with the town of Kodalaka, which was the seat of administration of the once powerful Sulki rulers of the Kodalaka mandala, which comprised the major portion of the present Dhenkanal district. Originally there were five Siva temples, the biggest temple called Kanakesvara standing in the centre, and four small temples standing in four corners of the enclosure which has gone out of existence. Thus it was a 'Panchayatana' Kshetra or a sacred site of five temples like that of the Brahmesvara temples of Bhubaneswar. Of the main temple of Kanakesvara, facing west, which was originally 70' to 80' feet in height, only the core and the lower portion

of the three side-walls still remain, with heaps of sand stone all round it. Its facade resembles that of the Laxmaneswar temple of Bhubaneswar, which is one of the earliest existing temples of the State.

In the lintel over entrance is carved the scene of Linga worship instead of eight or nine planets or Gaja Laxmi. Above it there is a war scene, above it marching of elephants and the Tandava dance of Siva on the top. On the lintel of a small temple are found the figures of eight planets, which is a sure sign of its antiquity. The temple of Durga facing towards Kanakesvara which is later than the five temples has very badly been reconstructed. These ruined ancient remains of the city of Kodalaka in the Brahmani valley deserve conservation by all means.

The temple of Paschimesvara—The temple of Paschimesvara standing on the right bank of the Brahmani river not far from the town of Talcher has been reconstructed with the materials of the old temple.

But the big image of the Buddha found half-buried near the gate, of the compound, a small image of the Buddha in the 'Bhumisparsa mudra' with on oval halo over its head and worshipped in a small temple and the figure of Manjusri in 'Lalitasana' kept in the mandapa clearly indicate the existence of some Buddhist monument at this site, built during the rule of Bhaumakara family over Orissa (c 650-850 A. D.), whose copper plate grants have been found in this area.

Of the images of the Hindu pantheon the figure of 'Isana' one of the eight Dikapalas and the beautiful 'Kalyana sundara' image of Siva, now worshipped in the main temple, and the small image of a Bhairavi found inside a small temple outside the compound wall may safely be taken as the remains of Siva temple built by some Somavansi ruler of Orissa.

The Anantasayi Vishnu of Sarang—The urge for creating sculptures out of the parent rock with the stamp of dynamic vitality and forceful vigour, which finds expression in the rockout sculptures at Ellora, Elephant and

Mahabalipuram, in the south is also noticeable in the colossal image of Anantasayi Vishnu of Sarang village on the south bank of the Brahmani river, five miles from the town of Talcher. This gigantic figure measuring 49'-10' from the hood of the serpent to its heel is the biggest sleeping Brahmanical image of India. The figure holds a Chakra in its upper right hand (4') a Gada in its lower right hand (8'-10') Sankha in its upperleft hand (5'-3') whereas the Padma is symbolically represented in its lower left hand. From his naval comes out a lotus flower, on which sits Brahma (3'-11') in a meditative pose. The measurements of different limbs of the figure 26'-0' from the hood of the serpent to its waist,10'-10 from the chin to the top of the crown and the ear with karnabhushana having a length of 5'-0' are simply inconceivable. The pointed chin, prominent nose, and depiction of Kirita and Mukuta form the criteria on which this wonderful figure may be assigned to the 9th or 10th century A. D. when the Somavansi rulers were exercising their supremacy over the whole of Orissa. The cause, which inspired its builder to crave out such a colossal image out of a rock on the bank of the Brahmani river in a place, without any antiquarian remains worth the name, is still shrouded in mystery. It may only be presumed that some devout worshipper of Vishnu created this gigantic figure. out of the rock in order to excel the big image of the Buddha then worshipped on the other side of the river in some Buddhist monument, which has now gone out of existence. This unique antiquity of the Brahmani valley, which is steadily deteriorating due to dash and flow of the flood water annually over it cannot be properly preserved. But the modern science of engineering which is prducing a high level bridge over the Brahmani river at a short distance from this stature can profitably be applied in creating its replica at a high level near the bank in order to give a clear picture of the wonderful conception of the Orissan sculptors of the past.

The Vishnu image of Bhimkunda-About 18 miles from the town of Talcher and near the confluence of the Tikira and the Brahmani is found carved in a rock in the village of Bhimkund another Vishnu image measuring 42'-3' from its head up to the heels. The hoods of the serpent Ananta and the figure of Brahma are not carved here. The figure being depicted in a sleep-

ing pose, one his two left hands are visible. In the upper left hand is held a chakra (4'-2') whereas Padma is symbolically represented on the lower left hand. There are ornaments on the deity and its jewelled necklace, the girdle, the ear ornaments and the champaka garland are artistically and prominently carved. Due to absence of the hooded Ananta over the head and Brahma on the "Navikamala" (lotus coming out of the naval) this figure may be taken as the sleeping image of Vishnu It may be dated after the Anantasayi Vishnu image of Saranga due to profuse use of ornaments. The carving of this colossal image out of a rock in a locality where there are no other associate antiquities on the surface in its neighbourhood still remains a mystery, to be unravelled in future. This image which is in a better state of preservation has been declared as a protected monument by the Archaeogical Survey of India. For tne proper preservation of this unique antiquity of the Brahmani valley a small dam made of earth and boulders it to be raised on a high surface nearby to check the flow of rain water and silt over the image during the rainy season which are proving detrimental to its longevity. It also deserves proper publicity by the central department of tourism.

The Harihara and Durga imges of Bhimanagari—Bhimanagari on the south bank of the Brahmani river, standing at a distance of about 2o miles from the town of Dhenkanal which was once the seat of administration of a Dandapata (administrative division) of the same names during the Ganga and Suryavansi periods has now lost almost all its antiquities due to heavy annual flood in the river, which have eroded the bank, except some images of the old temples. Of these the image of Harihara worsipped under a mango tree and the deity of Mahishamardini worshipped as Ramachandi in a small temple constructed recently are unique specimens of Orissan Art for their liveliness, vivacity and excellent carving. They may be assigned to the end of the twelfth century, when the Ganga rule spread over the whole of Orissa.

Not far from this place stands the village of Ekagharia with a tiny modern temple over the old deity of Kanakesvara Linga which is famous for its association with the celebrated Oriya poet Dinakrushna Dasa, who wrote most of his works in this lovely place on the bank of the Brahmani river, under the patronage of Balaram Samantasinhara, the then ruler of the Dhenkanal Kingdom in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The famous Buddhist sites of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri in the district of Cuttack, about which a lot has been written by eminent scholars, are all situated in the Brahmani valley. Thorough exploration in the upper course of this river is expected to bring to light many more notable antiquities in Hindol, Angul, Pallahada, Bonai, Bamanda and Gangpur areas of the State.

BHUBANESWAR NOTIFIED AREA COUNCIL, CUSTODIAN OF IMPORTANT ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF ORISSA.

Eternal City

AMONG Municipalities and notified Area Councils of Orissa, only Bhubaneswar Notified Area Council has the proud privilege of being the custodian of a large number of important ancient monuments ranging in date from the Maurya period (4th Century B. C.) till the advent of the British in the begining of the last century, for which it may aptly by called an eternal city.

The eleven Rock-Edicts and two special Kalinga Edicts of 'Devapriya Priyadarsi' Raja Ashoka found on a rock of the Dhauli hill standing on the south of the city, the unique Hatigumpha inscription of the Jain Emperor, 'Mahameghavahana' 'Kalinga Chakravarti' Shri Kharavela and records of his family members and servants preserved in the caves of Khandagiri & Udayagiri hills on the west furnish valuable authentic information about the history of Orissa for about three centuries of the Pre-Christian era. These three hills contain the earliest specimens of Orissan architecture & sculptue.

Pancha krosha

For eclipsing the glory & greatness of the Buddhist centre of Tosali (Dhauli) and Jaina centre in the twin hills of Khandagiri and Udayagiri, a large number of Saiva shrines began ao be erected on the vast rocky land between the hills covered with dense mango groves called 'Ekamra Kshetra' from the 5th Centnry A. D. by the rulers belonging to the Sailodbhava, Bhauma, Soma, Ganga and Surya royal families that successively ruled over this land. Among the numberous Saiva shrines that dot over this extensive area stands the lofty and magnificient Lingaraja temple with excellent sculptures, for which it is deemed as the best specimen of Indo-Aryan architecture.

In the heyday of its prosperity, Ekamra Kshetra (Old Bhubanewar) touched Khandachala (Khandagiri) in the West, the temple Kundalesvara on the eastern side of the Bhargavi river and not far from the circular enclosure of sixty-four Yoginis on the East; the temple of Bahirangesvara, standing on the western promontory of the Dhauli hill on the bank of the Daya river on the South and the temple of Varahi on the North, the area of which was called Pancha-krosha or ten miles in circuit.

Asta-Ayatana or Eight wards

According to Ekamra Purana, compiled in the 13th century A. D. the inner circle of this sacred kshetra bounded by Meghesvara in the East and Sundaresvara in the South was divided into Asta ayatanas or eight wards the limits of which are described as follws:—

First Ayatana—It contained the compounds of Lingaraja and Ananta Vasudeva, the Devi padahara tank, Vindusarovara tank and some other minor temples.

Second Ayatana—In it are found the Papanasini tank, and temples round it to the west of the compound of Lingaraja up to Yamesvara and Vakresvara temples.

Third Ayatana—The entire area between Devipadahara and the Gangua river in which the Ganga-Yamuna tank, Gangesvara and other temples were located.

Fourth Ayatana—It contained a large number of temples chief among which are Kotitirthesvara, Svarnajalesvara, Kedaresvara, Gauri, Sidhesvara, Muktesvara, Indresvara (Rajarani) and tanks like Koti-tirth, Kedara Kunda, Gauri kunda, Siddha kunda, Chakra tirth, etc.

Fifth Ayatana—Brahmesvara and its surrounding area upto Sisupala Gada was included in this ward.

Sixth Ayatana—In this ward stood the temples of Meghesvara, Megha tirtha, Bhaskaresvara and other minor temples.

Seventh Ayatana—It contained Alabukesvara and Uttaresvara group of temples.

Eighth Ayatana—This ward which had an extensive area contained Kapalini, Gosahasresvara group of temples, Ramesvara group of temples and the Gosagara and Asoka Kunda tanks.

Except temples, tanks and vapis (stepped wells), these wards contained Mathas (schools), Mandapas, Panthasalas (rest house), Satragharas (free feeding houses), beautiful gardens, and grassy lawns for sports and entertainments, all of which were looked after by the Administration.

Downfall—The glory and prosperity of the temple-city began to decline steadily after the dismemberment of the Orissan empire which started in 1568 A. D. due to the defeat and death of Gajapati Mukunda Deva, the last powerful independent ruler of Orissa. According to tradition, Kalapahada, the victorious Muslim general severely damaged the Natamandira of the Lingraja temple and other shrines in course of his march to Puri. During the Muslim rule over Orissa (1568-1751 A. D.) though Bhubaneswar area was includel within the Khurda territory ruled by the kings of the Bhoi dynasty, its monuments were attacked during each expedition led by the Mughal Subadars of Cuttack against the celebrated Jagannath temple of Puri, which was their main target. Its prosperity was affected when the forts of Sisupala and Dhauli were destroyed by Mahammad Taqui Khan, the Mughal subadar of Cuttack in 1733 A. D.

During the brief Marahatta rule (1751-1803 A. D.) over a portion of coastal Orissa, though the monuments were spared, the villages and towns were occasionally plundered. As a result of repeated Muslim invasions and Marahatta depredations lasting for about two centuries, the people of this prosperous city left this place for security of life and property which made it deserted and desolate.

Bhubaneswar under the British rule

The pathetic pen picture of this ruined city as given by A. Stirling in his 'The History of Orissa' in 1822 is quoted below.

"It is a ruined city consisting entirely of deserted and dismantled towers and temples. A considerable number of temples are in a tolerable state of preservation though entirely deserted and neglected. Many more are now screened from the view by the luxuriant foilage of the surrounding jungles or present merely shapeless masses of stones buried amidst tangled bush and rank vegetation. Nearly all but the great temple of Lingaraja have been long since completey deserted..................It is occasionally visited by Bengali pilgrims on their way to Jagannatha."

The fame of Bhubaneswar spread in the western world, through the tireless efforts of Lieutenant Kittoe, who first published papers about the ruins at Bhubaneswar, Khandagiri and Dhauli in the Journal of the Asiatic Society in 1837 and 1878. Credit of discovery of the Edicts of Asoka at Dhauli must be given to this great Antiquarian. A. Cunningham and J. D. Beglar two eminent Aachaeologists also noted about the importance of the antiquities of Bhubaneswar area in different places of their 'Archaeological Survey of India' reports compiled between 1874-1877 A. D. in 23 volumes.

We should be grateful to Raja R. L Mitra, a great antiquarian of the last century, who attracted world-wide attention to the cheerless, desolate and dilapidated state of the once magnificent monuments of Bhubaneswar by publishing two very big volumes named 'Antiquities of Orissa' in 1880 The touching words of this great author are quoted below:

"Its lands are no longer the dwelling places of multitudes of princes, ministers and statesmen......Its streets are deserted. Its ancient palaces and lordly mansions are roofless and reduced to shapeless ruins buried under tangled veils of impervious vegetation. Its temples once resonant with the hum of thousands of zealous and devout worshippers now stand concealed by trees, whose roots are struggling not unsuccessfully to displace the stones of their massive walls and knock them down into amorphous heaps.......In short the whole place has a cheerless woe-begone, lifeless look about it, which loudly proclaims that the sun of its glory has long since set."

Repairs of the Ancient Monuments

The era of revival of the glory and greatness of Bhbaneswar started with the first visit of Sir Johan Woodburn. the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (1898-1902) in 1898, at whose orders repairs of Brahmesvara, Rajarani, Muktesvara and Parasuramesvara temples were taken up. He visited Bhubaneswar for the second time in December 1900 in the company of Lord Curzon, the ablest Viceroy and Governor-General of India who was inspired to see the grandeur and beauty of the sculptures of the Bhubaneswar temples. After this second visit repairs of the subsidiary temples in the compounds of Muktesvara and Brahmesvara together with the compound of Brahmesvara were completed. The entire area of Muktesvara assumed a cheerful look after the repair of the Torana, the small wall round the temple, rebuilding of 14 out of 16 samll temples, which had tumbled down, and the building of a new enclosure wall round the monument. At this time the tanks called Sita kunda and Marichi kunda were desilted and repaired.

His third visit to Bhubaneswar in August, 1902 was remarkable as after that, the Kalasa on the top of the Lingaraja temple and the side temples, the roof and southern entrance of the Jagamohana, the outer walls of the Bhoga-mandapa, Devipadahara tank, Sari Deula and Bhaskaresvara temple were thoroughly repaired. At this time Hati-gumpha, Ganesa gumpha and some other caves in the Khadagiri and Udayagiri hills were also repaired.

All these repair works quickly, efficiently and economically done by M. H. Arnote, Executive Engineer, Bengal Public Works, between 1898 and 1903 A. D. increased the beauty and longevity of the above most important ancient monuments of this sacred place.

Bhubaneswar being connected with Calcutta by the B. N. Railway at the beginning of the current century, the influx of well-to-do and cultured Bengalis to this sacred spot steadily increased. Of these newcomers, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Kasim Bazar and Kesavananda Brahmachari took keen interest in the renovation of ancient temples. Through the munificence of Kesavananda, the small but elegant Gauri temple was thorughly repaired and

new Jagamohana was built in its front. Subsequently the Sevakas of this place rebuilt the compound wall and re-excavated the tanks.

Due to public agitation thorough repairs of the Lingaraja, Parvati and other minor temples within the compound and the Ananta Vasudeva temple on the bank of Vindusagara were accomplished within 1926-1929. To strengthen the structure of the Lingaraja temple support walls round the four pillars of the Jagamohana and near both walls of the entrance of the main temple were built in which iron beams are profusely used. The broken lintels over the entrance were reset on iron beams.

The other temples repaired by the Archaeological Survey of India during half a century are the temples of Ramesvara Vaital (Kapalini), Sisiresvara, Chitrakarini, Sari Makaresvara, Maitresvara. Varunesvara, Yamesvara, Bakresvara and nearly ten minor temples within the compound of Lingaraja.

The repairs of the Mohini temple on the southern bank of Vindusarovara, complete renovation of the Lakshmanesvara temple, rebuilding of the temples of Bharatesvara, Satrughnesvara, Sukshmesvara, construction of a pedestal for the ancient Naga images (called Kalisasani) in village Kapilaprasada were taken up by the State Department of Archaeology between 1956-1970 under my guidance and supervision.

The credit of renovating the Dvaravasini on the eastern bank of Vindusagara, Dakshina Chandi within the fort area and Charanayani near the N. A. C. Hospital goes to the present Chairman of the Notified Area Council.

Through the muificence of Shri Lakshmidhara Garabadu, a benevolent businessman of the locality, the clearance of the compound of the Uttaresvara temple, the renovation of the dilapidated Bhimesvara temple, thorough repairs of the Jagati in the centre of the Vindusarobara and laying a stone pavement near the Visrama Ghata have been done satisfactorily.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NOTIFIED AREA COUNCIL

Though a large number of important ancient monuments have been gradually conserved since the beginning of the present century connecting them by roads and improvement of their environments by clearance of age—old heaps

of debris and earth round them it posed a great problem for the local administration. Work of clearance of the compound and surroundings of the Lingaraja temple was done to some extent through the efforts of late lamented Pandit Lingaraja Misra, Pandit Ratnakara Gargabatu and Pandit Raghunath Mahapatra who utilised the Flood-relief funds for this noble purpose in 1933. But the credit of removing huge heaps of debris and earth from the whole town area and especially outside the compound walls of the Lingaraja temple is due to Shri D. K Kachru (now I. A. S.), the first Executive Officer of the Notified Area Council, who changed the face of Old Town by connecting all the important monuments by good roads and projecting the construction of new ones to inaccessible monuments within two years.

Next laudable work in the direction was done by Shri A. N. Tiwari (now I. A. S.), the Chairman of the Notified Area Council through whose efforts the huge embankments round the Asoka Kunda covered with dense vegetation were totally cleaered and the debris laying out the Rathadanda across the paddy fields which removed a longfelt disadvantage of the local people and improved its communication with the Capital area.

During the regime of Shri D. P. Tripathi, I. A. S., as Secretary, Urban Development Department, three most dangerously dilapidated tempels namely Bibhishanesvara and Purvesvara in the heart of the town and Varunesvara near the Gangua river in Shriramanagara have been thoroughly renovated under my supervision during 1971-1973 and age-old heaps of debris and earth have been removed from their compounds which has led to the development of these important sites. Due to the cooperation of the Notified Area Council the Chintamanisvara area on the border of Baragarh village has gained new life and vigour after the darkness of centuries.

The year 1976 will remain memorable in the annals of Bhubaneswar for laying out seven extensive gardens round the temples of Ramesvara, Alabukesvara, Rajarani, Parsuramesvara, Bhaskaresvara, Meghesvara and Brahmesvara by the Archaeological Survey of India with the active help and co-operation of the Notified Area Council, Bhubaneswar. Speedy acquisition of land for the expansion of the

State Archaeological garden round the Lakshmanesvara group of temples was possible due to the keen interest taken by the Notified Area Council.

PLAN FOR THE FUTURE.

After the establishment of the Capital of the Sate there has been Unprecedented rush for the acquisition of plots of land in this temple city both by Government employees as well as common people for building houses. Most of the ancient temples not having been declared as protected monuments either by the Archaeological Survey of India or State Archaeology plots of land near them have been leased out without leaving sufficient space round each for their future renovation. This indiscriminate leasing of land by the temple authorities has led to the demolition of many temples or closure of the approach roads to the monuments, during the last sixty years. In this connection the total destruction of the Sapta Matruka temple of Bhubaneswar, mentioned by M. M. Ganguli in his 'Orissa and her remains' published in 1912 may be cited. Lack of foresight in respect of lease of land has now compelled the Archaeological Survey of India to pay fabulous amounts as compensation for acquisition of small plots of land for development of certain ancient monuments. Demolition of unauthorised constructions on lands acquired near the temples has proved a serious problem for the Notified Area Council.

After vestfing all temple lands have come under the ontrol of the Revenue Department. So for all-round development of the templecity a committee may be constituted by the Government consisting of representatives of Revenue, Law, Archaeological Survey of India, State Archaeology and Health Departments with the Executive Officer of the Bhubaneswar Notified Area Council as convener, which will devise ways and means for acquisition of sufficient lands for each ancient site and round each ancient temple protected or unprotected to ensure their development in future, and as a precaution against unauthorised constructions by wealthy people near them.

THE WORSHIP OF JAGANNĀTHA BALABHADRA AND SUBHADRĀ.

The history of worship of the fomous deties of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Sbhadra installed in the temple of Puri also known as Jagannath-Puri, Purushottam Kshetra, Srikshetra or Nilachala is still shrouded in mystery. Jagannath as a synonym of Vishnu does not find mention in the Amarakosha a lexicon compiled in the 4th century A. D. For the first time Jagannath as the synonym of Vishnu finds place in the 'Trikandasesha Abhidhana' of Purushottama Deva, a supplement of the famous Amarakosha compiled in the ninth century A. D. It has been proved by me that Purushottama Deva the Lsxicographer belonged to Orissa.

Similarly Subhadra the female deity of this Triad is not mentioned in the literature or scripture of the pre-Gupta and Gupta periods. She is described as Ekanamsa. The earliest reference to Ekanamsa as a deity worshipped with Rama or Balarama on its right side and Krishna on its left side is found in the 58th chapter of Brihatsamhita, an important work on Indian Astronomy written by Varahamihira in the 5th century A. D. It is not yet known how Krishna and Ekanamsa were transformed into Jagannath and Subhadra in the medieval period. Thus definite literary evidence about the worship of Balarama, Ekanamsa (Subhadra) Krishna (Jagannath) is available from Brihat-samhita of Varahamihira.

The beginning of the worship can be pushed back by about three hundred yeas as a result of discovery of a relief of the Kushana period (Ist century A. D.) carved in a red sandstone which contains the standing figures of Balarama, Ekanamsa and Krishna. The armed-figure of Balarama holds of plough in the right hand but has no hoods of serpents over his head. The two-amed Ekanamsa or Subhadra standing in the middle has her right hand raised while her left hand is placed akimbo. Krishana has got four hands

holding a gada in his upper right hand, chakra in his upper left hand, padma in his lower left hand while the lower right hand is shown in the pose of Abhayamudra. In another relief of the same age is found carved the figure of Krishna in a heroic pose killing the demon Keshi. These two interesting old reliefs from Mathura which are now exhibited in the Government museum at Karachi in West Pakistan have got historical significance. They furnish convincing evidence regarding the popularity of worship of Bala, Krishna and Subhadra in early years of the Christian era.

Another relief depicting the worship of this Triad is now preserved in the London Museum. It was discovered at Imadpur in Bihar and contains an inscription of the time of Mahipala, a Pala king of Bihar. In it the four-armed Balarama is shown under a canopy of seven hooded serpent to the south of Ekanamsa who stands on a full blown lotus, her right hand stretching below is shown in the Varadamudra, while she holds a mirror in her left hand. The four-armed Krishna is shown to the left of Ekanamsa.

In the relief (3' 4'' × 2' 4'') now preserved in the Museum at Lucknow in U. P. we find the figures of Balarama, Subhadra & Krishna. In it Subhadra is given prominence as she is depicted standing over a full blown lotus with a lotus nimbus over her head flanked by two Vidyadharas on both the sides. These are two female attendants on both sides of the deity. She is holding a full blown lotus in her left hand and her right hand is stretched below. Balarama to the right of Subhadra or Ekanmsa stands under the seven hooded canopy and has got four arms. Krishna standing on the right is also four-armed holding the usual attributes of Vishnu.

In the Orissa State Museum is preserved a small brass plaque(3''—3'') containing the image of Balarama, Subhadra & Jagannath standing pedestal, the front portion of which is broken. The two-armed Balarama wearing kirita and mukuta and standing under a canopy of three-hoods holds a mushala in his right hand and hala in his left hand. Subhadra standing in the middle, with kirita on her head holds a full blown lotus in her right hand while her left hand

is shown in the posture of Varada-murda. Sri Krishna to the left of Subhadra wearing Kirita & Mukuta over his head is two-armed, his right hand being placed over a gada & the left hand holding a padma. This Triad though small is historically very important, because, Balabhadra & Krishna are shown as two armed instead of four-armed as are found in the reliefs discovered in U. P. & Bihar, which are assignable to the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. In the Mathura relief of the Kushana period, there is no canopy of serpent hood whereas in this brass plaque there is a three hooded canopy, which developed into seven hooded canopy in the subsequent period. Thus on the basis of the existence of two hands instead of four & the depiction of a three hooded canopy in place of seven hooded one, this brass plaque may be tentatively assigned to the eighth or ninth century A. D. when the worship of this famous triad had gained great prominence in Utkala, the land of Jagannatha.

Exploration in the valley of the Kushavadra river has brought to light the dilapidated brick temple in the village of Turintiara under Balipatna Police Station in the district of Puri. In the temple are found images of Balabhadra, Subhadra & Krishna carved separately in three chlorite blocks. Balabhadra standing under a seven hooded canopy has four arms holding the Mushala in his lower right hand & plough in the lower left hand, the other two hands being broken. Near the pedestal are found worshippers, one male & the other female, in kneeling posture, the male may be indentified with Garuda, a great devotee of Krishna. Behind the devotees are found two standing female attendants. Above them there are two chamaradharinis one on each side. Behind the image there is a Makara Torana flanked by two flying Vidyadharas at the top two corners. Subhadra standing in the middle in two-armed her right arm is broken and she holds a stalk of a full blown lotus in her left hand. She has got two female attendants on both the sides but no chamaradharinis or devotees as are found in the figure of Balarama. The profusely decorated trifoil arch over her head has got a Kritimukha at the centre. There are two flying apasaras at the top of two corners. She wears kirita, a ratnahara, karnapasa, kankana, girdle & stands in a tribhanga pose. The depiction of the four armed

Krishna is similar to that of Balarama both having two devoteees near the pedestal, two female attendants and two chamaradharainis on the sides & Makara Torana behind. Both Krishna & Balarama wear Kirita & Mukuta & Vanamala & have similar ornaments.

These three figures though historically important are now left uncared for in a deserted & ruined road-side temple. But they clearly indicate the continuity of the worship of the famous Triad in this area which is full of other ancient monuments. From the style of sculpture of the images they may be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A. D. when the worship of the Triad was popular in Orissa is proved by the construction of another temple for the above deities by Chandrika Devi, the daughter of Anangavima Deva at Bhubaneswar in 1278 A. D. The images in the Vishnu temple at Bhubaneswar are known as Ananta Vasudeva & Subhadra whereas in the inscription of Chandrika Devi they are called Bala, Krishna & Subhadra. These three images are generally identified with Jagannatha, Balabhadra & Subhadra worshipped in the great temple at Puri which are carved in wood. But the question which still awaits solution is the depiction of the images of Jagannatha, Balabhadra & Subhadra in wood without hands & feet. They may be taken as symbolical representation of the famous Triad, the worship of which was well-established in India at least since the first century of the Christian era.



PO-LO-MO-LO-KI-LI

OF

HIUEN-TSANG'S ACCOUNT

HIUEN TSANG's Account, which give a detailed description of various kings, kingdoms, religious places and sects of ancient India, is regarded as a treasure house of historical facts and informations by the antiquarians. The late Mr. Cunningham the pioneer historian and research scholar of the 19th century in his book 'The Ancient Geography of India' analysed and commented on the historical and geographical informations contained in this memorable work. But some of the views held and identifications of Buddhist holy placss made by this great scholar are unacceptable, in the light of modern research. It is now a proved fact that the identifications of the following Buddhist holy places and big towns, of ancient Orissa, e. g—Pu-se-po-ki-li of Utkala, Kongada nagar, Che-li-ta-lo port and capital of Kalinga made by the Mr. Cunningham are wrong. He identified Pu-se-po-ki-li with Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar, the capital of Kongada with the town of Ganjam, the port Chelitalo with the town of Puri and the capital of Kalinga with Rajamahendri. But these places have been definitely identified with Ratnagiri and Lalitagiri hills of Cuttack, Banpur of the Salia near the lake Chilika, Konarka on the sea-shore and the town of Mukhalingam in the Paralakhimedi estate respectively, by the modern scholars. But no historian has yet tried to identify correctly the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li of Kosala, which was a famous centre of Buddhism in India in ancient times by refuting the wrong identification made by late Mr. Cunningham. This humble writer has attempted in his essay to make a correct identification of this great Buddhist centre of Utkala.

Leaving behind the capital of Kalinga, which was Mukhalingam in the Parlakhimedi Estate (and not Rajamahendri as ascertained by late Mr. Cunningham) Hiuen-Tsang started towards the capital of Kosala.

The account of the pilgrim runs thus:—

"Form this, (Kalinga) going north west through forests and mountains about 1800 li, we come to the country of Kaio-sa-lo (Kosala). The country was about 5000 li in circuit, the frontiers consist of encircling mountain crags, forests and jungles are found in succession. The capital is about 40 ft round.

X X X X X

Near the south of the city (capital) there was an old monastery with an Asokan tope, where Buddha had vanquished Tirthikas by the exhibition of supernatural poweres and in which Nagarjun Pusa had afterwards lodged. Contemporary with this Pusa as the king called So-to-pho-ho who treated Nagarjuna with ceremonious respect and kept a guard at his residence.

To the southwest of this country about 300 li (50 miles), from the capital was a mountain called Po-lo-mo-ki-li-which rose lofty and compact like a single rock. Here Yin-ching had quarried for Nagarjuna a monastery in the mountain and had cut in the rock, a path communicating with the monastery, for above 10 li. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls. These halls were in five tiers each with four courts, with temples containing life-size images of Buddha, of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and chambers were lighted with windows cut in the rock. From the above description it is quite clear that the Kingdom of Kosala was adjoining to Kalinga or the moders districts of Ganjam and Chicacole. The Aihole inscription writeen in 634 A. D. of Chalukya King Pulakesin II, who was a contemporary of the pilgrim also supports his statement.

गृहिणां स्वगुणैः त्रीवर्गं तुङ्गा विहृतान्य क्षितिपालमानभङ्गा
अभवन् उपजात भीतिलिङ्गा यदनिकेन सकोशलाः कलिङ्गाः ।

(Aihole Inscription, Sloka 26)

The Nepal Inscription of Jayadeva, dated 759 A. D. and the Dasavatara temple Inscription of the Rastrakuta king Dantidurga dated 755 A. D. mention Kalinga and Kosala as adjoining kingdoms.

मादृयद्व्यन्ति समूह् दन्तमूपल क्ष्वणः रिभूभृश्रिरो
गौडे त्राहि कलिङ्गाः कोशलपति श्रीहर्प देवात्मजा ।

(Nepal Inscription of Jayadeva)

दण्डेनैव त्रिशाय वल्लभवल जः सिन्धुदेशाधिपं
काश्मीरं सकलिङ्ग कोशलपतिं श्रीशलेदशश्वरं ।

But Mr. Cunningham wrongly identified Kosala with Berar and western part of C. P. which were far away form Kalinga and eonsequently placed its capital at Chanda, with Nagpur, Amaravati, or Ilichpur as alternatives. But the identification of Kosala and the location of its capital are unacceptable for the following reasons.

The Chinese pilgrim and the inscriptions quoted above clearly state that Kalinga and Kosala were adjoining kingdoms from very ancient times. But Berar, fixed as 'Kosala' by Cunningham was far away from Kalinga and was never catiguous with it in any period of Indian history. Secondly Berar or Gondawana has never been mentioned as Kosala in any ancient Indian inscription, or hisiorical record. From very ancient times up to the time of Muslim rule in India, the Berar side of C. P. has ever been called Vidarbha, Malava, or Avanti. Therefore it will be a great travesty of truth to identify Kosala with Berar or Gondawana.

Thirdly proofs adduced by Mr. Cunningham in corroboration of his statement are based on flimsy ground. He says "This (the identification of Kosala with Berar) agrees exactly with the position of Kosala described in the Ratnavali and the Vayupurana. In the former it is said, that the kingdon of Kosala is surrounded by the Vindhya mountains and in the latter, it is stated that Kusa, son of Rama, ruled over Kosala at his capital of Kusasthali or Kusavati on the Vindhyan precipices". Mr. Cunningham's interpretation of the evidences produced from the 'Ratnavali' and the 'Vayupurana' very narrow. The Vindhya mountain is well defined by the modern geographers, but in ancient Puranas and epigraphic records it is described in a general and vague way

to have penetrated into the heart of Orissa. There are many female deities in the hilly and also in the plain parts of Orissa, which have the names like Vindhyesvari, Vindhyabasini etc. So there is no mistake when the Sambalpur tract which was called Kosala, in the medieval age is described by the author of Ratnavali to have been surrounded by the offshoots of the Vindhya range, Secondly Kusasthali or Kusavati, mentioned as the capital of Kosala in the Vayupurana has been definitely identified with 'Kensill' a place on the Tel in the Patna state, still adorned with venerable monuments of the past.

All the epigraphic records of the 'Vakatakas' (contemporary of the Earlier Guptas), 'Saravapur' kings and 'Soma' kings of Sambalpur tract, prove beyond all doubt that the modern Raipur in M. P. and the Sambalpur district of Orissa, with the ex-feudatory states of Patna, Sonepur, Bamra, formed the Kosala or Dakshina Kosala kingdom from the 3rd century B C. up to the 15th century A. D. as all the villages and rivers mentioned in the grants of the kings of these dynasties are still existing in the Bolangir, Sambalpur and Raipur districts. Therefore the Sambalpur tract which is just to the north west of Kalinga was the Kosala kingdom in the 7th century A. D.

The description by the Chinese pilgrim of the physical features of the southern portion of Kosala agrees well with the geography of the country, to the south of the Mahanadi. The high mountain wnich we saw in the northern part of Kalinga is the Mahendra Mala or the Eastern Ghat mountains which stretch up to Banapur in the Puri District. The pilgrim followed the route from Kalinga to Kosala which is still used for trade by the businessmen and to the south of which the present Vijayanagar Raipur Rail line has been constructed. This road passed through the Agency tract of Ganjam by 'Baliguda' Mohangiri, Tusra, Dhanghara, Kansil, Sonepur to Sambalpur and Raipur. The Chinese pilgrim followed this mountain route to go to the Capital of Kosala and to Po-lo-mo-ki-li which undoubtedly existed in the Sambalpur area. There it is useless to locate the capital of Kosala in Chanda Nagpur, Amaravati or Ilichpur & Po-lo mo-lo-ki-in Ellora or Ajanta as the Kosala kingdom never extended beyond the Raipur district of M P. Therefore Po-lo-mo-li-ki-li hill with its famous Buddhist monastery must have existed somewhere in the

Sambalpur area. It is described as very lofty and without either spurs or valleys, so that it resembled a mere mass of stone. It was to the south west of the country (Kosala above 300 li) (50 miles) from the capital. In this mountain king So-to-po-ho or Satabahana hewed a pavillion of five stories, which was accessible by a rock-cut path, many miles in length. This dwelling was excaved for the holy Buddhist sage Nagarjuna. This monastery was well-supplied with running water. This hill was also famous for its medicinal herbs. The description of the natural features of Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li given by the pilgrim agrees well with the physical aspect of 'Gandha Mardan Hill' or Gandha-giri standing between the Bolangir and Sambalpur districts. This hill is described by L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, the author of Orissa Feudatory States, Gazetteer in the following manner— "The north westen boundary of the Patna state is formed by the magnificent range of hills known as Gandhamardan which separates the Patna state from the Bora Sambar Zamindari of Sambalpur. On the northern crest of this range springs the famous spring which descends to the foot of the hill in fine water-falls and finally issues forth to the plains at Narasinghnath a sacred place of pilgrimage in the Sambalpur district. On the southern slope a similar stream issues from the crest of the range and is known as Hari Sankar, × × × in the Patna state, × × × The crest of this range of hills is a fine plateau some ten miles long, with an average height of 3000 feet ahd rising as high as 3234 ft. The principal rivers rising from this hill are the Tel, the Ang, the Suk Tel and the Sunder."

The Gandhamardan hill having a flat top running for miles, with perennial springs and water-falls on both sides, bearing the ruins of & archaeological many historical monuments and famous in the traditions of the country as a repositary of medicinal herbs is certainly identical with Po-lo-ki-li of Huen Tsang's account.

If we discuss the work 'Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li', phonetically we arrive at the same conclusion. The Sanskrit equivalent of ki-li- is giri (mountain) e. g-Pu-se-po-ki-li (Puspagiri), I think, Po-lo-mo-lo is the Chinese pronunciations of Pa-ri-ma-la. Po, lo, mo, and lo, are the Chinese pronunciations of the letters Pa, ri,

ma, and la respectively. Therefore the Sanskrit name of this hill was certainly "Parimala-giri" as it clearly represents every letter of the Chinese word. During the days of Hindu revival, this hill began to be called "Gandha-riri" and the "Nrusimha Mahatmya" and other historical records and inscriptions describe the greatness and glory of this Gandha giri. Parimala and Gaddha (sweet-scent) being synonyms, it is quite natural, that the all-assimilating Hindu reformers, in order to eclipse the glory and fame of the Buddhist Parimala giri, named it 'Gandha' giri when Hinduism reestablished its supremacy in the Buddhist holy caves and monasteries. This Gandha-giri in course of centuries began to be called Gandhamardhan hill, by which name, it is still famous in the Sambalpur Tract.

The Chinese pilgrim says that Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li was famous for medicinal herbs, and the holy sage Nagarjuna who was a great physician gave a medicine to his patron, the Satavahana king which would have made him immortal The Chinese pilgrim states this matter in the following manner.—

"Nagarjuna Bodhisattva was well-practised in the art of compounding medicines by taking a preparation (pill or cake) he nourished the years of life for many hundred of years so that neither the mind, nor appearance decayed. Sadvaha-raja had part-taken of this mysterious medicine and his years were already several hundred in number". Strange to say this Gandhamardan hill has been mentioned in the Oriya Dandi-Ramayana (1510 A. D.), and the Sarala Mahabharat (1460 A. D.) and other Puranas, as a place which was famous for "Amar Ousadhi" or 'Immortalising medicine' from time immemorial, and Hanuman the monkey-leader brought this medicine for Lakshman, when he was made lifeless by the arrows of Indrajit. This shows that Gandhamardan hill is the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li of Hiuen Tsang's account.

The Satapoha, Sadbaha or Satavahan king very often mentioned by the pilgrim, must be Gautamiputra Sri-Satakarni, a most powerful king of this dynasty whose mighty sway extended as far as Bengal and Bihar. It is known from his inscriptions and from other sources that he was a great patron of Buddhism life Asoka, and the Buddhist monuments at Amaravati, Joggaeyapeta

and Nagarjunikonda,and the caves at Ajanta clearly bear testimony to this fact. Nagarjuna in his book called 'Suhirdlekha' makes mention of a Satavahan king who has been identified with Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni. Therefore this devout Buddhist king might have excavated a five-storied Vihara in the Kosala kingdom which was under his subjugation, for the residence of his preceptor Nagarjuna.

It is very difficult under the present circumstances to trace the existence of this five-storied Vihara in the Gandhamardan hill as proper survey and exploration work have not yet been done either by the Archaeological Survey of India or by the State Department of Archomology. But many Buddhist caves are still seen at different parts of this mountain. Tradition says that Bhima during the days of exile of the Pandavas built an impenetrable stone house near this mountain. This is now called Pathar-ghar or "Stone house" which may be an old Buddhist monument. The caves called "Durgi khol", "Bhim dambar", "Bharab khol" are still famous in this locality. The rock-cut path, communicating with the Buddhist monastery excavated in the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li was discovered by the Engineer of the ex-Patna state. This is like a tunnel and is hidden under dense vegetation. Many Beautiful Buddha images, seated on lotuses and artistically carved are still found in the ritohes of the side-walls of this tunnel. This is undoubtedly the rock-cut path mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. The discovery of this path in the Bolangir district to the south of the Gandhamardan hill, indicates clearly that the rock-cut monastery of the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li was in the southern side of the Gandhamardan hill. Tradition says that Gandha-giri was called Vindhya hill before the sage Kapila began to reside here,

The hermitage of sage Kapila still exists in the Southern foot of this hill. Perhaps the story of this sage Kapila was fabricated in the later period, to push the story of Nagarjuna to the back-ground. Near this place 'Bana-Durga Devi' and 'Bhairabi Devi' (perhaps Mahayana Goddesses) are still found. Besides a fort called 'Bhojagarh' which had a stone wall running for 9 miles on the top of the Gandhamardan hill is really a wonderful place of great antiquarian interest. All these clearly show that the Gandhamardan hill which is full of ruins of

ancient times, was surely a place of great historic importance in the past. There are also Buddhist caves at Titagarh on the Kumda hills at a distance of 22 miles from Ranipur. Jharial in the western part of the district. The word Titilagarh is derived from the Sanskrit Tritalagarh (three-storied building). Titlagarh was a famous Budhist centre in the past and is not far away from the Gandhamardan hill. Many Buddhist images have also been found in Kansil, the ancient capital of Kosala and in many other places of this region. All these Buddhist monuments indicate that the Mahayana form of Buddhism was once predominant in Patna area of Kosala.

The capital of Kosala was not at Chanda, Nagpur or Ilichpur, as ascertained by Mr. Cunningham but it was surely somewhere in the Sambalpur tract. The villages Ranipur, Jharial and Kansil of the Bolangir district which are adjacent to one another perhaps formed the capital city of Kosala in the time of Hiuen-Tsang.

It is a genaral feature of ancient Indian History, that the centres of Jainism and Buddhism were transformed into Hindu holy places during the age of Hindu revival and renaissance. Similarly the Gandhamardan hill with the temple of Hari Sankar on the south and Nrusinghanatha on the north, now attracts thousands of Hindu pilgrims of M. P. and Sambalpur tract and has become a famous place of pilgrimage in the north western part of Orissa. The glory and magnificence of the Buddhist monastery of Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li which was a centre of Buddhist religion and culture for centuries are now lost in deep oblivion. With the disappearance of the universal religion of Gautama Buddha, from the land of its birth, Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li along with other Buddhist centres of ancient Orissa stood neglected and isolated in the grim solitude of the jungles and mountains, beyond the eyes of the research-scholars. It is the fond hope of the Oriyas that its own Government, which must be the proudest in India for its glorious legacy of hoaryheaded antiquities and venerable monuments, will render necessary financial assistance to the newly started Sambalpur University to take up a scheme for the Archaeological Exploration and survey of the Gaddhamardan region in order to bring to light to the once-famous Buddhist vihara of the Parimala giri or Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li. ●

RELIGIOUS CULTS OF INDIA AND JAGANNATHA

In ancient India, religion and learning were very closely intermingled and each Tirtha or holy place was also a centre of learning and culture. Puri was no exception to the general rule. Puri as a Tritha first finds mention in the Vanaparba of the Mahabharata, and its sanctity and glory are elaborately described in later works like the Kurma Purana, Narada Purana, Padma Purana and the Vishnu Khanda of the Skanda Purana, in which it is described as Nilachala, Srikshetra or Sri Purushottrma Kshetra, whereby it is proved that it was a centre of Brahmanism before the beginning of the Christian era.

During the period of rule of the Bhaumakaras over Orissa (C 650-850 A.D.) the Vajrayana form of Buddhism became predominant in Orissa. Indrabhuti, the founder of the Vajrayana sect of Buddhism, who flourished in Oddiyana or Orissa and his sister Lakshminkara were closely associated with this place, which was then a centre of Vajrayana in Eastern India. Indrabhuti begins his famous work 'Jnanasiddhi' after offering his prayer to Jagannatha, the manifestation of the Buddha in its Mangalacharana.

प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं सर्वजिन वरार्चितम् ।
सर्वबुद्धमयं सिद्धिव्यापिनं गगनोपमं ॥

(First verse of Chaptet I)

There are also references to Jagannatha in four other verses of this work. The influence of the writings of Indrabhuti, who was an author of a lot of books on Vajrayana, was so great and deeprooted in this land of his birth that traditions regarding Jagannatha as an incarnation of the Buddha have been current in Orissa for centuries and found expression in the Oriya literature of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The revival of Brahmanism started with the advent of the great Sankaracharya (788-820 A. D.) to this place who in course of his spiritual conquest of the whole of India, stayed at Puri, which was well known by his time as a chief centre of religion and cultuce, and founded one of his four Pithas here called Govardhana Pitha, which has remained in existence till today. Shri Padmapadacharya, one of his four disciples who was also a Nambudiri Brahmin like his Guru was placed as the First Jagadguru or spiritual head of this Pitha. According to tradition Sankara defeated the Buddhist Pandits of this place by his vast learining and irrefutable arguments, converted most of them to his own faith and proclaimed Jagannatha Buddha as identical with the great Brahmanical god Purushottama of the Gita. This peaceful process of assimilation of great Buddhist deity into the pantheon of Brahmanism, strengthened its influence at Jagannatha Puri, which was a strong centre of Buddhism before his days. In commemoration of this great event, the images of Shri Sankara and Shri Padmapada were installed on the Ratnasimhasana of Jagannnatha for worship. It is known from Madalapanji, the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple written in Oriya language, that their images were removed from that place during the reign of Divyasimha Deva II (1783-1798), Raja og Puri.

Establishment of Pitha by Sankara was followed by the construction of a temple for Lord Jagannatha. which according to tradition recorded in the Madalapanji is ascribed to Yajati Keshari, who can be identified with Yayati I, the powerful son of Janamejaya the founder of the Somavansi supremacy over Orissa in the tenth century A. D. This forms a land mark in the history of Orissa. In this age of revival just after a few years of Sankara's visit to Puri, we find that the famous drama 'Anargha Raghava Natakam' by Murari was staged in the Jagannatha temple before an audience of learned people at the time of car festival (Yatra) of god Purushottama, the consort of Kamala, who was being worshipped in the Tamala forest on the sea-shore, as will be evident from the speech of the Sutradhara quoted below.

नान्द्यन्ते सुत्रधरः—अलमति विस्तरेण। भो भो लवणोद-वेला वनानी-तमाल तरु कन्दलस्य त्रिभुवन मौलिमण्डन महानीलमणेः कमलाकुच कलसकेलि-कस्तूरिका पत्राङ्कुरस्य पुरुषोत्तमस्य यात्राया मुपस्थानीयाः सभासदः।

Definite evidence regarding this temple of Purushottama Jagannatha is found in a famous Sanskrit drama called "Pravodha chandrodayam" written by Krushna Mishra. (1050-1070 A D.) who is traditionally assigned to Orissa.

The construction of the present great Jagannatha temple in place of the small old dilapidated temple, some time after the conquest and annexation of Orissa by Cholaganga Deva in 1112 A. D. was an epoch-making event in the history of Orissa. From this time Orissa steadily became a very powerful Hindu State and it could not only retain its independence and power, when the whole of Northern India came under the Muslim subjugation by 1200 A. D. but the invading Muslim army of Bengal was also repeatedly defeated and repulsed by its military strength. It was during the reign of Cholaganga Deva over the whole of Utkal (1112-1147) that Shri Ramanuja in course of his journey from Melukote to Delhi and back between 1107 to 1117 A. D. visited and stayed at Puri for some time. The effect of his visit was the change of religious faith of Cholaganga Deva, who became a Parama Vasihnava since 1112 A. D. though he at first as well as his fore fathers were 'Parama Mahesvara' for about 600 years. In commemoration of his visit to Puri, Shri Ramanuja established a Matha there which still goes by his name. His disciple Govinda established the 'Emar Matha' at Puri which is the greatest Matha in Orissa at present. It may be noted here that the Oriya word 'Emar' is an abbreviation of the original Tamil word 'Em-peru-Man-ar'. The existence of the Alvarnatha Temple 16 miles to the south of Puri and a village named Alwarpur (Oriya Alarpur) three miles to the east of Bhubaneswar are also reminiscent of the visit of Ramanuja, the last of the Alwars to Puri.

Vishnu Svami, another famous Vaishnava preacher of Southern India also visited Puri in the second half of the twelfth century and established a Matha here near the Markandeswar tank which is still called 'Vishnusvami Matha' after his name. There are also two other small Mathas of his sect in this sacred place. Nimbarka, another Vaishnava reformer of the south also came to Puri to establish Matha of his religious faith here. Of the five Mathas of this sect at Puri the 'Radhaballava Matha, standing just to the east of the Lion's Gate of the Jagannatha temple is noteworthy.

Madhava Acharya or Ananda Tirtha, the last of the four famous Vaishnava reformers of Southern India also visited Puri in the last part of the twelfth century. A lot of epigraphic records about the activities of his famous disciple Narahari Tirtha are still found in the Srikurma and Simhachala temples. The coming of these four famous reformers of the South to Puri within a century circa 1112-1212 A. D. greatly stimulated the religious activities of this holy place which became a centre of Vaishnavism in the whole of India.

The importance of Puri was much enhanced when Jayadeva, the celebrated saintly poet of Kenduvilva shasana (Kenduli village on the river Prachi), resided in this sacred place and composed his Gitagovinda, or hymn to Govinda, in the great temple of the Lord to sing the glory of Jagadisa Hari or Jagannatha, the God of his devotion. As the Lord Jagannatha was very much charmed with the sweet songs of this immortal work, their singing at night became a part of the daily seva of the deity. The tremendous influence exercised by the Gitagovinda over the people of Orissa contributed a lot to change their religious faith as a result of which the worship of Gopinatha Krushna instead of the four handed Madhava (Vishnu) became widespread and deep-rooted in the society. But due to the opposition of the Smartas Radha could not be defied with Gopinatha in that age, though she gained prominence in literature.

The glorious period in the history of Puri begins from the time of Anangabhima III (1211-1238 A. D.) who was a great devotee of rhe God Purushottama and dedicated empire in his name "श्री पुरुषोत्तम साम्राज्ये" which he ruled as his representative as recorded in his Lingaraja temple inscription. The period of renaissance in Orissa which continued for more than three centuries begins from his reign.

Shridhara Swami (C-1350-1450 A. D.) who is well known throughout India as the commentator of the Bhagabata, was the Svami or spiritual head of the Gobardhana Matha at Puri, where he wrote most of his works. He was born in the village called Maraigaon near 'Remuna' a sacred place of the Vaishnavas in the district of Balasore in Orissa where he had led family life before he became a Sannyasi, and his descendants are still living in that village. He

spent some part of his Sannyasi life in the Sankarananda Matha of Bhubaneswar also. The"भावार्थदीपिका टीका" on the Bhagabata written by Sridhara at Puri made this work very popular in India.

Another equally famous scholar and Sannyasi was Anandagiri, who was also the Mahanta of the Sankara Matha at Puri. It is clearly stated in his commentary on 'Nyayaratna Dipavali' that he wrote this work under the patronage of Narasimha Deva, king of Kalinga i. e. Anandagiri who is generally assigned to the thirteenth century may be taken as a contemporary of either Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264) or Narasimha Deva II (1279-1306 A. D.) and lived at Puri, where he wrote his other works on Vendanta.

All the faous Smruti writers of Orissa like Sambhukara Vajapeyi, his son Vidyakara Vajapeyi, who became famous in North India for his works on Dharmashastra, Narasimha Vajapeyi the famous author of eighteen works on Dharmashastra, who was honoured in the Darbar of the Great Mogul Emperor Akbar, were associated with Muktimandapa Sabha of Puri, which was regulating the social and religious activities of the people.

The advent of Shri Chaitanya to Puri in 1509 A. D. is an epoch-making event in the history of Orissa. His long stay at Puri for about 24 years till his death in 1533 A. D. along with his associates and disciples made the Vaishnava faith preached by him in the language of the masses very popular as a result of which was tremendous upheaval of the Oriya literature. Among the associates of Sri Chaitanya the famous five members Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa, Ananta Dasa and Yashovanta Dasa, then popularly called 'Panchasakha' flooded the Oriya literature by their writings, chief of which are the Bhagavata by Jagannatha Dasa and Ramayana by Balarama Dasa. The close study of the old Oriya literature clearly indicates that Jagannatha was held in high estimation by the Hindu poets and scholars of Orissa in spite of difference in their religious faiths.

With the death of Mukunda Deva there was ebb in the fortune of Orissa which came under the Muslim sway since 1568 A. D. Though Puri lost much of its splendour and glory being repeatedly invaded by the Muslim army between 1607 to 1734 A. D. still it continued as the religious and cultural centre of Orissa throughout the rule of the Gajapatis of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurda from 1568 A. D. to 1803 A. D.

RAJARANI (INDRESVARA) TEMPLE OF BHUBANESWAR.

In the sacred 'Ekamra Kanana' or Bhubaneswar, the city of thousands of Siva temples of different ages each having the suffix of 'Isvara', the name of 'Rajarani' for a famous Shaiva shrine seems anomolous. So, to find out the real original name of the Rajarani temple, evidences from the literary works describing the sanctity, glory & antiquity of different shrines & tanks had to be collected. Basing on these materials, it can now be proclaimed without any fear of contradiction that this temple was known as Indresvara from the beginning.

In the 'Ekamra' Puranam a Sanskrit work written in the fourteenth century and regarded as an authority on the temples of 'Ekamra Kshetra' or Bhubaneswar, it is stated that this attractive and beautiful temple of Indresvara was built by Indra at a short distance to the east of the Siddhesvara temple (Ekamra Puranam-24th chapter). Another treaties in Sanskrit, the 'Svarnadri Mahodaya' belonging to the 15th or 16th century gives a detailed description of all the temples of Svarnadri or Bhubaneswar, dividing it into eight units (Ayatanas). It is stated in this work that the temple of Chakresvara stands to the east of Siddhesvara. Not far from this temple is seen the temple of Indresvara (12th chapter). In the next chapter, it is mentioned that Indresvara located to the east of Siddhesvara was built by Indra. Even now the small dilapidated temple of Chakresvara with a silted up tank stands in the paddy fields in between Siddhesvara & Indresvara (Rajarani) temples. The information available from this work gives a clear idea about the location of the Indresvara temple which is no other than the present Rajarani temple.

The latest work so far known, describing the sanctity & significance of the temples of Bhubaneswara is the 'Ekarma Chandrika', written in Sanskrit. This work was compiled with the materials taken from the Ekamra Purana & Svarnadri Mahodaya some time in the 16th or 17th century. In the seventh.

chapter of this work, it has been stated that Visvakarma, erected this Indresvara temple for the worship of Indra not very far from the east of the Siddhesvara temple.

The famous Oriya poet Sarala Dasa in the Vanaprava of his monumental work 'Mahabharata' in Oriya (1458-60 A. D.) has spoken about Indresvara as one of the famous eight Shivas (Astashambhu) of Ekamra Kanana or Bhubaneswar.

इन्द्रेश्वर लिङ्ग विजे अनलर कोण
एहि अष्टलिङ्ग जम्बुद्वीपकु धारण ॥

Thus, Rajarani was undoubtedly known as Indresvara from the days of its construction at least till the advent of the British into Orissa.

It is not definitely known as to when Indresvara began to be known as Rajarani. But this much is certain that it was called by its present name, when Raja Rajendralal Mitra, an eminent historian of Bengal visited Bhubaneswar in 1868-69 A. D. for collection of materials for writing his monumental work Antiquities of Orissa in two volumes. Shri Mitra without making any reference to the literary works cited above tried to explain the word Rajarani by attributing its construction to a Rani or queen of one of the Keshari kings & called it the temple of the Royal Queen. On seeing the incomplete carvings on the temple walls he hastily arrived at the conclusion. "The cause which prevented the completion of the carvings, likewise prevented the construction of the structure." The conclusion of Shri Mitra that the construction of the Rajarani temple was not completed is disproved by the references cited above and as such it is untenable.

INDRARATHA, THE BUILDER OF THE INDRESVARA TEMPLE.

Indraratha as a powerful king of the lunar dynasty (Somavansa) ruling from 'Yayati nagara' finds mention in twelve epigraphic records of the reign of Rajendra Chola (1012-1044 A. D.) in which it is stated that this great Chola conqueror captured Indraratha, of the ancient race of the moon together

with his family in a fight which took place (at) Adinagara (Yajati nagara) a city whose great fame knew no decline. "This invasion of Rajendra Chola has been assigned to a period from 1022 to 1024 A. D. Before this invasion Indraratha had given a tough fight to Bhoja (1010-1042 A. D.)the mighty paramara King of Malava, who led an expedition in to Orissa from the west. In spite of these information furnished by the ephigraphic records of the contemporary kings, scholars could not correctly fix Indraratha in the geneology of the Somavansi kings of Orissa so far known and were giving divergent views. But all speculations about Indraratha have been set at rest after the discovery of his copper plate grant from Banapur in the district of Puri in the year 1960. From the geneology given in this charter, it is known that Bhimaratha the son of Yayati-I, the founder of the paramouncy of Somavanasa (Keshari vansa) all over Orissa had four sons, namely, Dharmaratha from his first wife and Indraratha, Vakraratha and Samkara rath from his second wife when Dharmaratha died childless. Indraratha, who was a governor under Dharmaratha occupied the throne of Orissa and ruled it from Yajatinagar after defeating the rival claimants for it. The date of the Banapur grant issued in his sixth victorious regnal year has been calculated by me as the 25th October 1006 Kanya Samkranti from which it can be concluded that his rule began from 1001 A. D. Thus, it is now convincingly proved that Indraratha ruled over Orissa from Yajati nagara from 1001 A. D. to 1024 A. D.

It was Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, an eminent Archeaologist of the State who first of all wrote that "the magnificent temple of Rajarani originally bore the name of Indresvara. It is possible that it was named after Indraratha who was its builder." The presumption made by Dr. Panigrahi in 1961 was proved to be true in 1967, when the Banapur charter was edited and published by Dr. K. B. Tripathy.

Indraratha who was the most powerful ruler of the first line of Somavansi kings beginning from Janamejaya and bravely fought with two great heroes of India, namely, the Paramara monarch Bhoja and the Chola sovereign Rajendra

Chola, built this magnificent Indresvara temple to commemorate his name a few years before the close of his rule over Orissa. The abrupt end of his reign due to the sudden attack by Rajendra Chola prevented him from completing the carvings, which are generally done after the completion of the construction of the temple. The example of the Mohini temple built by Mohini Devi, a queen of the famous Bháuma Kara family of Orissa, on the right bank of the Vindusarovara of Bhubaneswar may be cited here, as an example where the carvings on the body of the temple are left unfinished though the construction & conservation of the temple were completed by this Bhauma queen. Following the example set by his forefathers like Isana Deva and Nanna Deva & father Bhimaratha, who built the Isanesvara, Nannesvara and Bhimesvara temples respectively. Indraratha constructed the celebrated Indresvara temple in the holy Ekamra Kanana, which had been adorned by many Shiva temples long before his reign. The building of Gauri and Mohini temples at Bhubaneswar by Bhauma queens like Gauri Devi & Mohini Devi respectively also inspired him to perpetuate his memory by naming this attractive Shiva Shrine built by him as Indresvara.



TOSALI : A FAMOUS BUDDHIST CENTRE OF ORISSA

ANTIQUITY OF TOSALI

Tosali was the principal city and the capital of Kalinga before the days of the Maurya Emperor Asoka (C. 272—232 B. C). The earliest literary reference to Tosali is found in a Jaina work called 'Avashyaka sutra' which records the traditions regarding Mahavira, the last of the twenty-four Tirthankaras. It is stated therein that Mahavira first went to Tosali to preach Jainism among the people of Kalinga. The great Jaina author Haribhadra, in his 'Haribhadriya vriti' which is a commentary on 'Avashyaka shutra' says that Mahavira went to Kalinga to preach his faith on the invitation of the king of Kalinga, as he and the father of Mahvira Svami were great friends. (1)

The earliest epigraphic evidence regarding the antiquity and importance of Tosali is furnished by the first line of the two special Kalinga edicts inscribed on the 'Ashvatthama' rock at Dhauli. The first line of the first edict runs as follows —

"Devanam piyasa vachanena Tosaliyam Mahamata nagaraviyohalaka vataviya". (2)

The Mahamatras of Tosali, who are the judicial officers of the city are addressed in the following words of the Beloved of the Gods "Ashoka".

In the first line of the second special Kalinga edict the prince (Kumara) and the Mahamatras are similarly addressed by the Beloved of the Gods, i. e., 'Devanam piyasa vachanena Tosaliyam Kumare mahamata cha vataviya'. (3)

The posting of a prince as the administrator of the city of Tosali bears ample testimony about the strategic importance of this place in the empire of Ashoka.

Identification of Tosali

It is the unanimous opinion of great historians that the city of Tosali existed near about the present Dhauli hills. This is corroborated by the existence of the beautiful figure of an elephant which has been carved out from the rock containing the edicts of Ashoka. The prominence given to this figure clearly indicates that it was facing towards the city of Tosali which spread out on the slope to the north between the two hill ranges. The figure of elephant is found drawn in bold lines on the rock at Kalsi in the Dehra Dun district of Uttar Pradesh containing the 14 rock edicts of Ashoka. Below the figure is found the Brahmi label Gajatame (Sanskrit—'Gaja-atma' which is a symbolical representation of the Buddha. On the Girnar rock near Junagada in Gujarat containing the 14 rock edicts of Ashoka, the figure of the elephant is lost. But the Brahmi label runs as follows:—

'Svetahasti sarvaloka sukhahetu nama' which means "the all white elephant is the procurer of happiness for the whole world" is still to be seen there.

Markham Kittoe who visited the Dhauli hill in 1838 at the risk of his life saw the foundations of many buildings, and a stupa or chaitya on the rock bearing the Ashokan Edicts. His description may be quoted here.

"There are many broken caves in the rocks adjoining the 'Ashvathama' and the foundations of many buildings, are in particular above the inscription, which may have been one of the Chaityas or stupas mentioned in the inscription". (4) The account given by Mr. J. D. Beglar, the Assistant of A. Cunningham, the greatest Archaeologist of the last century gives a clear idea about the existence of two stupas on the tops of two hills i. e. "These appeared to me the remains of a stupa on the flat terrace of the hill near the elephant and also one facing it on the opposite ridge, but they have been long ago dug into. A few bricks are to be found scattered about in the vicinity of both and at the foot of the hills".(5)

The erection of two stupas, most probably by Ashoka on two ridges of the Dhauli hill, facing each other prove convincingly the existence of the city of Tosali, between the two ridges.

The light thrown by J. W. Mc. Crindle on the location of Tosali. in his learned discourse on the geography of India by Ptolemy is quite illuminating and as such it is quoted below :

"Tosali, called Metropolis, has become of great importance since recent Archaeological discoveries have led to the finding of the name in the Ashoka inscriptions on the Dhauli rock. The inscsiption begins thus "By the orders of Devanam priya. (beloved of the Gods) it is enjoined to the public officers charged with the administration of the city of Tosali". Vestiges of a larger city have heen discovered not far from the site of this monument and there can be no doubt that the Tosali of the inscription was the capital in Ashoka's time of the province of Orissa and continued to be so till at least the time of Ptolemy. The city was situated on the margin of a pool called Kosala Ganga, which was an object of great religious veneration throughout all the country'' (6).

The discovery of a number of small punch-marked coins of the pre-Mauryan period, discovered at the time of clearance of the site round the present reconstructed Dhavaleshwara temple on the summit of the main ridge of the Dhauli hill in 1972 strengthens the location of the city of Tosali to the north of the rock bearing the Ashokan Edicts.

Ancient routes to Tosali

It is stated in the first special Kalinga edict that Ashoka deputed Mahamatras from the capitcal (Pataliputra) to Tosali in every five years for the purpose of ascertaining if the judicial officers of the city were acting according to this instructions. Similarly the Prince Viceroy at Ujjayini used to send officers of the same class every year to Tosali to see whether his instructions were strictly being followed by the judicial officers at Tosali. In the same way and for the same purpose officers were being deputed from Takshasila to Tosali. Thus it is clear that the city of Tosali was connected by suitable land routes with Pataliputra on the Ganga, the capital off the Mauryan Empire, Ujjayini, a metropolis in the heart of India and with far off Takshasila, situated in the Indus, Jhelum doab, where capital of the North-Western India was located.

Tosali and the Kalinga War

The Kalinga war which was fought and won by Ashoka eight years after his coronation or in his ninth regnal year (263 B. C.) is a memorable event in the History of India, ray the whole world, as it completely changed the mind of the great Emperor Ashoka, who not only became an ardent follower of Buddhism, but preached its gospel of non-violence throughout the length and breadth of the then world for the salvation of the human race. The last battle of this historic war was fought and won on the vast rocky plains to the west of the city now known as "Bhima Tangi" where one hundred thousand soldiers were killed in action. Men differently engaged in this war numbering one hundred and fifty thousands were carried away captive and many times that number perished due to sufferings of the war.

The repentance felt by the Beloved of the Gods after this great victory over the brave and powerful people of Kalinga has been very touchingly narrated in his thirteenth rock edict. (7)

"After that, (war) now that the country of Kalingas has been conquerd, the Beloved of the Gods is devoted to an intense practice of the duties relating to Dharma, to a longing for Dharma and to the circulation of Dharma among the people. This is due to the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods on having conquered the country of Kalinga".

"Verily the slaughter, death and deportation of men which take place in the course of the conquest of an unconquered country are now considered extremely painful and deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods". (8)

Elesewhere his deep repentance finds pathetic expression in the following words :—

"Therefore, the slaughfer, death or deportation of even a hundred or thousandth part of all those people who were slain or who died or were carried away captive at the time in Kalinga, is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods". (8-a)

Tosali as a Buddhist centre

The city of Tosali, which silently witnessed the terrible massacre of human beings in the battle field in its neighbourhood in 263 B. C. began to

experience the effects and influence of the great penance of the Beloved of the Gods, from 257 B. C. when his Edicts preaching the non-violence of Buddhism were inscribed on the 'Ashvathama' rock at Dhauli. This became a heaven of repose for the Buddhist 'Shramanas' for whose residence a large number of small caves were dug in the ridges of the Dhauli hill. These caves were small and simple like the caves dug by Ashoka for the 'Ajivakas' in the 'Nagarjuna' and 'Gorathagiri' hills of Magadha, which bear his inscriptions.

The series of five small caves dug in the hill to the south of the 'Ashvathama' rock were called Pancha 'Pandava Gumpha' or the five Pandava caves when Mr. Kittoe visited them in 1837. He also saw some other broken caves at the time of his visit. The building of two stupas on the top of the two ridges of the Dhauli hill and the digging of a large number of small caves for the residence of the 'Shramanas' during the reign of Ashoka made it a chief centre of Hinayana Buddhism in Kalinga.

Other Associated Buddhist Antiquities of the Age

The copy of the Lumbini pillar inscription (9) discovered from village Kapileshvara and now preserved in the Ashutosha Museum attached to the University of Calcutta cannot be called forged one as it bears the signature of the scribe. 'Chundriya' in Kharoshti characters. In this respect it is similar to an inscription of Ashoka found in ex-Mysore State, where the signature of the scribe 'Chapada' is written in Kharoshti scripts. Like the Bhabru Edict of Ashoka, it was originally engraved on a small block of stone (1' 7" X 1' X 1") set on a pillar, erected at Tosali or its neighbourhood. 'The Bhabru Edict' remained before its removal to the Indian Museum, Calcutta engraved on a small block of stone which stood near the block bearing the Minor Rock Edicts ot Bairat" (10). So the Copy of the Lumbini pillar inscription found in Bhubaneswar near ancient Tosali may be taken as a genuine one

The Bhaskareshvara Shiva Linga—As Ashokan pillar

The unusually high Bhaskaresvara Lingam (9) having a circumference of 12" 2' 1' at the bottom was rightly taken as a portion of a monolithic Ashokan pillar by Raja R. L. Mitra (11). Mrs. Debala Mitra, Superintendent

of Archaeology, Eastern Circe, Calcutta, who conducted excavation round the Lingam has concluded thus: "The pillar has no foundation and rests on a laterite pedestal deliberately carved in the shape of an Arghyapatra. A pillar with a broken top was brought from elsewhere near or far and was set here to be worshipped as a Lingam" (12) The Ashokan origin of this pillar is proved by the discovery of fragments of Buddhist railing by Dr. Radhakumuda Mukherjee in 1926, by Dr. N. K. Vasu in 1938 and Dr. K. C. Panigrahi in 1948 in the neighbourhood of this Lingam. Dr. Panigrahi in his learned paper entitled 'New light on the history of Bhubaneswar' (13), has supported the Ashokan origin of this Linga as he was lucky to bring to light the upper portion of an Ashokan lion while making trial excavation at a site only 40 ft. to the north of the temple. This lion was much mutilated by some bigot of the 5th century as is proved by a short inscription 'Sri Simha Vandha' of that period found on its body. In spite of the damages done to it, it is still 3,' 7" high having a girth of 8' 7" in its broadest part. This imposing lion of the Ashokan age is now prominently exhibited in the entrance hall of the Orissa State Museum.

Ashokan Bell-Capital

The imposing bell-capital with a height of 5' and a circumference of 15' 5" near its upper bulge which was lying uncared for on the eastern bank of the tank called 'Ashoka Jhar' for centuries is now preserved near the main entrance of the compound wall of the Orissa State Museum. It has a circular socket indicating that it was the capital of a pillar circular in section. Its upper circular portion indicates that the animal figure surmounting it was made of a separate piece of stone. Only two sides of the circular portion were raised into rims to keep the animal sculpture in position.

The frieze of this bell-capital contains from left to right a goose, full-blown lotus, goose, full-blown lotus, lotus bud with stem, winged tiger, lotus bud with stem and a galloping winged horse. As most of the motifs are Ashokan in design and execution it may safely be ascribed to the reign of Ashoka.

The Yaksha images—The three Yaksha images discovered by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi, and now preserved in the Archaeological Gallery of the Orissa State

Museum may tentatively be assigned to the Ashokan age. Two complete Dumuduma statues are 5' 7'', each having a socket over its head. The figures are strikingly similar to those of the Yakshas forming the capitals of pillars that support the architraves in the west gate-way at Sanchi. A Yaksha of the Dumuduma type is now being worshipped as a village deity in the village Baragarh near the Bhaskaresvara temples. The discovery of these Yaksha images all round Dhauli hill clearly indicates the existence of some small Buddhist stupas of the Ashokan period, which have completely disappeared in course of centuries.

Tosali as a Hinayana & Mahayana centres

It is known from a Prakrita inscription of Nagarjuna Konda in the Andhra State of 'Sri Vira Purisadatta' of the Ikshvaku family that Tosali, Palura, and Puspagiri in Orissa were the centres of Mahasanghikas of Hinayana sect of Buddhism in the third century of the Christian era. It is also stated in this epigraph that 'Upasika Bodhisri' erected monuments for the well being of the Shramanas of the 'Mahasanghika'o rder, at different centres of which the mandapa at Puspagiri was notable (14). The followers of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism also established one of their centres at Tosali, which became famous for the teaching of Yoga as is known from their scripture called 'Gandavyuha' or 'Avatamsaka sutra' written in the third century A. D. It is stated in that work that the great Mahayani teacher Acharya Sarvagami lived in a 'vihara' at the city of Tosali or Amita Tosala situated to the south of the Surbha hill. To that 'vihara' was deputed a young recluse named 'Sudhana' for receiving instructions in Yoga from Acharya Sarvagami by a renowned Buddhist nun named 'Achalasthira'. After a long journey for many days Sudhana entered the city of Tosala which being a metropolis was divided into many small units by main roads., lanes and by-lanes all meeting at one junction. After a long search Sudhana was able to reach the residence of Acharya Sarvagami before night fall, where he spent the night peacefully. At the break of day Sudhana was charmed to see the beautiful parks and the gardens of medicinal herbs on the Surbha hill glittering in the bright rays of the rising sun" (15).

"Gandavyuha" was accepted an authority not only by the Mahayani Buddhists of India, but also of China, which becomes evident from its repeated

translations into Chinese. Its first translation was made by "Budhabhadra" in 420 A. D. second by the 'Shikshananda' in 696 and the third by the 'Tripitaka-acharya Pranja' in 798 A. D. ; who was deputed by Udra king to the court of the Emperor of China in 796 A. D. with the original copy of 'Avatamsaka-sutra' (16).

From the description of Tosala given in this monumental work it is clear that this city was not only a populous and prosperous town, but a great centre of Yogic learning in the third century when this work was first composed.

Other connected Centres of Buddhism

With the rise of Tosali or Tosala there grew up other centres of this faith at 'Bhcrasaila' near Delang, Baruni hill near Khurda, Aragada hill near the Khurda road junction, and Naraja hill on the place of bifurcation of the Mahanadi and its branch, the Kathajodi river. Like Tosali, 'Bhorasaila' on the bank of the Daya river was the centre of activities of Acharya Dignaga, the father of Buddhist Nyaya philosophy, who flourished in the fourh century A D. The present town of Delanga still retains the memory of this great Buddhist philosopher (17). It is stated in the 'Madala Panji', the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple at Puri that the caves in the halls called 'Sanla Parvata', Panra Parvata, 'Vanivakresvara Parvata' and 'Yamuna Jhadapada Parvata' (near about Delanga) continued to be the resorts of the omniscient Buddhist Siddhas till the reign of the Ganga king Madana Mahadeva (18). But these rock-cut Buddhist caves have not yet been properly explored.

The extensive cave in Baruni hill called Pandava gumpha, contains 14 sral epigraphs called pilgrims' records four of which are engraved in characters of the Gupta period, which attest the antiquity of this rock shelter. (19) The rock-cut cave in the Aragada hill which was surveyed by me in the company of late P. Acharya in 1957 resembles the caves in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills. The caves in the Naraja hill, standing amidst beautiful natural surroundings on the highway from the North to the South, were connected with Tosali through the rivers 'Bhargavi' and its branch Daya.

Tosali and the Tosala or Tosali region

The entire coastal region of Orissa extending from the Mahendra Mountain in the south up to the river Kansai (Kapisha) in the north and from the seashore in the east up to Bauda in the west began to be called Tosali orTosala at least from the beginning of the Gupta period. It was divided into two parts Uttara and Dakshina due to its extensiveness in area. The earliest mention of 'Ubhaya Tosali' is found in the Nataraja image inscription of Maharaja Satrubhanja, which is assigned to the 4th century A. D. on paleographic grounds (20). We find from the dated copper plate grants of Maharaja Sri Sambhuyusah that he was a very powerful king and was ruling over both the Tosalis. His Ervanga C. P. grant dated in 235 Samvat (21) or 555 A. D. records land grant in 'Dakhina Tosali' while his Soro C P. grant (22) of 260 Samvat or 580 A. D. refers to Uttara Tosali. His vassal Chief Sivaraja's Patid kilia grant (23) of 283 Samvat or 603 A. D. mentions 'Dakhina Tosali'. Thus Sambhuyasha who had a long reign of nearly half a century (555-603 A D.) was very powerful and a great patron of Brahmanism. His contemporary king in the south 'Mahasamanta' Sri Loka Vigraha whose Kanas C. P. grant is dated in the Gupta Era 280 or 600 A. D. was the over lord of the eighteen forest kingdom along with Tosali (Tosalyam sashthadasatavirajyam) and granted land in Dakshina Tosali (24). It is known from the Ganjam grant of Madhavaraja of the Sailodbhava family dated in 300 Gupta Era or 620 A. D. that 'Kongada mandala' lying between the 'Bhargavi-Kushabhadra' in the north and Rushikulya river in the south was included in South Tosali (25). Both the Tosalas find mention in the C P. grants of the Soverign Bhaumakara rulers who ruled for nearly two centuries (650--850 A. D.) over coastal Orissa (26). It is significant to find 'Dandabhuktimandala' present Midnapore district forming a part of 'Uttara Tosali' in the Bauda C. P. grant of Tribhuvana Mahadevi (27). Though Tosali lost its importance as a political and religious centre after the establishment of the capital at Viraja, by the Bhaumakaras in the early part of the 7th century A. D. using the names of both the Tosalas continued till the end of the twelfth century as is evident from the Antirigram C. P. grant of Jaya Bhanja which states that 'Kotara vanga vishaya' or present Kotarahanga near Sakshigopala was included in Dakhina Tosala (28).

Fall of Tosali

The revival of Brahmanism which started in full swing in the 6th century A. D. due to the propagation of the militant Anti-Buddhist Pasupata Acharyas under the patronage of powerful kings like Sambhuyasha, Sivaraja, Loka Vigraha, Madhavaraja, caused the downfall of Tosali as a Buddhist centre. An imposing Siva temple called Dhavalesvara was erected on the summit of the Dhauli hill just to the west of the declining Ashokan Stupa which began to eclipse the glory of the place as a Buddhist centre. Mr. Beglar who visited this temple in 1874 writes thus : "I could not confidently venture a guess as to the age of this temple in the absence of sculpture, but judging from its bold mouldings, I would not think the fifth century of our era much to early a date for its erection (29). In the sixth century many Siva temples, namely, Lakshmanesvara, Bharatesvara, Satrughnesvara, Svarnajalesvara, Parasuramesvara, Markandesvara, etc, were raised in 'Ekamra Kshetra' or Bhubanesvara, under the inspiration of the Pasupata Acharyas a result of which the glory and grandeur of the city of Tosali began to decline steadily. The establishment of the capital of the Bhauma empire at 'Guhesvarapataka' near Viraja Kshetra or Jajapura on the sacred Vaitarani river gave a death blow to the importance of Tosali as a political and cultural centre of the State. The great Buddhist Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang did not visit this place in 643 A. D. as by the time of his itinerary, Tosali had lost its importance as a Buddhist centre. At the time of his visit 'Pushpagiri' near Viraja was a great Buddhist centre of the State of which he has given vivid description in his account of Orissa. (30).

In this period of decline of Buddhism which started from the 6th century, we find a single inscription of the reign of Bhauma Emperor shantikara dated in Bhauma era 93 or 707 A. D. engraved in a cave of the Dhauli hill (31) which records the erection of a Matha by Bimala Bhatta and his son Bhatta Loyamaka of Viraja, which was a Brahmanical institution.

The temple of Vahirangesvara on the western slope of the Dhauli hill just on the bank of the Daya river, and temple of Ganesha near it may be assignned to the Somavamsi period, as the beautiful image of Ganesha is a replica of the famous Ganesha image, set in southern niche of the great Lingaraja temple. (32)

The fall of Tosali as a Buddhist centre was complete during the reign of the first Ganga Emperor Gangesvara Deva (Chodaganga Deva) who established the 'Gangesvarapura shasana (33) on the bank of the river Daya not far from Tosali (Dhauli). His queen 'Kalyana Devi (33-b) founded another Brahmana village Kalyanapura to the south of Gangesvarapura. The extensive tank called 'Kosala-Ganga' was excavated to perpetuate the memory of queen Kosala Devi (33-c), and her husband Gangesvara Deva near the Dhauli hill. The village 'Kosalapura' now called Kausalyapura was founded by this queen. The two Shasanas called 'purva' and 'uttara' were founded on the east and north banks of this tank after its excavation. Sriya Devi (33-d) another queen of Gangesvara was the founder of 'Sriyadevipura,' which is now called 'Saradeipura'. The establishment of these Brahmanical colonies to the east and south of the Dhauli hill, between 1135 to 1147 A. D. gave death blow to the Buddhist centre Tosali which was steadily declining from the 6th century A. D.

The traditional account of extermination of the Buddhist Siddhas (sages) living in the caves at Dhauli and other hills in the Daya valley during the reign of Madana Mahadeva as given in the Madalapanji (34) may be taken to be based on truth. Madana Mahadeva was the second name of the Ganga Emperor Rajaraja II (1170—1190 A. D.). After this Buddhism, which held its sway for more than 1250 years in this city completely disappeared from this area.

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4. J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. VII, 1838, p. 436.
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ANTIQUITY OF THE DEVADĀSĪ-NIYOGA (SEVĀ) IN ORISSA.

The earliest reference to the engagement of Devadasis is found in verse 15 of the Brahmesvara Temple inscription of the great Somavamsi ruler Udyota Keshari.

The translation of the relevant verse is given below ·

"By her (Queen Kalavati, mother of Udyota Keshari) were dedicated to God Shiva (Brahmesvara) some beautiful women, whose limbs were adorned with ornaments set in gems and thus appearing as the ever lasting but playful lightenings, who were restless with the weight of loins and breasts, and whose eyes were fickle and extended upto the ears, and who looked lovely like the pupils of the eyes of men."The date of the inscription—the third day of the bright half of Phalguna of the regnal year 18 of the victorious reign of Parama-mahesvara (devout worshipper of Siva) Maharajadhiraja (Sovereign ruler) Soma-Kula-tilaka (glory of the Soma-family) Trikalingadhipati (Over-lord of the three Kalingas) Udyota Keshari has been calculated by me as the 24th, February, 1053 A. D. which was Wednes-day, Phalguna, Sukla Trutiya. (2)

"Another significant thing which has escaped the attention of scholars is the use of the word 'Natyashala' for the Jagamohana or Ante-Chamber of the Brahmesvara temple which clearly proves that it was meant for dancing. (3) It was a dancing hall. The speciality of the architecture of the temple is expressed by the terms 'Chaturamarakula natyashala sameta' (verse 12), which means that there were four temples (Amarakula) at four corners & the natyashala (dancing hall) was attached to the main temple standing at the centre. Thus it can be convincingly concluded that the system of Devadasi Seva was prevalent in Orissa, at least a century before its introduction in the Jagannatha temple at Puri.

Secondly its origin had nothing to do with Vaisnavism as the temple of Brahmesvara, where this Seva finds first mention in the epigraphic records

of Orissa was a great Shiva temple of Bhubaneswar, a chief centre of the Shaiva-faith in India.

The dancing girls engaged for singing in the Madhukesvara (Siva) temple at Kalinga Nagar (present Mukhalingam on the Vamsadhara river) by Paramamahesvara, Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Trikalingadhipati Srimad Anatavarma Codaganga Deva (the founder of the Ganga empire) are clearly described as 'Devaganika' or Devadasi (4). The interesting point is that the Vadyakara (drummer) Gayaka (singer) and the 'Devaganika' belonged to a single family which is called 'Vadakakula' or family of temple priests. The date of the records is not given. But it may tentatively be placed between 1112 to 1118 A. D. as Codaganga called him 'Parama Vaisnava' and totally gave up the hereditary title of 'Parama-Mahesvara' in his Vizagpatam C. P. grant of Saka year 1040 or 1118 A. D. (5). In another inscription at Mukhalingam there is reference of Devadasi (Sani) engaged in a temple of Vishnu (Vishnudevara Sani) (6). The date of this record calculated on 1142 A. D. by Sri Rajaguru is not convincing. But there is no doubt about the engagement of dancing girls in a Vishnu temple during the prosperous reign of Ananta Varma Deva alias Codaganga Deva, who had already provided 'Devaganikas' in the temple of Madhukesvara of the same place.

Some years after this, we get reference about the engagement of very beautiful dancing girls in the temple of Shobhanesvara Siva, standing on the bank of the holy Prachi river in the Brahmana village Niali (Shasana). This temple was built by a Brahmana Chieftain named Vaidyanatha, who was a sub-ordinate of the Ganga emperor of Orissa. This temple may tentatively be assigned to 1180 A. D. The English rendering of the verse 18 of the 'prashasti' of this temple composed by the great Sanskrit poet Udayana Acharya of Orissa (7) is given below for reference.

"By him (King Vaidyanatha) were offered to Siva beautiful damsels (Devadasis) like the fairies of heaven in whose sweet lips there was nectar, in the ends of whose eyes was cupid (God of Love) in whose face, waist and

other limbs of the body were 'Stambhana, Mohana' and other charms and whose bodies were decorated with various glittering ornaments.

This epigraph furnishes convincing evidence regarding engagement of Devadasis by a small chieftain in a Siva temple built in a remote corner of Orissa, as this Seva was regarded as an indispensable part in the temple rituals of the age. This is further corroborated by the inscription in the Meghesvara temple of Bhubaneswar, which was composed by the same eminent poet Udayana Acharya. This states that a vassal chieftain named Svapnesvara Deva, whose sister Surama Devi married the powerful Ganga Emperor Rajaraja Deva II (1170-1190 A. D.) built a temple for Siva called Meghesvara in the famous Shaiva tirtha Bhubaneswar, when King Ananga Bhima II (1190-1198) was ruling over Orissa. (8) Svapnesvara Deva engaged a number of dancing girls in the service of God Meghesvara which is described in verse 25 of this inscription. The English translation of the verse as made by me is given below for reference.

"The charming (deer-eyed) damsels (engaged in the service of God Meghesvara by King Svapnesvara Deva while dancing before the deity) could captivate the whole world by their quick side-long glances, the movement of their legs to the tune of music could make the three worlds motionless (their attractive dance was being observed by the entire audience with such rapt attention that they appeared like statues), the lightening like halo produced by the glittering armlets at the time of dancing would light the whole chamber (without any effort) like a diamond lamp (Ratnadipa).

Reference

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(b) 'Antiquities of Orissa' by R. L. Mitra Vol. II. 1880 pp. 87-89.

(c) Re-edited by P. Acharya J. R. A. S. Bengal Vol. XIII No.2 pp. 63 74.

(d) 'Inscriptions of Orissa' Vol. IV by Sri S. N. Rajaguru pp 244-252.

The original slab containing this most important inscription giving the genealogy

and achievements of the Somavansi rulers of Orissa can not now be traced. The entire reading is based on the estam· page taken by Prinsep in 1837-1838.

(2) 'An Indian Ephemeris' by Pillai Vol. III p 108.

(3) Prinsep read it as 'Charushala'. P. Acharya accepted that reading. But in the estam. page given by him 'tya' is clear. So it must be 'Natya' or dance. The word 'Caru' is not appropriote with reference to the context.

(4) 'Inscriptions of Orissa' by Sri S.N. Rajaguru Vol. III part-I pp 246-247.

(5) , ,, p 80.

(6) ,, ,, p 217.

(7) (a) Shobhaneswara Temple inscription of Sri Vaidyanatha ; edited by Sri Sudhakara Pattanaik, J. B. O. R. Society Vol. XVII.

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TEMPLES OF BHUBANESWAR

DURING the course of two centuries a lot has been written by eminent scholars like A. Stirling, J. Fergusson, W. W. Hunter, Rajendralal Mitra, Manamohana Chakravarti, Manamohana Ganguli, R. P. Chanda, Percy Brown, A. K. Coomarswamy, P. Acharya, D. C. Sircar, K. C. Panigrahi, Debal Mitra & others about the dates of temples from different angles of view. A new attempt has been made in this paper to fix the dates of temples by taking into consideration the initial year of the Bhauma Era, information furnished by some epigraphic records of the Bhauma, Somavamsi, Ganga, & Suryavamsi periods certain aspects of temple architecture, and calculation of Astronomical data of a few epigraphic records.

Initial year of the Bhauma Era.

The initial year of the Bhauma Era fixed as 736 A. D. by S. N. Rajguru (1) has generally been accepted by scholars. But in my humble opinion, the theory of Rajguru seems untenable on close examination of the chronology of the Bhauma Kara & Somavamsi kings as it leaves barely a period of fifty years (c. 950-1000 A. D.) for the earlier branch of the Somavamsi kings, the latest data in the Bhauma Era (2) so far found being 213, which when calculated in the light of his theory corresponds to 736+213= 949 A. D. The latest definite date in the copperplate grants of Janamejaya I (3), Yayati I (4), Bhimaratha (5), and Dharmaratha (6), being 34, 28, 3 & 11 years respectively, the total comes to 76 years.

If SriMahabhavagupta, son of Sri Mahasivagupta of the Kudopali plates (7) is taken as identical with Bhimaratha, he should be given at least 13 years for his reign. This is justified in view of his eulogy found in the Khandapada grant of his son Dharmaratha, wherein he is stated to have burnt Andhra and Gaudanagari, easily without any opposition. His great descendant Udyota Keshari also describes him as a great hero, who posted pillars of victory in eight directions after defeating the enemies (8).

Sri Mahabhavagupta of the Mahakoshala Historical Society plates who issued his grant from Kesarakella Mahavijaya Kataka in his 11th regnal year (9) may be identified with Naghysha, the younger brother of Mahasivagupta Dharmaratha, who is stated to have ruled for some years in the Narasimhapur plates of Udyota Keshari i. e.

भ्राता तस्य वभूव भूतलपति र्भूतेशातुल्यप्रदः
प्रख्यातः क्षितिभूषणा नघुष इत्युर्व्वीपतीनां पतिः । (v.6)

The same verse is also found in the Ratnagiri plates of Karna Deva. (10)

This proposed identification seems tenable in view of the fact that Rudra Datta, who is mentioned as his Mahasandhi-vigrahika, continued as such during the reign of his cousin Yayati II (11) and up to the fourth regnal year of Udyota Keshari, son of Yayati II, when his Narasimhapur plates were issued. Then the total period of reigns of the five Somavamsi kings of the earlier branch as elicited from the epigraphic records discussed above becomes 97 years in all i. e, Janamejaya 1-34 years, Yayati 1-28 years, Bhumaratha-13 years, Dharmaratha-11 years, Naghusha-11 years. The actual reigning periods of these five kings exceeds a century on calculation of the astronomical data. Consequently it becomes impossible to adjust the reigns of these rulers within a period of 50 years obtained by taking 736 A. D. as the initial year of the Bhauma Era. So it must be calculated from 614 A. D. when this Era was started by Paramopasaka Kshemankara Deva, the first powerful king of the Bhauma family and an ally of Maharajadhiraja Harshavardhana, the last Buddhist monarch of India.

Mohini Temple

The temple of Mohini standing on the southern bank of Vindusagara tank of Bhubaneswar and belonging to the Parasuramesvara type of temples, was built by Mohini Devi, the queen of the Bhauma sovereign Sivakara II (12) to perpetuate her memory like her mother-in-law Madhavi Devi, queen of Subhakara I, who built the Madhavesvara temple at Viraja after her name. (13) The temple was called Mohini, after her name though the deity worshipped in the temple is a ten-armed dancing Chamunda, terrific to behold. The date of

the Chaurasi plate of Sivakara II being 73 years of the Bhaumakara Era, the building of the temple may be fixed near about 614 A. D. +73=687 A. D.

Age of the earlier group of Temples

Taking this definite date as a clue, the temples of Lakshmanesavara, Bharatesvara, and Satrughnesvara, which are without the ante-chamber or Jagamohana, and Tri-ratha in plan like the vimana of the Mohini temple, can be placed in the early decades of the seventh century. The temples of Mohini, Uttaresvara, and Markandesvara standing on the southern, northern and western banks of Vindu sagara; Kapalini and Sisiresvara found within the same compound, and Parasuramesvara and Svarnajalesvara, both on the road to Kedaragauri may be assigned to different decades of the same century. Thus the conclusion of K. C. Panigrahi (14), who assigned the Parasuramesvara temple to the seventh century on the evidence of palaeography of the inscribed labels above the eight Grahas on the lintel of the sanctum-door is fully supported by my calculation.

Most of the temples of the early group have got Triratha Vimana but all their Jagamohanas are rectangular structures with terraced roofs sloping in two stages. The roofs of the Jagamohanas of Kapalini, Sisiresvara and Uttaresvara have got no monolithic pillars for their support, whereas those of Mohini, Markandesvara and Parasuramesvara are set on parallel rows of monolithic pillars.

In this group of temples, we find the depictions of Astagrahas instead of Navagrahas in the lintels. The Dikpalas are not found on the temple walls. On the top of the temples, there are no Kalasas but Sivalinags fixed in the centres of the Amalakas.

Due to the predominance of the Shakta cult in this century two temples are dedicated for the worship of Chamunda. In the sanctum of the Mohini temple is installed a terrific ten-armed dancing Chamunda, whereas in the central niche of the sanctum of the Kapalini temple is enshrined an eight-armed Chamunda called Kapalini, who is depicted in her most terrific aspect conceivable, surrounded by the images of Sapta-matrukas and other tantric deities. The figures of Sapta-matrukas without babies are found carved on the

northern wall of the Jagamohana of the Parasuramesvara temple. Shakta deities are more or less found in the Uttaresvara and other temples of this group.

Gauri Temple

In the family of the Bhauma-Karas, two queens namely Tribhuvana Mahadevi I daughter of Rahamalla, the sovereign of the southern country (15) and Prithvi Mahadevi alias Tribhuvana Mahadevi II, daughter of Svabhavatunga of the lunar dynasty, the overlord of Kosala (16) proclaimed themselves as Siddha-Gauri in the closing portions of their grants :

" देव्याः श्रीसिद्धगाय्र्याः प्रभवतु भुवने शासनं तावदेतत् ।"

The Dhenkanal plates of the first is dated in the year 110 of the Bhauma Samvat which is equal to 724 A. D., whereas the Bauda grant of the second is dated in the year 158 of the Bhauma Era corresponding to 772 A. D.

It may be pointed out here that the identification of Svabhavatunga with Janamejaya I of the Soma dynasty, accepted by some scholars has created anachronism in the history of Orissa. His correct identification should be with Harsa Gupta, king of Sripur who is eulogised as such in the eighth verse of the Sripur stone inscription of the time of his illustrious son Mahasivagupta Balarjuna (17) as quoted below.

"तस्या भूदवनिभृतामधीश्वरस्य
प्रख्यातो जगति सुतो यथा हिमाद्रेः
रत्नानां वसतिरखण्डितोरुपक्षो
मैनाको गिरिरिव यः स्वभावतुङ्गः ॥"

Siabhavatunga is glorified in the above verse as the personification of the great Mainaka hill whereas the expression "स्वभावतुङ्गनिभः पौरुषेण" simply denotes the attribute of a king and not the king himself.

In the Bhauma family there was only one queen, the wife of Subhakara and mother of queen Dandi Mahadevi who bore the name of Gauri and ruled

powerfully for some years after the death of her husband as stated in the verse quoted below (19).

"यः श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथितो यथार्थम्" (v. 2)
"तस्य त्रिपिष्टपयुषः परमेश्वरस्य
देवी समस्त जनता नतपादपद्मा
सिंहासन शशिकरामल कीर्त्तिगौरी
गौरिव गौरवपदं चिरमध्यरोहत्" (v. 3)

In the above verse queen Gauri is proclaimed as the incarnation of Gauri or Parvati, who built the temple of Gauri at Ekamra-Kshetra following the noble example set by her predecessors Madhavi Devi and Mohini Devi. As no copperplate grant of queen Gauri Devi has come to light the period of her reign may be fixed with the help of the earliest date found in the copperplate grant of her daughter Dandi Mahadevi (20) which was 180 th year of the Bhauma Samvat or 794 A. D. So the date of the Gauri temple may be fixed near about 790 A. D.

The exquisitely beautiful temple of Varahi in the village Chaurasi in the Prachi valley, which is definitely a monument of Sivakara II consists of a Vimana and a Jagamohana, the first being a replica of the sanctum of the Gauri temple and the second resembling that of the famous Parasuramesvara temple in all respects. So there is every justification for taking the temple of Gauri as a monument of the Bhauma period.

Muktesvara Temple

Muktesvara temple which has got striking affinities with the Gauri temple in respect of decorative details, style of execution and exuberance of ornamentation cannot be far removed from it in date. Great importance is given to the adoration of the Sapta Matrukas and Virabhadra whose figures are displayed with considerable ingenuity and artistic skill in the eight petals of a full-blown lotus placed upside down in the Garbha-muda stone of the Jagamohana. This is a clear proof of the Tantric propensity of the builder of the temple, who in all likelihood, belongd to the Soma family and flourished during the early period of their rule over Orissa in the 10th century.

The special features of this temple as noted by K. C. Panigrahi run as follows : "Here we find for the first time a porch which marks the beginning of a Pidha temple, well-shaped pilasters and recesses formed by them, the images carved in altor-elievo, Gajasimha and Naga columns. In the cult images we find here for the first time a mouse used as a mount of Ganesa, a cock associated with Kartikeya, babies carried in the arms of the Sapta Matrukas, Ketu among the planets. (21) It is to be noted that these architectural and iconographical features are conspicuous by their absence in the earlier group of temples discussed before."

The plan of this temple is a full-fledged Pancharatha, the Pabhaga or lower portion consisting of five mouldings 'Panchakama' as iscommonly found in the later temples. (22) The "low enclosure wall with off-set projections and sculptural exteriors is a fitting appendage to the temple." This temple has the unique distinction of having a magnificent Torana fronting the entrance through the compound wall. The decoration of the arch with exquisite reclining female figures and bands of delicate scroll-work of masterly execution is a crowing beauty of the monument. On account of its elegant proportions and exquisite and lavish ornamentation, this small temple has been rightly acclaimed as the gem of Orissan architecture.

Yayati-I was the builder of the Lingaraja temple

Yayati, the traditional builder of the Lingaraja temple, is identified by scholars with Yayati II, the first ruler of the second branch of the Somavamsi kings of Orissa. But this identification is not acceptable as Yayati II came to power, when the back-bone of the Soma Empire had been broken, due to the crushing defeat and capture of Indraratha in 1023 A. D. by Rajendra Chola, the greatest Chola Emperor. For want of a suitable legal successor Yayati II was chosen as the king of the two states of Kosala and Utkala by the vassal chieftains at an advanced age. This is clearly stated in verse 9 of the Narasimhapur plates of his son Udyota Kesari as quoted below :—

"भटॆरवठ्व्यभिध नरेन्द्रै : राष्ट्रद्वयकोशलमुत्कलं च ।
अकण्टकं साधयतः समन्ता- द्भुजद्वयं यस्य कृतार्थमासीत् "।

This is corroborated by verse 7 of the Brahmesvara temple inscription of the time of Udyota Kesari which states that Chandi-Hara or Yayati-II was elected as the ruler of the realm by the ministers :

"श्री चण्डीहर इत्यभून्नरपतिः सर्वैरमात्यैः कृतः ।"

Yayati II who had a short reign of about a decade (c. 1025-1035 A. D.) had to fully utilise his time, energy and resources in leading retaliatory expeditions against Rejendra Chola (1012-1044 A. D.), ruler of Kanchi, Paramara Bhoja (1010-1042 A. D.) over lord of Lata, Karnata and Gurjjara, and Mahipala ruler of Gauda and Radha as is known from his Maranjamura charter issued in the 3rd year of his reign. (23) It is clear from verse 10 of the Brahmesvara temple inscription that the fight with the rulers of Dahala, Choda and Gauda did not end in the reign of Yayati II but continued up to the reign of his son Udyota Kesari, who was able to vanquish the enemies. So it is purely hypothetical to conclude that he was the builder of the Lingaraja temple, which was then the loftiest and most magnificent temple of the land. This conclusion should be discarded as it is not supported by solid facts of contemporary history. On the otherhand, the traditions as recorded in the Madala Panji (24) giving the credit to Yayati I as starting the construction of the Lingaraja temple after the completion of building a small temple for Jagannatha at Puri, should be accepted for the grounds given below :—

YAYĀTIKESHARI

(क) "श्री पुरुषोत्तमे सङ्कनाभिमण्डले हा३५थ करि पटाल गोटाए तालि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेशरङ्क विजे कराइले X X X एहि अनुकूले भुवनेसरदेउलकु शुभ देले ।"

(ख) द्वितीय पाञ्जि—"ए उतारु राजा देउल गोटिए शुभ कले । (३८) हात करि देउल गोटिए करि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वरङ्क विजे कराइले X X X ऐहि अनुकूले भुवनेश्वरङ्क देउल कैलास घटणा शुभ देले ।'

SURYAKESHARI

1st Pāñji—'ए राजा भुवनेश्वर देउल तोलाइथिले ।।
2nd Pāñji—ए राजा भुवनेश्वर देउल तोलाइथिले ।

Ananta Keśarī

1st Pāñji "ए उतारु अनन्त केशरी ए भुवनेश्वर देउल तोलाइथिले ।
2nd pāñji The same.

Lalāṭa Keśarī

1st Pāñji एथि उतारे ललाटकेशरी X X X भुवनेश्वर देउल तिनिपाटरे तोलाइ ए महाराजा प्रतिष्ठा कले ।'

2nd Pāñji "ए उतारु ललाटकेशरी राजा X X X ए राजा भुवनेश्वर देउल निर्माण कले । ए देउल तिनिपाटरे निर्माण हेला । ए राजा देउल प्रतिष्ठा कले ।'

It is clear from the quotations made above that the building of Bhubaneswar (Lingaraja) temple was only started by Yayati I, but could not be finished. This work was continued by his successors Surya Kesari and Ananta Kesari and completed by Lalita Kesari, who installed the huge Siva Lingam inside the sanctum. The authenticity of this traditional account may be examined in the light of facts of contemporary history and close examination of the architecture of the temple.

Yayati I inherited a strong, well-knit and extensive empire from his powerful father Janamejaya I. His long reign was peaceful as he could successfully check the expansion of the Chedi power in the west by inflicting a crushing defeat on its ruler Yuvaraja, before his 8th regnal year. (25) So he could utilise the abundant resources of his prosperous estate in building the city of Yayatinagara after his name on the bank of the Mahanadi, the Jagannatha temple at Puri, the Dasasvamedha ghata on the Vaitarani in Viraja Kshetra, and initiating the construction of the magnificent and lofty Bhubaneswar temple.

The city of Yayatinagara founded by him is proudly mentioned in eight epigraphic records of the Somavamsi period i. e. Yayati-1-2., Bhimaratha-I, Dharmaratha-I, Ranaka Punja-I Indraratha-I, Udyota Kesari-I and Karna Deva-I and referred to in twelve inscriptions of the reign of Rajendra Chola issued between the 12th and the 31st years of his reign. Dhoyi, a poet of the court of Lakshmana Sena, king of Bengal gives a beautiful description of this city, where tall Guvaka trees were found entangled by creepers of betel leaves, in his

kavya, 'Pavanadutam' (26) On the basis of the description given by poet Dhoyi Yayatinagara can satisfactorily be identified with Chaudvara, a place of strategic and archaeological importance between the rivers Virupa and the Mahanadi, which abounded with gardens of betel leaves. Thus Yayati-I who was a great builder can be credited with the plan of construction of this magnificent structure.

Close examination of the architecture of the Lingaraja temple indicates that in the original plan made by Yayati-I there was provision for building the lofty structure of a Vimana only. Odd and crude joints existing between the Vimana and the Jagamohana prove that the latter was a later addition. This is corroborated by the convincing remarks of R. D. Banerjee, who was placed in charge of its conservation.

"The Vimana of the Krittivasa possesses a single opening on the east. During the repairs it was discovered that the stone-door-frame from which the wooden gates are hung, conceals behind it two different stone-door-frames, the sizes of which do not correspond. The stone lintel of the front door-frame is much lower than that of the rear one, proving these by that the Vimana & the Jagamohana were not built at the same time." (27)

The close resemblance between the Jagamohana of the Lingaraja & Brahmesvara temples was possible as the Jagamohana of the Lingaraja temple was built by Udyota Keshari, whose mother Kolavati had erected the Brahmesvara temple during his reign.

On the basis of the discussion made above, the Vimana of Lingaraja, the building of which was started by Yayati-I and completed by his two successors may be assigned to the 10th century, whereas the Jagamohana, a work of Udyota Keshari, famous as Lalatendu Keshari is a work of the mid-eleventh century.

Natamandira

There being no direct epigraphic evidence regarding the date of the Natamandira, it may tentatively be assigned to the reign of Anangabhima III (1211-1239 A. D.) as all the five inscriptions of his reign written on chlorite

slabs are found fixed on the western entrance of the Natamandira leading to the Jagamohana. The earliest of the inscriptions being (28) dated in Saka year 1140 or 1218 A. D. it may be assigned to the period 1211-1218 A. D.

Bhogamandapa

The necessity of building the Bhogamandapa arose for providing sufficient space for keeping the earthen pots of cooked food, other offerings of sweets and fruits, before the deity at a respectable distance.

From a mutilated inscription of the time of Bhima Deva (Ananga-bhima III) it is known that a certain person (name lost) granted three Vatis of land for providing offering of food to God Krittivasa (Lingaraja) from the produce of the gifted land—

"भूमिवाटिका X X X वासुदेवाय नैवेद्य"

This endowment was made when Pathi Mahadeva, Pandita Purushottama, Govinda Karana and Siunatha (Sivanatha) Karana were managing the affairs of the temple. (28)

Another inscription of the 34th Anka (1238-1239 A. D.) of the same king records the deposit of some gold coins (?)in the treasury of Lord Lingaraja, the interest of which was to be spent for offering small earthen pots of cooked food daily before the deity :

"अनुदिने दशप्रस्तपरिमितो ओदनपटिका (आटिका) प्रदत्ता"[29]

The use of the word 'Atika' is sinificant as it supplies evidence regarding the introduction of Mahaprasada. Another inscription of 1257 A. D. records the endowment of Nirmalya (Mahaprasada) prepared from rice measuring ten Manas. (30)

"निर्मालय दशमाण तण्डुलोदन"

This endowment was made by Bhava Sadasiva the Guru of Narasimha I (1238-1264 A. D.). The term Nirmalya is significant.

On the basis of evidence furnished by the above three records, the building of the Bhogamandapa may be placed in the middle of the 13th century.

Rajarani (Indresvara temple)

The date of the famous Rajarani (Indresvara) temple of Bhubaneswar can now be fixed with certainty after the publication of the Banapur copper-plate grant of Indraratha, both in Oriya and English by K. B. Tripathi. (31)

From this, it is known that Indraratha was the eldest son of Bhimaratha a very powerful ruler through his second wife named Durga. Being a favourite of Dharmaratha, he was appointed as the governor of Kalinga and Odra. He forcibly occupied the throne of Yayatinagara, perhaps after driving Naghusha & killing Abhimanyu, the grand son of Janamejaya I, who claimed the throne of the state. He was a very powerful ruler & repulsed the attack of Paramara Bhoja. But he was totally defeated & captured in a battle fought near Yayatinagara in 1023 A. D. About this K. A. Nilakantha Shastri writes thus:

"After having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the Moon together with his family in a fight which took place at Adinagara (Yayatinagara) whose great fame knew no decline.'' (32)

As he was an usurper, he has not used the title of Mahabhavagupta or Mahasivagupta borne by the rulers of the Soma family. His name is not mentioned in the genealogy given in the Narasimhapur grant & Brahmesvara temple inscription of Udyota Keshari and the Ratnagiri copperplates of King Karna Deva.

His Banapur grant was issued on Kartika Shukla Dvitiya of his sixth regnal year which corresponds to 25th October, 1006 A. D. on the day of Kanya Samkranti. So his reign started from 1000 A. D. & ended in 1023 A. D.

With this reliable epigraphic evidence at our disposal the excellent Shaiva Shrine of Indresvara built to perpetuate the memory of Indraratha, can be placed between 1000 A. D. & 1023 A. D. This was not a Vaisnava temple as wrongly noted by M. M. Ganguli (33) and R. P. Chanda. (34)

Kedaresvara temple.

The time of Kedaresvara temple can be fixed on the basis of information furnished by two inscriptions of the time of Chodaganga Deva incised on the right wal lof the entrance of the Jagamohana. Of these two the first one records the provision of 'Akhanda dipa' in the temple of 'Bhagavan Kedaresvara' the lord of the three worlds by Sri Pramadi Deva.

younger brother of Sri Chodaganga Deva in the Shaka year 1064 or 1142 A D. while the second issued by Chodaganga, son of Pramadi Deva in the Shaka year 1067 or 1145 A. D. informs about the provision of Akhandadipa before the same deity. (35) The high respect shown to the deity is a proof of its being famous before the days of Cholaganga. So it can definitely be assigned to the eleventh century and accepted as a Somavamsi monument.

Siddhesvara temple :

The entire area round the Siddhesvara temple has been eulogised as 'Siddhashrama' a hermitage of recluses in 'Kapila Samhita'. 'Svarnadri Mahodaya' and 'Ekamra Chandrika' (36) by the time of issue of the Brahmesvara temple inscription by Udyota Keshari, Ekamra or this area has been proclaimed as a Siddha Tirtha एकाम्रे सिद्धतीर्थे चतुरमर कुली X X X (V. 12) a holy place inhabited by recluses. Siddhesvara, being the presiding deity of this area, might be taken as existing before the Bramesvara temple. This view is supported by the architecture of this temple as noted by Mrs. Debala Mitra,—"The arrangement of the Pidhas, like that of Muktesvara is continuous, without any recess, and the crowning element consists of only a Kalasa without the usual components of the full-fledged Jagamohana" (37). So this may be taken as a monument of the Somavamsi Period.

Brahmesvara temple

Among the monuments of the pre-Ganga period only the temple of Brahmesvara contained a record indicating the date of its construction as "श्रीमदुद्योतकेशरीराजदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्वत् १८ फालगुन शुदि ३" which, calculated astronomically, corresponds to 24th February, 1053 A. D. Wedenesday; the Mina Samkranti having fallen on 22. 2 1053 the day of Phalguna Amavasya (38). 1053 A. D. being current in the 18th year of Udyota Kesari's it began from 1053—18=1035 A. D. This is supported by the dates of his Narasimhapur copperplates grant issued on "मार्ग वदि दशम्यां" of his 4th regnal year. It is definitely known that Vrischika Samkranti fell on 26. 10. 1038 which was Margasira Krishna, Dashami Guruvara (39). So his reign started from 1035 A. D.

Another important thing which deserves consideration here is that the Brahmesvara temple is described as—"चतुरमरकुली नाट्यशालासमेतः" (V. 12) or having four temples at four corners and a Natyashala or antechamber for dancing, popularly called Jagamohana in later ages.

Such 'Panchayatana' or group of five temples is found at Kualo (ancient Kodalaka), the capital of the Sulkis, now situated in the Parjang block of the Dhenkanal district not far from the Brahmani river. The Kanakesvara temple which was originally about 80 feet high stands in the centre with four small temples at four corners, all of which are now in a dilapidated state. These temples were built by Kulastambha Deva Vikramaditya, i. e., (40).

'स्तम्भेश्वरीलब्ध प्रसादः
शुक्ला कुलेऽभूत् क्षितिपः क्षतारिः ।
श्रीमान् कुलस्तम्भ इति प्रतीतः
स्फुरन् प्रतापोदयतापितारिः ।

× × × ×

भास्वन्-विचित्र-रुचिरोज्ज्वल-चारुशोभैः
उच्चैः सदाशिवपुर प्रशमैकमार्गै-
र्देवालयैर्निजयशोधवलैरनेकै-
र्येनात्मनस्त्रिदिव तुङ्गमितारुकीर्त्यै ।"

The date of the copperplate grant of his son Sri Rana Stambha (41) being 103 of the Bhauma Era or 717 A D. these Panchayatana temples may be placed near about 700 A. D. Thus they are earlier than the Brahmesvara group by more than three and a half centuries.

Meghesvara temple

The Meghesvara temple inscription, (42) the slab containing which is now wrongly fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta Vasudeva temple, states that, this temple was built by Svapnesvara Deva, Brother-in-law of Rajaraja Deva II (1170-1190 A. D.) during the reign of his younger brother Ananga Bhima II (1190-1198 A. D.). The Vimana or sanctum has developed nto a saptaratha temple, whereas its Jagamohana now bereft of its

crowining members, resembles that of Rajarani both having Naga columns on both sides of the entrance. In the temple we find only the Dikpalas and not their Shaktis which proves that the Shaktis of the Dikpalas were not depicted on the body of the temples at least up to the end of the twelfth century.

Bhaskaresvara temple

The temple of Bhaskaresvara stood in a predominantly Buddhist area, which is proved by the discovery under-ground of the headless image of Lokesvara (now preserved in the Orissa State Museum) near the road leading from it to the Brahmesvara temple. This image must have been enshrined in a Buddhist temple which has now gone out of existence. The Buddhist association of the Linga of Bhaskaresvara with an unusual height of 9 ft. from the floor level, which was originally a free-standing pillar is proved by the discovery of not only a deliberately broken and mutilated lion capital but also of four fragments of railing posts resembling similar ones fencing the stupas at Barhut and Sanchi. Of these four, three are preserved in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, while one is exhibited in the Orissa State Museum along with the mutilated lion bearing a short inscription of the fifth century.

As an analogy it may be pointed out here that at the time of renovation of the dilapidated Dhavalesvara temple on the peak of the Dhauli hill assigned to the sixth century by J. D. Beglar (43), the slender Linga enshrined in it was found to be 14 feet high with a circumference of nearly 5 feet, the thickness being disproportionate with its height. This must have been originally a column of the ancient Buddhist stupa, the existence of which nearby, was proved by the scattered bricks, brick-bats of the original structure. The fall of these two earliest Buddhist stupas near Bhaskaresvara temple and on the Dhauli hill, was caused by the militant Pasupatas, who were enimical to Buddhism when they came to prominence in the royal courts during the sixth century.

During the period of Bhauma-Kara rule over Orissa (c. 684-850 A. D.), there was revival of Mahayana Buddhism and its branch Vajrayana cult, as the first powerful rulers of this family were devout Buddhists.

The Somavamsi rulers followed a policy of reconciliation towards Buddhism, which is proved by the re-installation of Buddhist Jagannatha as Purushottama in a new temple built by Yayati I, grant of land made by Indraratha for the female Buddhist deity called Khadiravani Bhattarika, gift of village for Rani Karpura shri hailing from Solanapura Mahavihara of Utkaladesha. The slow process of assimilation of Buddhism into the fold of Hinduism resulted in its founder Gautama Buddha as being accepted as the 9th incarnation of Visnu. The temple of Bhaskaresvara, which symbolises this process of transforming a a portion of an ancient Buddhist pillar into one of the famous Asta Sambhus may be assigned tentatively to the eleventh century.

Temples of the early Ganga period

Establishment of Shasanas and building of Siva temples were started in full swing from the reign of Chodagang a Deva called Gangesvara Deva towards the close of his reign, with a view to eclipsing the fading glory and greatness of ancient Buddhist sites and monuments, which continued for at least two centuries.

The temple of Ramesvara, without any Jagamohana was built on an elevated ground containing the remains of an old Buddhist monument. The tall temple of Alabukesvara was erected in an area full of Buddhist caves, the chief of which is known as Pancha-Pandava Gumpha. His queen Lakshmi Devi built the temple Chintamanisvara near the extensive tank of Lakshmisagara excavated in the village of Lakshmisagara Patana founded by her. The beautiful temple of Gangesvara bearing his name still stands near the tank Devipadahara in a good state of preservation.

From a fragmentary inscription on the bank of broken Parvati image in 17 lines found in the heart of Sisupalagada it is known that Gangesvara built a lofty temple as high as the Himalayas extract from which is quoted below (43).

"तस्माद् वभूव भुवनत्रितयप्रसिद्ध
गङ्गेश्वरः महत्सुन्दरशुद्धबाहुः ॥

X X X X

प्रालेयाचलयत् कृतिश्च विदितप्रासादराजस्फुरत् ॥"

This great Siva temple of Sisupalagada was perhaps razed to the ground at the time of destruction of this fort by Mohummad Taqui Khan, Subadar of Cuttack in 1734.

Gangesvara paid special attention to founding Shasanas and building Siva temples round about Dhauli or ancient Tosali. So Shasanas named Sriyadeipura (present Sardeipura), Kalyanapura, Kausalyapura, Gangesvarpura, were founded by his queens Sriya Devi, Kalyana Devi, and himself resplctively. Near the extensive tank called Kausalya-Ganga, bearing the joint names of Kausalya Devi and Gangesvara Deva, were established two shasanas named Purva and Uttara. The temple of Bahirangesvara, erected on the western promontory of the Dhauli hill and marking the southern limit of the sacred Ekamra Kshetra, along with the temple of Ganesa and the temple of Sankatesvara standing by the road leading to the Bahirangesvara temple may be assigned to this period. The Ganesa is now installed in a new temple, whereas the other two temples have been reconstructed.

The temple of Kundalesvara of Sri Ramapura Shasana at a short distance from the famous circular enclosure containing the sixty-four Yoginis of Hirapura (44) belonged to this period as it finds mention in the Alarpur copperplate grant of Narasimha II. It marked the eastern limit of Ekamra Kshetra.

"दक्षिणसीमा श्रीरामपुर शासनीयकुण्डलेश्वरदेवस्य दण्डार्द्ध पर्यन्तेन"

Temples of the thirteenth century

The assumption made by my Guru late P. Acharya that the Shaktis (female energies) of the eight Dikpalas were depicted for the first time in the Ananta Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar and the temples called Sari, Chitrakarini, Yamesvara, Mitresvara and Varunesvara containing such Shaktis are later than the A. V. temple (46) is wrong, because Dikpalas and their Shaktis are prominently displayed in the Chatesvara temple of Krisnapura. This temple can be definitely placed, on the basis of an inscription found in it, to the second decade of the 12th century, when Anangabhima III was ruling over Orissa (48). With this reliable evidence at our disposal, the broken temples of Mitresvara and Varunesvara standing side by side within an enclosure to the north of the

Papanasini tank and Sari Deula may be placed in the first quarter of the 13th century.

The Chitrakarini temple standing on the right of the main road is of the panchayatana type having four subsidiay shrines at the four corners, the whole group being enclosed by a compound wall. Within the sanctum is worshipped a Chamunda image, the frieze on the lintel of the southern window of the Jagamohana depicts the marriage of Siva and Parvati, while that on the lintel of the northern window shows Krisna playing on his flute amidst his enchanted followers and cattle listening with rapt attention. In consideration of the existence of this presiding deity and the above two friezes this temple may be assigned to the reign of Narasimha I who had equal respects for Durga, Purushottama and Siva. In his Kapilasa temple inscription of 1246 A. D. (49) he proclaimed himself as.

"परममाहेश्वरः श्रीदुर्गापुत्रः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमपुत्रः।"

An inscription of his second srahi (1238-39 A. D.) found on the door jamb of the Dvaravasini temple (50) on the eastern bank of Vindusarovara begins thus :

"श्रीनरसिंहदेवस्य सुभटस्य दुर्गापुत्रस्य श्राहि"

Mahisamardini Durga installed in this pidha temple built of lateriate stone is called Dvaravasini Thus the temple may be dated near about 1240 A. D.

Yamesvara temple

The fairly large-sized temple of Yamesvara having a Vimana and a Jagamohana and standing within a spacious compound to the south of Bharati Matha, is an important ancient monument of Bhubaneswar. It stands on a high plinth like the Ananta Vasudeva temple which it resembles in respect of structural features, richness and affluence of decorations. Its general plan seemed to have followed that of the great temple of Konarka, where the Aruna Stambha stood in the intervening space between the Jagamohana and the Natamandira. (51) Here we find the stump of Vrisha Stambha in between the flight of steps leading to the Jagamohana and the pillared Nata mandira of

which nothing now remains except thepl inth. In consideration of the points stated above, it may be taken as a work of Vira Narasimha Deva I, built under the influence of his guru Bhava Sadasiva, who is stated in his two Lingaraja temple inscriptions (52) as a great Saiva teacher living on charity, granting land for the study of Vyakarana, making provision for Siva Nirmalya, performance of Yajna and ascociated with a Matha.

(क) "गौरीगुरु चरणान्तः करण-सारासार-संसारनिरासनिदानतपसा भाव-सदाशिवगुरुणा भिक्षार्जितधनेन X X X व्याकरणपाठाय दत्तः इति।"

(ख) निर्माल्य दशमाणतण्डुलान्नेन X X मठं कृत्वा X X दशप्रस्थ दक्षिणा दत्ता ....यज्ञ मठः।"

Though the second record is mutilated निर्माल्य, यज्ञ and मठ are clear.

From the story of the Yamesvara temple as narrated in the Ekamra Purana it is known that this temple was built by Yama who also performed a sacrifice and made gift of a wealthy Matha enclosed within a compound wall to a Kapalika Yati or Pashupata Acharya who stayed here as its head i. e.

सह तत्र महात्मासौ चक्रे यज्ञं शिवाय च।
X X X X X
कापालिकाय यतये सर्वभूत हिताय च,
दरिद्राय विनोताय शौचाचारपराय च।
तपोनिष्ठाय निष्ठाय ददद्वै मठमुत्तमं
धनधान्यसमायुक्तं शिवप्राकार वेष्टितम्।
X X X X
इत्थं पाशुपताचार्यो दिव्यं मठवर शिवे
X X Y X
कापालिकयतिरसौ श्रीयमेश्वरससन्निधौ।
यमदत्ते मठवरे तस्थौ धर्मपरायणः॥

The description of the Yati given in the Purana is fully applicable to Bhava Sadasiva given in his records. So this temple may be taken as a monument built under the influence of this great Saiva Acharya towards the close

of the reign of Narasimha I and the Mathavara of the Purana can satisfactorily be identified with the present Bharati Matha called (वडमठ) by the people.

Vakesvara temple

The Vakesvara temple standing to the north of Yamesvara temple consists of a Vimana and a Jagamohana, which is in a completely dilapidated state. "It is important however in having a Nava-ratha plan, which is a further advance on the Sapta-ratha plan of the monuments of this epoch". (54) The elaboration of the ground plan indicates its construction at a later date than the Yamesvara temple and as such it may be assigned to the closing year of the 13th century.

Dakra Bhimesvara temple:—

The Dakra Bhimesvara temple also known as Vibhishanesvara temple stands within a compound wall at a short distance of the eastern gate of the compound of the Lingaraja temple to the south of the Puri road. This temple built on a ruined pitha originally consisted of a Vimana and a Jagamohana, of which the former was in an extremely dilapidated condition, whereas its Jagamohana had totally gone out of existence at the time of its renovation by the N. A. C. of Bhubaneswar in 1970-71 under my supervision. As indicated by the name of this monument it may be taken as a work of Ananga Bhima Deva III (1211-1238 A. D.) who is also called Raut Bhima Deva in his two out of five epigraphic records in the Lingaraja temple.

(a) राउत भीमदेवाब्दे of the 23rd Anka or 1230 A. D.

(b) राउत भीमदेवाब्दे (date damaged)

Dakshina Chandi temple:—

The small pidha temple built of laterite stones enshrining the image of Mahisha mardini Durga called Dakshina Chandi, is situated to the south of ruins of the royal castle, which stood near the southern gate of the compound of the Lingaraja temple. It has got historical importance as Durga became the presiding deity of the castle called 'Krittivasa kataka' in two Lingaraja temple inscriptions (57).

(1) 4th Anka of Gajapati Kapilesvara Deva-1437 A. D.

"कीर्तीवास कटकं भितर पूजा अवकासे"

(2) 19th Anka of Gajapati Purushottama Deva-(1481 A. D.)
"कृतिवास कटके पूजा अवकासे"

Thus it is proved that this Kataka as well as its presiding deity was existing long before Kapilesvara Deva and as such may be assigned to the Ganga period.

Other important temples within the compound of Lingareja Parvati temple :

Of the minor temples within the compound of Lingaraja the temple of Parvati is a fine architectural piece, remarkable for the exuberance of its carvings. The temple structurally and stylistically is definitely later than the Lingaraja. (58) K. C. Panigrahi has taken it as a near contemporary of Ananta Vasudeva (59). But the discovery of a short inscription in 2 lines engraved on the plinth near the south door of the Jagamohana of the temple in the 13th Srahi of Bhanu Deva I (60) corresponding to 1274 A. D. proves its existence before the temple of Ananta Vasudeva, which was built in 1278 A. D. This inscription does not tell any thing about the date of the temple, but records the offering of cakes in two earthen pots (आटिका) by one Bhima Bahika, when the temple was in charge of (आधकार) of one Yasodhara Madarana. The offering of Atika is a sure proof of established reputation of the deity Uma Devi before this date.

It may be presumed, though it is difficult to prove that the necessity of building a temple for Uma or Parvati arose when the temple of Lakshmi had been constructed near the Jagannatha temple by Cholaganga Deva, because the early Ganga rulers were trying to give equal status to the temple of Lingaraja with that of Lord Jagannatha at Puri. So this temple may be placed in the second half of the twelfth century.

The temple of Gopalini or Bhuvanesvari to the north of the Jagamohana of Lingaraja and the temple of Savitri in the south-west corner of the Vimana of Lingaraja, which belong to the Gaurichara type may be placed during the Somavamsi period. Gapalini or Bhuvanesvari, the killer of the demons Kirti and Vasa, being the harbinger of the greatness and sanctity of this place according to all Puranic accounts may be taken as a contemporary of Lingaraja.

The temple of Siddha Lambodara

In order of precedence of visiting the deities within the precints of the Lingaraja temple, the name of Ganesa worshipped in a temple to the right of the flight of steps comes first. In the historic inscription of the fourth year of Narasimha I (1240 A. D.) Siddha Lambodara is given equal importance with Shri Kirtivasa (Lingaraja).

"श्री भगवतः सानन्द वृन्दारक वृन्दवन्दित
पादारविन्दस्य श्री कीर्त्तिवासस्य सिद्धलम्बोदरस्य"

Thus it was definitely earlier than 1240 A. D. There is an inscription in Telugu characters on the eastern wall of the sanctum belonging to the time of Cholaganga. But it is not deciphered. Until the contrary is proved it may be taken as a pre-Ganga monument.

Anantesvara temple:—

After the establishment of the Ganga rule over Orissa, Vaisnavism gradually rose into prominence as a result of which temples were erected within the enclosure of Lingaraja for worship of different Vaisnava deities. In a small shrine made of Laterite stones situated to the south of Lingaraja, are enshrined three chlorite images of Balarama, Subhadra and Krisna, for which it is called Anantesvara temple. The deities were installed in this enclosure during the reign of Anangabhima Deva, who dedidated the whole empire on the feet of Purushottama for which it was called 'Purushottama Samrajya' in his Lingaraja temple inscription and ruled over it as his Rauta or representative (62).

Lakshmi Narayana and Lakshmi Nrusimha temples.

According to tradition the beautiful deity of Lakshmi Narayana was kept hidden in the northern entrance of the Bhogamandapa on the eve of attack on the temple by Kalapahada in 1568 A. D. In the pedestal there is engrved a small inscription in which the name of Narasimha is visible, who may be identified wigh Narasimha I, who calls himself 'Purushottama putra'

The small temple of Lakshmi Nrusimha situated to the south of Bhogamandapa within an enclosure may be assigned to the 13th century.

The image of four-armed Narayana popularly called Madhaba holding Chakra in his upper right hand and Shankha in his upper left hand is found installed in a small shrine to the east of the Parvati temple which may be assigned to the early years of the Ganga rule.

Ananta Vasudeva temple:—

The supremacy of Vaisnavism in this greatest centre of Saivism in Orissa was fully established after the building of the Ananta Vasudeva temple by Chandrika Devi, the daughter of Anangabhima III & sister of Narasimha I in 1278 A. D. after which Vasudeva became the guardian of this sacred place & his representative image (विजयप्रतिमा) was worshipped along with that of Lingaraja in all important festivals like Ratha yatra, Chandana yatra, Dola yatra, etc.

Kapilesvara temple :—

The last great monument of this place is the temple of Kapilesvara situated within a spacious compound on the southern border of the sacred Kshetra. It was founded by the most powerful Gajapati Kapilesvara Deva whose coronation according to Madala panji, was celebrated at Krittivasa Kataka on the 2nd day of Kakada, Shukla Chauthi, Budha vara, which astronomically corresponds exactly to 29th June, 1435 (63) from which date an era called 'Kapilabda' is still calculated in Orissa. To perpetuate the memory of his coronation he founded the village of Kapilesvara & Kapilaprasada, & built a Siva temple after his name which is the second important temple of this place.

The association of Kapilesvara Deva with this place is proved by the existence of a short epigrah (64) engraved in a chlorite slab containing a panel of elephant riders, which is fixed in the southern wall of the porch of Kapali Matha situated to the east of Papanasini tank. It mentions the name of one Rana-sura Mahasenapati, the Commander-in-chief of Sri Kapilesvara Deva.

The second inscription which is historically very important was engraved on a chlorite slab fixed near the eastern entrance of the Jagamohana

of the Lingaraja temple (65). Its date is 4th Anka, Mithuna Sankrati, Krusna, Mangalavara which corresponds to 28th, May, 1427 A. D. the day of 'Raja Sankranti,' Jyestha, Krisna Navami, Mangalavara. (66) So the building of this temple may be fixed about this date when the king was encamping at Bhubaneswar.

With the date of Gajapati Kapilesvara Deva closed the long glorious period of temple-building at Bhubaneswar, which continued for about one thousand years since the days of the Sailodbhava rulers.

Synopsis

On the basis of calculation of 614 A. D. as the initial year of the Bhauma Era by me, the date of the Mohini temple belonging to the Parasuramesvara type of temples has been fixed near about 687 A. D. whereas other temples of this group may be assigned to different decades of the 7th century. Gauri temple, a work of the Bhauma queen Gauri Mahadevi is dated near about 790 A. D. whereas Muktesvara has been assigned to the 9th century.

Yayati I is shown as the builder of the Vimana of the Lingaraja temple, while its Jagamohana was a work of Udyota Keshari, famous in Orissan tradition as Lalatendu Keshari. The Natamandira & Bhogamandapa have been assigned to the 2nd decade & middle of the 13th century. The date of Indresvara (Rajarani) was definitely between 1006 & 1023 A. D. as it was built by Mudraratha. Kedaresvara is a pre-Ganga monument ; the date of Brahmesvara has been calculated as 1053 A. D. & that of Meghesvara between 1190 & 1198 A. D. Bhaskaresvara is assigned to the eleventh century.

The temple of Ramesvara, Alabukesvara, Gangesvara, Chintamanisvara, a Siva temple in Sisupalagada (now gone) Bahirangesvara, Ganesa, Kundalesvar are assigned to the twelfth century.

The temples of Mitresvara, Varunesvara, Sari Deul, Chitrakarini, Yamesvara, Vakesvara, Dakra Bhimesvara, Dakshina Chandi were built in different decades of the thirteenth century.

Parvati temple, which was built in imitation of the Lakshmi temple in the compound of Lord Jagannatha at Puri is placed in the second half of

the 12th century. The temple of Gopalini, (Bhuvanesvari), Savitri, Siddha Lambodara are shown as pre-Ganga monuments.

The temples of Anantesvara, Lakhmi Nrusimha, Lakshmi-Narayana, Narayana (Madhava) may be assigned to the first half of the 13th century when Vaisnavism was established in the compound of Lingaraja, who had presided over the destiny of Saivism in Orissa for 3 centuries. With the building of the Ananta Vasudeva temple in 1278 A. D. control of Vaishnavism over Ekamra Kshetra was complete as Vasudeva became the guardian of this place since then.

The temple of Kapilesvara was built by Gajapati Kapilesvara Deva, the founder of Suryavamsi ruler over Orissa in commemoration of his coronation at this place in 1435 A. D. with his death ended the glorious period of temple building at Bhubaneswar which had continued for about a thousand years.

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JAGANNĀTHA PURĪ AS A CENTRE OF CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES

Jagannatha-Puri —which is simply called Puri is well-known throughout India as a place of pilgrimage from the days of yore, and the antiquity of this place as such which can be difinitely ascertained has been discussed in my article already published. (1) An attempt has been made in this paper to show how this place was also a chief centre of learning in Orissa through the ages.

In ancient India religion and learning were very closely inter-mingled and each Tirtha or holy place was also a centre of learning and culture. Puri was no exception to this general rule. Though Puri as a Tirtha first finds mention in the Vanaparva of the Mahabharata, and its sanctity and glory are elaborately described in the Kurma Purana, Narada Purana, Padma Purana, and the Vishnu Khanda of the Skanda Purana, still its cultural history can be definitely traced from the 7th Century of the Christian era, when Indrabhuti the founder of the Vajrayana sect of Buddhism flourished in Oddiyana or Orissa. Indrabhuti and his sister Lakshminkara, were closely associated with this place, which was then a centre of Vajrayana in Eastern India. Indrabhuti begins his famous work 'Jnanasiddhi' (2) after offering his prayer to Jagannatha, the manifestation of the Buddha in its Mangalacharana.

प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथ सर्वजिनवरार्च्चितं
सर्वबुद्धमयं सिद्धिव्यापिनं गगनोपमं

(First verse of Chapter I)

There are also references to Jagannatha in four other verses of this work (3). The influence of the writings of Indrabhuti, who was an author of a lot of books on Vajrayana, was so great and deep-rooted in this land of his birth that traditions regarding the Buddhist incarnation of Jagannatha have been current in Orissa for centuries and found expression in the Oriya literature of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Next we come to the days of the great Sankaracharya (788-820 A. D.) who in course of his spiritual conquest of the whole of India, stayed at Puri,

which was well-known by his time as a chief centre of religion and culture, and founded one of his four Pithas called 'Goavardhana Pitha' here which has remained in existence till today. Sri Padmapadacharya, one of his four disciples, who was also a Nambudiri Brahmana like his Guru was placed as the first Jagatguru or spiritual head of this Pitha. According to tradition Sankara defeated the Buddist Pandits of this place by his vast learning and irrefutable arguments, converted most of them to his own faith and proclaimed Jagannatha Buddha as identical with the great Brahmanical god Purushottama of the Gita. This peaceful process of assimilation of a great Buddhist deity into the patheon of Brahmanism, strengthened its influence at Jagannatha-Puri, which was a strong centre of Buddhism before his days. In commemoration of this great event, the images of Sri Sankara and Sri Padmapada were installed on the Ratnasimhasana of Jagannatha for worship. It is known from Madalapanji, the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple written in Oriya language that their images were removed from that place during the reign of Divyasimha Deva II (1793-1798) Raja of Puri. (4)

Establishment of a Pitha by Sankara at Jagannatha-Puri forms a land-mark in the history of Orissa, as it was followed by the revival of Sanskrit learning and literature in this area. In this age of revival just after a few yrars of Sankara's visit to Puri, we find that the famous drama 'Anargha Raghava Natakam' by Murari was staged at Puri before an audience of learned people at the time of a festival (Yatra) of god Purushottama, the consort of Kamala, who was being worshipped in the Tamala forest on the sea shore, as will be evident from the speech of the Sutradhara quoted below :—

'नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः ।—अलमति विस्तरेण । भा भो लवणाद-वेला-वनाली-तमालतरु-कन्दलस्य त्रिभुवन-मौलिमण्डन-महानोलमणेः कमलाकुच-कलशकेलि-कस्तूरिकापत्राङ्कुरस्य भगवतः पुरुषात्तमस्य यात्राया मुपस्थानीया सभासदः'

In this connection it may be stated that all the three dramas of Bhava-bhuti namely Malati Madhava, Mahavira Charita and Uttara Rama-Charita were staged in festival times of god Kalapriya Natha, who has rightly been identified with the Siva of that name, whose temple existed in Kanyakubja, the capital of his patron Yasovarman (6). Similarly Murari who wrote Anargha Raghava in imitation of 'Mahavira Charita' of Bhavabhuti, got it performed at

the time of the Car festival of god Purushottama or Jagannatha,who must have been the family-deity of his royal patron,whose name remains yet to be traced.

Nothing definite is known about the cultural history of Puri for a period of two hundered years after Murari (850-1050) except the description of the temple of Purushottama-Jagannatha in the"Probodha Chandrodaya Natakam" (7) of Krishna Mishra (1050-1070) who is traditionally assigned to Orissa, but definite evidence is still lacking to prove the truth of this tradition.

The drakness that shrouds the cultural history of this place for a period of two hundered years suddenly disappears, when we come to Satananda, the famous astronomer,who clearly states in the last verses of his known and published work 'Bhasvati' that he belonged to Purushottama, (पुरुषोत्तमस्थ) was the son of Samkara and Sarasvati and finished his work in the Kaliyuga year 4200 or 1099 A. D. Another work on astronomy by Satanada called 'Ratnamala' which is not yet published, begins with benediction to Purushottama (तस्मै नमः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाय),It is referred to by famous Smriti writers of Orissa like Vidyakara Vajapeyi, Narasimha Vajapeyi and Visvanatha Misra as रत्नमालयां or शतानन्दरत्नमालायां. The manuscripts of this work are found in different parts of Orissa.It may be noted here that Satananda who lived in Puri is said by his commentator to have based his calculation on the meridian of his native city(9)

The construction of the present Jagannatha temple in place of the small old dilapidated temple, some time after the conqeust and annexation of Orissa by Cholaganga Deva in 1112 A.D. was an epoch-making event in the history of Orissa. From this time Orissa steadily became a very powerful state, and it could not only retain its independence and power,when the whole of Northern India came under the Muslim subjugation by 1200 A.D. but the invading Muslim army of Bengal was repeatedly defeated by its military strength.

From the Chatesvar inscription,it is known that there was great revival of Hindu religion and Sanskrit literature during the reign of Anangabhima Deva III (1211-1238) by whose efforts recensions of Puranas were made and Vedic literature was properly studied.(10) It was during the reign of Cholaganga Deva over the whole of Utkal (1112-1147) that Sri Ramanuja in course of his Journey from Melukote to Delhi and back between 1107 to 1117 A.D. visited and

stayed at Puri for some time. The effect of his visit was the change of religious faith of Cholaganga Deva who became a 'Parama Vaishnava' since 1112 A.D., though he at first as well as his fore-fathers were 'Parama Mahesvara' for about 600 years. in commemoration of his visit to Puri, Sri Ramanuja established a Matha there, which still goes by his name. His disciple Govinda established the 'Emar Matha' at Puri, which is the greatest Matha in Orissa at present. It may be noted here that the Oriya word 'Emar' is the shortened form of the original Tamil word 'Em-peru-man-ar'. The existence of the Alvarnatha Temple 16 miles to the south of Puri and a village named Alwarpur (Oriya Alarpur) three miles to the east of Bhubaneswar are also reminiscent of the visit of Ramanuja the last of Alwars to Puri.

Vishnu Svami, another famous Vaishnava preacher of Southern India, also visited Puri in the second half of the twelfth century and established a Matha here near the Markandesvara tank which is still called 'Vishnusvami Matha' after his name. There are also two other small Mathas of his sect in this sacred place. Nimbarka, another Vaishnava reformer of the South also came to Puri to establish Mathas of his religious faith here. Of the five Mathas of this sect at Puri, the 'Radha-ballava Matha' standing just to the east of the Lion's Gate of the Jagannatha temple is note-worthy

Madhava Acharya or Ananda Tirtha, the last of the four famous Vaishnava reformers of Southern India also visited Puri in the last part of the twelfth century. A lot of epigraphic records about the activities of his famous disciple Narahari Tirtha are still found in the Srikurma and Simhachala temples. (11) The coming of these four famous reformers of the South to Puri within a century (circa 1112-1212 A. D.) greatly stimulated the cultural activities of this holy place.

Research on this period of the history of Orissa has proved that Govardhana Acharya, the author of "Arya Saptasati" flourished near about Puri. The fact that he is mentioned in the "Gitagovinda" of Jayadeva along with Umapati Dhara, Sarana and Dhoyi, the three great poets of Bengal, does not prove either he belonged to Bengal, or he adorned the court of Lakshmana Sena. On tne contrary, there is definite proof that the poet Udayana, the

younger brother of Gobardhana Acharya mentioned in the last part of Saptasati belonged to the district of Puri as the two inscriptions belonging to the Meghesvara temple of Bhubaneswar (12) and the Sobhanesvara temple in the Brahmin village Niali, on the famous Prachi river of the Puri district (13) were composed by poet Udayana. By these two records it is proved that he was patronised by the vassals of the Ganga Emperors, Rajaraja Deva II (1170-1190 A. D.) and Anangabhima Deva II (1191-1198 A. D.). So Udayana lived in the Puri district in the last quarter of the twelfth century. So the tradition stating that Gobardhana lived in the Jagannatha-Puri is supported by two contemporary epigraphic records referred to above.

The very names 'Gobardhana' & 'Balabhadra' (his younger brother) most probably indicate their association with Puri, where 'Gobardhana Matha' is one of the oldest living institutions, and Balabhadra a greatest deity of the locality-

Similarly many eminent scholars are of opinion that the great poet Jayadeva, author of the 'Gitagovinda' belonged to Bengal and adorned the court of Laksmana Sena as he mentions the names of three poets of Bengal named above inhis work. But I beg to point out that none of these two theories seems tenable in view of the few facts stated below.

The village 'Kenduvilva' unanimously accepted to have been the birth place of Jayadeva can satisfactorily be identified with the present Kenduli Shasana (Brahmin village) on the river Prachi in the district of Puri. One will be simply be astonished to find a large number of four-armed Vishnu images belonging to a period from (circa 800-1200 A. D.) in every important villages on both the banks of the Prachi. In the compound of the Sobhanesvara temple alone ten such images can be seen by any visitor, which are called 'Madhaba' by the people. The existence of so many Vishnu temples near about 'Kenduvilva' must have deeply impressed the poet, who consequently became a devotee of Vishnu. Secondly Jayadeva who is said to be a follower of Nimbarka depicted the Lila of Sri Radha and Sri Krishna in his work & the influence of Jayadeva on the people of this region is marked by the

existence of a lot of Vamsidhari Krishna images in different villages of the Puri district which can be assigned to a period ranging from 1200-1350 A. D.

But the village 'Kenduli' or its adjoining area in the district of Birbhum in Bengal, which is claimed as the birth place of Jayadeva, does not contain any antiquity which can be placed before the 17th century. In this connection the attention of the scholars is drawn to the following remarks of late R. D. Banerjee. "No image of Krishna by himself earlier than the 15th century has been discovered anywhere in Bengal or Bihar" (14) The complete absence of Krishna images in Bengal prior to the advent of Sri Chaitanya may lead one to conclude that Jayadeva did not belong to Bengal.

Thirdly in the Hindi 'Bhaktamala' Nabhaji (C. 16th century), Sanskrit Bhaktamala by Chandra Dutta of Mithila, (15) it is clearly stated that Jayadeva belonged to a Brahmana village near Puri ; composed his Gitagovinda at Puri where he used to recite it daily in the Jagannatha temple with his wife Padmavati.

The very name of the work signifies that it was a hymn to god Govinda, which was meant to be sung before the God of his adoration, and not in a court to gain the patronage of any ruler.

Fourthly the first & second commentaries of the Gitagovinda were written in Orissa ; the first known as 'Bhavavibhavini' was written by poet Udayana Acharya (C. 1220 A. D.) who is said to have been an intimate friend of Jayadeva & the second called 'Sarvanga-sundari' was written by Kaviraja Narayana Das, the great great grand father of the famous Vigvanatha Kaviraja, who adorned the court of Narasimha Deva III, king of Utkala, rulling (1278-1307 A. D.) All other commentaries that have been written on Gitagovinda ate posterior to these two. The writing of the commentary on Gitagovinda during the life time of its poet by Udayana, also supports the theory that Jayadeva belonged to the district of Puri.

Another important point which deserves mention here is that only in the Jagannath temple of Puri reciation of the Gitagovinda before the deity, was introduced as a daily 'seva' of the God, during the reign of Narasimha II long

before the advent of Sri Chaitanya. Gajapati Purusottama Deva of Orissa (1466-1496) tried to replace it by his own work 'Abhinava Gitagovinda' composed in C. 1490 A. D. But due to the opposition of the devotees of the God, recitation of the Gitagovinda was again made compulsory by a proclamation of Prataparudra Deva, recorded in a stone inscription of the Jagannatha temple (16). So the scholars are requested to examine the question afresh, in the light of the facts stated above, in order to ascertain the tenability of my theory about Jayadeva's belonging to the district of Puri.

The glorious period in the cultural history of Puri begins from the time of Anangabhima III (1211-1238 A. D.) who was a great devotee of the God Purushottama and ruled the empire in his name, "Sri Purushottama samrajye" as recorded in his Lingaraja-temple inscription. (17) The period of renaissance in Orissa which continued for more than three centuries begins from his reign.

In the first part of his period there flourished SRIDHARA SWAMI (1350-1450) who is well known throughout India as the commentator of the Bhagavata, Bhagavadgita, 'Visnu-purana' and other works. He was the Svami or Spiritual head of the Govardhana Matha at Puri, (18) where he wrote most of his works. He was born in the village called Maraigaon near 'Remuna' a sacred place of the Vaishnavas in the district of Balasore in Orissa. There he led family life before he became a sannyasi, and his descendants are still living in that village. He spent some part of his sannyasi life in the Sankarananda Matha of Bhubaneswar also.

Another equally famous scholar, and sannyasi was Anandagiri, who was also the Mahanta of the Sankara Matha at Puri. It is clearly stated in his commentary on 'Nyayaratna Dipavali' that he wrote this work under the patronage of Narasimha Deva, king of Kalinga e, g

कलिङ्गदेशाधिपतौ नरेन्द्रे
भुव प्रशासत्यमरेन्द्रतुल्ये
नृसिंहदेवे जगदेक वीरे
नरोत्तमेऽकारि मया निवन्धः । तर्कविवेक ६

Anandagiri who is generally assigned to the thirteenth century may be taken as a contemporary of either Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264) or Narasimha Deva II (1279-1306 A. D.) and lived at Puri, and not at Dvaraka as asserted in the preface of 'Tarkasangraha' of Anandagiri.

In another work called 'आत्मज्ञानोपदेश टीका' the manuscript of which is preserved in the Sankara Matha at Puri, Anandagiri prays to God Purushottama or Jagannatha and his Guru Suddhananda.

विधूत त्रिविधालम्ब कल्पनं कल्पना X X
X X न्तानन्द सन्दाहे तं वन्दे पुरुषोत्तमं ।
यस्य प्रसादमासाद्य स X ति वहवो गताः
तमहं प्रत्यह वन्दे शुद्धानन्दपरं गुरुम् ।

God Purushottama, is also reffered to in the last verse of this tika :—

संसार गरलध्वंसि सुधाधाराभिवर्षिणो
आत्मज्ञानानुगा टीका ठीकतां पुरुषोत्तम

इति श्रीमत् परमहंस परिवाजकाचार्य शुद्धानन्द पूज्यपादशिष्य श्रीमत् परमहंस परिव्राजकाचार्यभगवता नन्दगिरि कृतावात्मज्ञानोपदेश टीका समाप्ता ।

This quotation made above suggests that he wrote this work, while living in the Sankara Matha at Puri.

In the same Matha is also preserved 'त्रिपुरी टिका' by Anandagiri in which the colophon quoted above is also found. Anandagiri is a voracious writer on Vendanta. Among his works the following :—

त्रिपुरारि विवर्ण, उपसदन व्याख्या, आत्मज्ञान
व्याख्या, हरिमेदेव्याख्या, उपाधिखण्डन

are also available.

In the period ranging from 1250 to 1550 A. D. the Dharmashastra literature was greatly developed by the Smriti-writers of Orissa. Of these 'Samkhadhara' the author of 'Smriti-Samuchchaya' who may tentatively be

assigned to the thirteenth century was the pioneer. 'Sambhukara Vajapeyi,' an ardet Smriti-writer of Orissa flourished during the reign of Narasimbha II (1279-1305 A. D.) His son 'Vidyakara Vajapeyi' one of the gretest Smriti-writers of India lived in the middle of the 14th century. (20) Only one part of his monumental work "Nityachara Paddhati" has yet been published while his other works are still found in manuscripts in different parts of Orissa. He was regarded as an authority by the later Smriti-writers of Orissa. His disciple "Ramachandra Vajapeyi" left Orissa and lived in Naimisharanya, where he wrote a lot of works on Smriti. Less renowned Smriti-writers of this period were 'Kalidasa Chayani' author of Suddhi Chandrika, "Yogisvara Patra" C. 1400-1450 A. D. author of Dana Dipavali. "Vipra Misra" author of 'Achara Pradipa' and "Visvanatha Mishra" author of 'Smriti-Sarasamgraha,' which was a very popular work in Orissa.

The greatest Smriti-writer of this period was Narasimha Misra Vajapeyi,who was patronised by Gajapati Mukunda Deva (1559-1568 A. D.) the last independent Hindu Emperor of Orissa. (21) He is reputed to have written 18 works on Smriti, each ending with the word 'Pradipa,' out of which the names of the following ten are definitely known e. g. Varsha--Pradipa, Prayascita-Pradipa. ,Sraddha-Pradipa, Pratishtha-Pradipa, Shabarabhashya-Pradipa, Samaya-Pradipa, Bhakti-Pradipa, Chayana-Pradipa, Vyabastha-Pradipa, & Nityachara-Pradipa.

The family of Visvanatha Kaviraja came to the forefront during the life time of Kaviraja Narayana Dasa, who adorned the court of Narasimha Deva II (1278-1307 A. D.) He wrote the 'Sarvangasundari' tika on the Gitagovinda. His grandson Chandi Dasa wrote a commentary on the 'Kavyaprakasha' of Mammata. Poet Chandrashekhara, father of Visvanatha was the author of 'Pushpamala Kavya' & 'Bhasharnava' in Prakrita. Visvanatha had written 'Kuvalayasvacharitam', 'Chandrakala Natika' 'Prabhabatiparinaya Nataka' 'Raghava-vilasa Mahakavya', 'Narasimhavijaya Kavya' & 'Prashastiratnavali' before he completed the Sahitya Darpana during the reign of Gajapati Nisanka Bhanu Deva (1407-1435 A. D.) His son Ananta Dasa wrote the Lochana Tika on Sahitya Darpana. Krishnananda Mahapatra who belonged to the family of

Visvanatha, was the author of 'Sahrudayananda Mahakavya.' His name is found in the Puri plates of Narasimha IV dated 23-11-1395 A. D. (22) and he is assigned to the last quarter of the 14th century.

Another family of scholars which settled near Puri was that of Mantrivara Rajaguru Godavara Misra. Of his ancestors, one whose name is not known wrote a work named 'Satsamaya.' Mrityunjaya Misra compiled 'Shuddhimuktavali', Narayana Misra wrote two cmmentaries on the two Mimamsas, Jalesvara Misra was the author of 'Jalesvara Paddhati.' This family rose to prominence, during the life time of Nrusimha Misra, who was a justice under the famous Gajapati Kapilesvara Deva (1435-1466 A.D.).He was the author of two works named 'Samkshepa-Sharirakavarttika' and 'Kasimimamsa.' His son Balabhadra Misra was the Rajaguru of Gajapatis Purushottama Deva and Prataparudra Deva. He wrote two works named 'Advaitachintamani' and 'Sharirakasara Purushottamastuti.' Godavara the son of Balabhadra was a versatile scholar. He was at first the Rajaguru of Prataparudra Deva from 1510 A.D. and then became his prime-minister for some years. Of the many works written by him, the names of the following are definitely known e. g., Tantra-chintamani, Yogachintamani, Niti-chintamani, Achara-chintamani, Jayachintamani, Advaita Darpana, Adhikarana Darpana, Niti-Kalpalata, Patanjali Dipaka, Samudrika Kamadhenu, Harihara-chaturanga & Saradarchana Paddhati. Of these Yogachintamani was first noticed by Dr. P. K. Gode (23) & Harihara Chaturanga has been published by the Government of Madras. The last named work has been noticed by me. (24)

The history of the family of 'Kavidindima' Jivadeva Acharya has been given by the poet himself in his unpublished work 'Bhaktibhagabata Mahakavya' (25) written during the reign of Prataparudra Deva.

His two dramas 'Utsahavati' & 'Bhaktivaibhava' (27) were staged in the compound of the Jagannath temple, in the spring season & on Dolayatra day respectively. His son "Jayadeva" wrote two dramas named 'Vaishnavamritam' & Piyushalahari (28) which were also staged in the Puri temple. His second son Vardhamana Mahapatra, wrote Vardhamana Karika (Grammar) and Durgotsava Chandrika.

The period of rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, lasting for about a century (1435-1533 A. D.) was the golden age in the history of Orissa, when Puri became the cultural centre of the whole of Hindu India. Kapilesvara Gajapati who was also a writer composed 'Parasuramavijaya natakam' which was staged in the time of a festival of Jagannatha. The authorship of the works like 'Abhinava Venisamhara' 'Abhinava Gitagovinda,' 'Namamalika,' 'Gopalapujapaddhati' is attributed to Purushottam Deva, (1466-1496)

His court poet Kavichandra Raya Divakara Misra, who was the real author of Abhinava Gitagovinda wrote some other works like-Bharatamrta Mahakavya, a 'Bhana' named 'Dhurtacharita', Rasamanjari, Parijataharana Nataka, Devi Shataka, Haricharita champu. (29)

Other poets & scholars of the reign of Prataparudra was Raya Ramananda author of 'Jagannatha ballava natakam', Markandeya Kavichandra, author of 'Dasagrivabadha Mahakavya' & Prakruta-sarvasva, Kaviraja Visvanatha Sena author of 'Chikitsarnava' & 'Pathyapathya-vinischaya', Kanhai Khuntia author of 'Mahabhava Prakasa', & Madhavi Devi, author of 'Purushottama Deva natakam.'

Prataparudra who was a great lover of learning extended his patronage to outside scholars like Lolla Lakshmidhar of the Andhra country, author of 'Sarasvati Vilasa,' Vasudeva Sarvabhauma of the Gouda country, author of a commentary on 'Advaitamakaranda' & Ramakrishna Bhatta of Kasi, who compiled 'Pratapa Martanda', & 'Tirtha Ratnakara' at Puri.

Due to the stay of Sri Chaitanya for about 24 years (1509-1533) till his death at Puri, most of the famous poets & scholars of Bengal, flocked round the great master & enriched the Sanskrit literature by their contributions.

With the death of Prataparudra, there was ebb in the fortune of Orissa which came under the Muslim sway since 1568 A. D. and Puri being repeatedly invaded by the Muslim rulers of Bengal and Mughal army lost much of its splendour and glory. Still it continued as the cultural centre of Orissa till the advent of the British in 1803 which will be discussed in a separate paper.

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EXCAVATION AT BELKHANDI IN THE KALAHANDI STATE

After the creation of the Archaeological Department in 1943, thorough survey of the ancient monuments lying scattered in historic places of the Kalahandi State like Amatha ghat, Belkhandi, Narla, Asurgarh, Rampur, Mohangiri, Sankosh, Junagarh, etc. was carried on gradually by the State Archaeologist Shree K. N. Mahapatra, B. A. (Hons.), D. Ed , M. R. A. S. under the kind patronage of the enlightened Maharaja and Ruler. After the completion of the survey work it was decided by the Darbar on the recommendation of the State Archaeologist to undertake excavation work at Belkhandi (also known as Rajapadar) which is situated on the confluence of the Tel river with its tributary Utei in the N. E. corner of this State at a distance of nearly 22 miles from the Kesinga Railway Station of the B. N. Ry., Shree Paramananda Acharya,B. Sc. M.R.A.S. the reputed Archaeologist of the Mayurbhanja State who at the invitation of the Darbar got the opportunity of visiting most of the historic places mentioned above in April, 1946 approved of the idea of excavation work at Belkhandi. Accordingly this work was started there from the beginning of May, 1946 under the supervision and direction of the State Archaeologist.

Two sites, one to the west of the present Chandi temple and the other to the east of the present Dhabaleswar temple were selected for this purpose. Luckily for the Archaeologist the first fortnight's excavation in the first site near the Chandi temple brought to view some immensely valuable relics of the past of great historical significance. The lower portion of entire western wall and partially existing southern and northern walls of an old Chandi temple all made of white sandstone were unearthed during this period. The measurements of the walls are given below.

Outer side of the W. wall—21' 2", Inner side of the W. wall—17' 8"
Height of the W. wall from the plinth of the old temple—2' to 2' 8"
Length of the southern wall near the plinth—22' 6"

Length of the southern wall still standing—6' 6"
,, of the northern wall now visible—9'

The rest of the N. wall is buried under the present Chandi temple. No trace of the eastern wall is found as it was completely destroyed at the time of construction of the existing Chandi temple.

Discovery of the Sapta-Matruka Statues

The existence of a long Simhasana bordering the entire W. Wall and the existing parts of the N. and S. walls has been found intact in side this old temple having a height of 1' 3". On this ' Simhasana ' there exist still the lower parts of eight statues one leaning against the S. wall in the S. W. corner and the other seven standing in a row leaning against the W. wall. The first statue having a bull as its vehicle cannot be properly identified, but it seems to be that of ' Vireswar Shiva ' who is generally found in the company of the ' Sapta-Matuka ' group. But the seven other statues standing in a row can be safely identified with those of Kaumari,Maheswari,Brahmani,Vaishnavi, Barahi, Indrani and Chamunda, the dieties of the famous 'Sapta-Matruka' group of the Hindu pantheon for they have a peacock,a bull,a swan,a lotus plant,a buffalo,an elephant,and a dead body,watched by jackals and owls respectively as their vehicles. The upper parts of these statues were not found underground as they seem to have been removed to some other place. After proper search the upper halves of four statues, e. g. Barahi, Chamunda, Brahmani and Kaumari have been found not very far off the Chandi temple and have been set in their proper places. These are made of fine polished sandstone and each is about 3' 2" high from the surface of the Simhasana.

This group resembles in every respect the wellknown ' Sapta-Matruka ' statues standing on the Dasaswamedha Ghat of the river Vaitarini in Jajpur and those on the Markandeswar tank of Puri in Orissa. These can vie with the above-noted statues of Jajpur and Puri, some best specimens of Orissan Art in artistic skill and excellence of workmanship. This fact goes to prove that this Chandi Temple at Belkhandi was built by the renowned Somavamsi Kings (Keshari Kings of Orissan traditions) to whose glorious rule the construction

of the Sapta-Matruka temples of Puri and Jajpur is also attributed. The discovery of the seven mother Goddesses in this little-known and unexplored valley of the Tel river is expected to throw a flood of new light on the cultural and religious history of this region known as Kosala in the days of yore and to help in tracing the missing link in the history of Kosala and Utkala.

Mr. Beglar, a famous Archaeologist of the last century who surveyed the remains of Rajpadar (Belkhandi) in 1874-75 and 1875--76 makes no mention of this temple as its ruins were perhaps shapeless heaps of stones covered by dense vegetations at the time of his visit. The entire site of the old Chandi temple cannot now be excavated as a new Chandi temple was constructed on it nearly 25 years ago, fortunately a little apart from the western and southern walls of the old one. A compound wall, all made of very old bricks, has been found underground to the south and east of the old Chandi temple.

Discovery of the Mandapa—Mr. Beglar's short but precise description of the ruins of Rajapadar served as a very valuable guide for conducting excavation at the second site to the east of the present Dhabaleswar temple. The description is as follows : "Higher up on the extereme tongue of the land jutting out at the junction of the Utai with the Tel are a number of ruins of great interest and undoubted high antiquity. The principal one is a large ruined brick temple, which in its original state included a large sanctum, a vestibule, a mahamandap of large size, a mandap and an ardhamandap or portico. The entire superstructure is so completely gone" × × × " In front of the temple appers to have been an inclosed courtyard, so that the whole in plan formed, so far as can now be judged the nearest approach to the temple of Rama-Chandra in Sirpur on the Mahanadi, with this only exception that whereas the Sirpur temple is small and possessed of only a sanctum and its attached " Antarala " this was a complete temple of a large size."

(Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, vol. XIII by A. Cunningham, pp. 120-121).

Unfortunately for the history of Orissa, the ruins of this magnificent temple of Belkhandi which excelled the noted Ramachandra temple of Sirpur (the first capital of the earlier Somavamsi Kings of Kosala) in size and

grandeur were removed completely beyond recognition when the present Dhabaleswar temple was built on the site of the dilapidated old temple seen by Mr. Beglar in the last quarter of the 19th century. The destruction made at the time of building of the present temple was simply reckless and lamentable.

However excavation made in a site tn the east of the Dhabaleswar temple has brought to light the lower portion of a pillared hall or Mandap, the dimensions of which are given below :

	Inside	Outside
Western wall	20'.10''	25'
Eastern ,,	21'.1''	25'
Southern ,,	11'. 4''	15'.3''
Northern ,,	11'.2''	15'.6''

Height of the existing walls from the floor of the Mandap—2'.2'. The existence of eight pillars, each measuring 4' 6'' in this mandap is proved by their pedastals still lying intact on its floor. The shafts of these pillars were nearly square in size at the top and the bottom and octagonal in the middle. The capitals of the pillars projected in shape of cornices to two sides.

There was a very small mandap 5'-5'' × 5'-1'' attached at the middle of the western wall of the big mandap which was built on fore pillars, the pedastals of which still exist. It served the purpose of a portico of the big mandap. There were two big niches in the shape of miniature temples projecting in the middle of the northern and southern walls of the big mandap. In the N. niche the statue of Haraparvati in their sitting posture was found from the debris. There were two small temples attached to the E. wall of the big mandap, each of them being connected with the mandap by a doorway supported on two pillars. These two were dedicated to God Shiva for one rectangular 'Shakti Pitha' is still found in each of them. From what still remains, it can be imagined that this big mandap made of soft sandstone of yellowish colour was a very beautiful structure.

This mandap was not connected with the sanctum (Vimana) and vestibule (Jagamohan) of the great temple, the ruins of which were noticed by

M. Beglar in 1875 A. D., because there was an open space 30' × 16½' between the mandap and the great temple. Moreover the mandap was entirely built of sandstone from its very foundation to the top, whereas the foundation and most part of the main temple were built of very old bricks of various sizes. In the open space mentioned above there was a very small mandap (5'—5') which contained two statues of Brisava (Bull), the vehicle of God Shiva facing west towards the main temple. All these factors go to prove that the mandap was perhaps built after the construction of the great temple like the 'Nata Mandir' and 'Bhogamandap' of the Lingaraj temple of Bhubaneswar and Jagannatha temple of Puri.

Discovery of the Courtyard—The present Dhabaleswar temple consisting of a Vimana and a Jagamohan was built nearly 50 years ago on the site of the old main temple with the bricks and stones obtained from the ruins of the latter. So no trace of the old structure is to be seen excepting its foundation which was made of brick. But almost the whole of the northern wall of the courtyard referred to by Mr. Beglar has been discovered after excavation. It was entirely made of bricks. To the north of the mandap in the open space between it and the N. wall of the courtyard there have been found out the lower portion of 8 small temples made of brick and dedicated to God Shiva. Bricks of the various dimensions have been obtained in the open space noted above. This discovery clearly indicates that the small temples made of different sizes were, perhaps built in different periods after the construction of the main temple.

Besides these,the statues of Haraparvati, Lakshmi-Narayan, Ganesh, Kartikeya, Brahma, Garuda, Brushava, Gajasinha, (different varieties), Maheswar, Parvati, Durga, Nagas, Yogis (mendicants), Dwarapals, broken statues of some other Gods and Goddesses (not indentified), fragments of Naga pillars etc have been found underground by excavation. The statues of standing Uma-Maheswar depicting the marriage scene standing with pomps and beautiful atmosphere, Hara Parvati (displaying sexual intercourse), Kapali of the Dasa mahavidya group Maheswari etc. which lay broken, scattered and covered with earth have also been set properly after some repair. These statues

may be regarded as the best specimens of the Hindu Art so far as the workmanship displayed in them is considered. These beautiful statues were most probably adorning the outer walls of the great temple dedicated to Lord Shiva and the old Chandi temple described above.

Mr. Beglar, the great Archaeologist who was simply charmed to see the excellent sculpture of the statues of this place writes thus : " I cannot speak too highly of the quality of the structure,although executed in an extremely soft yellowish sandstone, and consequently greatly worn and injured by time and weather, still from what little remains, there is no doubt that they were executed in the best style of Hindu art with a breadth of conception and a depth of execution which we vainly look for in the productions of later ages. They approach most nearly in execution and design, the superb sculptures at Rajam, at Savaripura (Sirpur), at Seorinarayan and especially at Kharod in the Central Province."

The above description given by Mr. Beglar of the ruins of Rajpadar and the discovery of some best specimens of Hindu art and sculpture noted above in two sites near the old temples of Shiva and Chandi clearly proves that the monuments of this place in their original shape, size and grandeur would vie with the great temples of Puri, Bhubaneswar and Khiching in all respects.

Age of the monuments—While describing the age of the superb sculpture Mr. Beglar writes elsewhere : " The sculpture noticed proves, as does the cold design and execution that the temple which it adorned must date to a period certainly anterior to the eighth century of our era. So strongly am I impressed with the excellence of sculpture that I do not think it at all an exaggeration of age to ascribe it to the sixth century of our era."

At another place Mr. Beglar has remarked that the sculptures of this place were centemporaneous with those of Khiching in the Mayurbhanja State. He says : " A good many of the sculptures remind me of the sculptures at Kichong and I should not at all think it improbable that they were executed about the same time."

Mr. Beglar who had the opportunity of visiting the old and interesting monuments scattered in ruins at Rajapadar or Belkhandi has adduced convincing

proofs regarding their resemblance with the ruined monuments found at Rajim, Sirpur, Seori-narayana, Kharod in the Central province, most of which were built by the earlier Somavamsi king of Sirpur. So the temples of Belkhandi may be proved to be the work of those kings of Sirpur.

Mr. Beglar's theory that the monuments of this place were built in a period ranging from the sixth to the eighth century of the Christian Era can now be corroborated by evidences obtained from epigraphic records of the Somavamsi kings of Sirpur.

The period from the beginning of the sixth century A. D. marks the time when Mahasiva Tibaradeba, the famous Somavamsi king of Sirpur, rose to power and Prominence and styled himself as 'Kosaladhipati' or "the supreme lord of the Kosala country". Mahamahopayadhyaya V.V. Mirashi,M.A. has conclusively proved in a learned article published in Epigraphic Indica that Mahasiva Tibaradeba was a contemporary of Maharaja Madhava Varman of the Vishnukundi family of Vengi who ruled from about 530 to 550. A. D. From the inscriptions of Tibaradeba it is found that he was the ruler of the entire Kosala country which also included the Kalahandi State. A copper-plate charter of Mahasiva Gupta Balarjuna, a Somavamsi king of Sirpur recently discovered and deciphered by Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sharma mentions two villages named Khadirapadrak and Baidyapadrak donated to a Siva temple which have been satisfactorily identified by me with the villages of Khairpadar and Bejipadar in the Kalahandi State. This clearly proves that Kalahandi State or at least the plain portion of it was under the sway of the Somavamsi kings in the time of Mahasiva Gupta Balarjuna. Balarjuna was the grandson of the younger brother of Tibaradeva and ruled perhaps in the last quarter of the sixth century (circa 580—600 A. D.) Dr. D. C. Sarkar, a reputed modern historian, writes thus about the time of Balarjuna : " Balarjuna, grandson of Chandragupta, may be assigned to the first half of the seventh century. He himself or one of his immediate successors may have been defeated by Chalukya Pulakesin who led an expedition against Kosala sometime before 634 A. D." (A New History of the Indian people, Vol. VI, p. 91.)

So it can be ascertained without any fear of contradiction that the glorious monuments of Rajapadar (Belkhandi) were the works of the power-full Somavamsi kings like Tibaradeba and Balarjuna who had their capital at Sripur on the Mahanadi and were ruling during the period covering the 6th and 7th centuries of these monuments with those temples of Sirpur built by Mahasivagupta Balarjuna and his forefathers strongly supports Mr. Beglar's theory.

Discovery of inscriptions and pottery—Uptill now two inscriptions carved on blocks of white sandstone have been found under ground to the north of the Mandap described above. These two await thorough study and decipher-ment. Besides these epigraphic records, very old lamps of different shapes and sizes made of earth and broken parts of old earth and broken parts of old earthen vessels have been collected at the time of digging the earth and the debris which may proved very interesting and historically important to a student of pottery. No seals or coins have been found by excavation as yet.

The excavation work is still in Progress at Belkhandi and many more interesting and valuable relics of the past are expected to come to light in near future.

RECKONING OF CHĀTURMĀSI, LUNAR AND SOLAR MONTHS AND DIFFERENT ERAS IN ORISSA.

Antiqity of Reckonjng of Varsha, Māsa, Ritu, etc.

We are to go back to the Rig Veda to know about the ancient Indian modes of reckoning Varsha, Masa, Ritu, etc. " In one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda the Sun's annual course through the heavens is described as thetwelve-spoked wheel. The 360 days with as many nights are called his 720 children." (1)

"द्वादशारं नाहि तज्जराय ववर्त्ति चक्रं परिद्यामृतस्य
आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुना सो अत्र सप्तिशतानि विंशतिश्च तस्थुः । (2)

" In another part of the same hymn the Sun's annual course is somewhat differently described. The felloes are 12, the wheel is 1, 3 are the axles. Within it are collected 360 spokes. Here the spokes represent the number of days, the axles are the three seasons of Heat, Rain, and Cold and the 12 felloes are the 12 months". (3)

"द्वादश प्रधय श्चक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि कउतच्चिकेत
तस्मिन्त्साकं त्रिशतान शङ्कवोऽर्पिता षष्ठिर्न चलाचला सः ॥ (4)

Thus the reckoning of 'Chaturmasi' or the three four-monthly periods of a year was popular in the age of the Rig Veda. Similary " the intercalary or the thirteetth month अधिमास is very plainly alluded to in the Rig-Veda, where Varuna is said to know the 12 months and that which is supplementarily engendered." (5 a) The calculation of पक्ष or fortnights is also mentioned in a pass-age of the Yajurveda. " May mornings appertain to Thee, may days and nights, and fortnights, and months, and seasons, belong to Thee." Thus as early as the time of the Yajurveda the whole system of lunar months with their light and dark fortnights and of the intercalary months, to adapt the lunar months to solar reckoning, had already been established " (5 b)

CHĀTURMĀSĪ :—(चातुर्मासी)

From the age of the Rigveda till the days to the Great Asoka, the reckoning of Chaturmasi or the three four-monthly periods of a year was popular in the society, which is proved by its mention in the second special Kalinga Edict of Asoka found at Dahuli, e. g.

इय च लिपि रनुचातुर्मास्यं श्रोतव्या तिस्यण अन्तरापि च श्रोतव्या। क्षणे एकेनापि श्रोतव्या। (६)

"This document should be heard on the Tishya day, every four-monthly season. and indeed, on every festive occasion in between the Tishya days it may be heard even by one." (7)

The fifth pillar Edict of Asoka furnishes definite evidence regarding the calculation of 'Chaturmasi' and different Tithis of the lunar month in the Maurya period.

"तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु (कार्त्तिकफाल्गुनाषाढापूर्णिमासु) तिष्यायां (पौषे) पूर्णिमास्यां त्रिषुदिवसेषु चतुर्दशे पञ्चदशे प्रतिपदि (च) ध्रुवायाः (ध्रुवत्वेन) च अनूपवसथ (उपवासदिनेषु) मत्स्यः अवध्यः ना अपि विक्रेतव्यः। × × अष्टमीपक्षे (अष्टमीषु) चतुर्दश्यां तिष्यायां पुनर्वसौ तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु सुदिवसे (पर्वदिने) गौः न निर्लयतिव्यः। × × तिष्यायां पुनर्वसौ चातुर्मास्यां चातुर्मासीपक्षेच अश्वस्य गोः च (दग्धशलाकया) लक्षणं नो कर्त्तव्यम्। (८)

In the above text चातुर्मासीषु means the full-moon of the initial month e.g., Phalguna, Ashadha and Kartika of the three seasons ; Summer, Rain and Winter. Thus in that age the months of Phalguna, Chaitra, Vaishakha & Jyeshtha formed the Summer season and the Rainy season and the Winter seasons started with the months of Ashadha and Kartika respectively.

Some of the copper-plate grants of the rulers of the Mathara dynasty that ruled over Kalinga (Southern portion of the Ganjam district in Orissa and the Srikakulam district of Andhra) in the fourth and fifth centurieis A. D. bear umistakable evidence regarding the continuity of the use of Chaturmasi in the official reords even upto the fifth century.

(१) "(सं) वत् ७, हेम ७ X X दिवसः २० । (9)

The 20th day of the seventh fort-night of Hemanta in the 7th regnal year,

(२) "सम्वत्सर चोत्तम् ४, ग्रीष्म २, दिन ५"(10)

The fifth day of the second fortnight of Grishma in the 4th regnal year,

(३) "सम्वत्सर पञ्चदशम् १०, ५ ग्रीष्मपक्ष प्रथमः दिवसः त्रयोदशी १० ३ (11)

Trayodashi of the first fortnight of Grishma in the 15th regnal year.

But in the majority of the grants of this dynasty, we find mention of the lunar months and the 'tithis' which clearly indicates that the reckoning by the mode of 'Chaturmashi' was steadily being replaced by the increasingly popular calculation of lunar months. So in the epigraphic records of the subsequent period, we never come accorss the use of 'Chaturmasi' which was so popular in this land in the past ages.

TWELVE YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER OR BĀRHASPATYA MANA :—

Another important thing which deserves consideration is the use of **'महाश्वयुज सम्वत्सर'** in a copperplate grant of the Mathara dynasty e. g. **"महाश्वयुजे सम्वत्सरे माघमास पौर्णमास्यां"**. (12) This mode of dating the record in the twelve year cycle of Jupiter,was in vogue to a limited extent only in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Chirstian era and found used so far in a few inscriptions ranging between A. D. 475 and 528.". (13) This is perhaps the only instance of the use of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter in the epigraphic records of this region.

60 YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER :—

In only one record of the early period, we find mention of 'Vibhava' in a copper-plate grant of Samanta Varman, a Ganga king of the Svetaka branch e. g.,

"संव १७३, विभव दिन २०" (14)

This is a solitary instance of the use of a year belonging to the 60 year cycle of Jupiter before the days of Cholagangn Deva. This Samvat is generally

assigned to the Bhauma Era. We get 'Vibhava' in 788 A. D., 848 A. D. and 908 A. D. Towards the close of the Ganga period the use of the 60 year cycle of Jupiter became a common feature. In the almanacs of Orissa, the northern recension of the 60 year cycle of Jupiter is invariably used.

SAURA—MĀNA

The introduction of the calculation of Solar months can be tentatively assigned to fifth-sixth century on the basis of evidences furnished by the epigraphic records of different dynasties of the early period. The mention of 'Uttarayana' is found for the first time in the Srungavarapukota plates of Ananta Varman who is assigned to the fifth century A. D. "त्रयोदश्यामुत्तरायणां धर्मप्रदानं कृतमितो" Thus it can be ascertained that the reckoning of solar months had been introduced before the time of this ruler.

The Sumandala plates of Dharmaraja of the Gupta year 250 or 570 A.D. also mention Uttarayana along with the lunar month, paksha, and tithi i. e.—

"वर्त्तमान गुप्तराज्य वर्षशतद्वये पञ्चाशदुत्तरे माघकृष्णस्यंकादश्या मुत्तरायणे" (16)

Some other instances of reckoning of solar months in the early period are given below. In the Badakhimedi plates of Jayavarma Deva of Ganga Era 100 or 598 A.D. we find :

(a) "इहैव विषुवसंक्रान्त्यां दत्तः" (17)

(b) " The Angul plate of Dharmamahadevi contains a reference to " Samkranti " e. g.,

"श्रीधरभट्टाय संक्रान्ती (न्ति) वेलायां (18)

USE OF THE WEEK-DAY :—

The earliest Ganga record to mention the week day " Adityavara " is that Pondoru plates of Vajrahasta Deva. (J. A. H. R. S. Vol IX pp 23,30). The Ganga Era used in it is taken as 500. So the date of this record is 998 A.D.

The Daspalla copper-plate grant of Ranaka Shatrubhanja Deva furnishes a unique instance of the combination of solar and lunar reckoning along with the mention of the week day and " Nakshatra " which is rarely found in the records of the early period e. g.

"विपुवसंक्रान्ति पञ्चम्यां रविदिने मृगशिर नक्षत्रेण
X X सम्वत् १९८ (19)

The corresponding date according to the Christian Era is (1) the 21st, March 812 A.D. and (2) 23rd March, 934 A. D. The Samvat 198 which has been written in decimal figures indicates that the numerical symbols generally used in the Bhauma grants had gradually yielded place to decimal figures.

It may be noted here that the mention of the week day along with the use of decimal figures are also found in the fragmentary stone inscription of Rana Keshari at Govindapur, e. g.,

"श्रारणकेशरी देवस्य विजयराज्ये
स ८११ माघ शुदि ११ बुधवारे (20)

The corresponding date according to the Christian Era is 9th January, 754 A. D. Wednesday. (21)

Thus it furnishes the earliest example of the use of a week-day in the epigraphic records of Orissa so far discovered. But the absence of the week day in the other records of the Bhanja and Somavamshi rulers of the subsequent period (800-1000 A. D.) leads to the conclusion that the use of the week day had not gained popularity till the time of Vajrahasta Deva (1038-1070 A. D.) from whose reign it became a common feature in the royal grants.

USE OF DIFFERENT ERAS.

The following Eras, e. g., Gupta Era, Ganga Era, Ganga-Kadamva Era, Samvat (Bhauma Era), Samvat (Vikrama Samvat) and Shaka Era, Kaliyuga Era and Srahi are found used in the epigraphic records and works written before rise of the Ganga power in Orissa (1200 A.D.). The Kapila Era and the Sana or Sal began to be used from the time of Gajapati Kapileshvara Deva and Akbar respectively.

GUPTA ERA.

The earliest mention of the Gupta Era is found in the Sumandala plates of the time of Prithivi vigraha.

प्रवर्त्तमान गुप्तराज्ये वर्षशतद्वये पञ्चाशदुत्तरे (22)

or in the year 250 of the Gupta supremacy.

The Kanas plates of Loka Vigraha is dated in the Gupta year 280 e. g. "प्रवर्त्तमान गुप्त (का) ल (सम्वत्स) रे अ (सी) त्यु (त्त) र शत (द्वये)" (23)

The Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja were issued in the Gupta year 300 e. g.

"गौप्ताब्दे वर्षशतत्रये वर्त्तमाने" (24)

The use of the Gupta era was discontinued after his time, as it is not found in any other record of the subsequent period.

MĀNA ERA :

In imitation of the Gupta Era, the Mana kings introduced their own Era, a solitary instance of which is found in the Patiakella plates of Shivaraja, e. g.,

"प्रवर्त्तमान माणवंश राज्यकाले त्र्यधिकाशीत्युत्तर" (25)

The initial year of this era has not yet been definitely fixed.

GANGA ERA

Up till now about thirty five grants of the early Ganga kings of Kalinga dated in the Ganga Era have been noticed. This era which was simply called प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज सम्वत्सर in the first three centuries after its introduction without any reference to any royal family, began to be proudly .proclaimed as "गाङ्गेयवंश प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्य सम्वत्सर" : indicating the increasingly victorious rule of this Gangas (26).

The Ganga Era was once renamed as Ganga Kadamva Era e. g.,

"गङ्गकादम्ववंश प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्य सम्वत्सरः पञ्चशतविंशोत्तरे" (27)

As 520 G. K. Era, when the diclining Ganga power was strengthened by the formation of matrimonial alliance with the powerful Kadamva chieftains of Kalinga in the first quarter of the 11th century . Though there is still a lot of controversy regarding the starting year of this era,the majority of scholars place it in the last decade of the fifth century near about 498 A. D.

VIKRAMA SAMVAT :—

No record of the early period dated in the Virkama Samvat has so far been discovered. But the Samvat 811 used in the fragmentary stone inscription of Ranakeshari at Govindapur in the Nayagarh Sub-division can be reckoned as Vikrama Samvat on astronomical grounds, because Magha Shukla,Ekadashi fell on Wednesday,when the Vikrama Samvat 811 was current. It cannot be taken as Saka Era as it was unknown in Orissa before the llth century. This solitary use of the Vikrama Samvat was due to the influence of the Maukharis of Magadha (who introduced this era in some of their records) with whom Rana Kesari, the younger brother of Mahashivagupta Balarjuna was connected by matrimonial alliance.

BHAUMA SAMVAT :—

The rulers of the Bhauma dynasty, who were very powerful and ruled over a territory extending from the Mahendra mountain in the south to the Ganga in the north dated their grants in an Era, which was simply called Samvat. The earliest Samvat so far known as Samvat 54 and last Samvat is 198. Though it does not bear the name of the dynasty like the contemporary Ganga Era, still it has been accepted by the scholars as an Era introduced by the Bhauma sovereign rulers. This was not only used by the Bhaumas, but also by their vassal chieftains like the Bhanja and the Nanda kings that ruled in the hilly tracts of Orissa and the Gangas of Shvetaka (Chikiti area) in Ganjam. The last year of this Era is 198,which is found in the two grants of Shatru Bhanja. In almost all the grants of the Bhauma family,the years of this era have been expressed in numerical symbols, whereas in the few latest records dated in this era we find the use of decimal figures. The initial year of this era which has been tentatively accepted as 736 A. D. may be pushed back by some years.

SHAKA ERA :—

Shaka Era which has been used through out Orissa for the last few centuries, and has been recently accepted as the National Era of Free India was unknown in this State before the eleveth century. One of the earliest known inscriptions where the Shaka year is used in the Mandasa grants of

Ananta Varman "Sriman Ananta Varma Devasya rajye Shakabda Nava shataka sapta rasa mata" (28). This term has been interpreted as 913 Shaka year by some scholars and 976 by others, of which the second seems more plausible. From the time of Vajrahasta Deva (1038-1070 A. D.) the dating of records in the Shaka year became a common feature.

Another important innovation which was introduced in the epigraphic records of the Gangas from the eleventh century is the use of different terms in place of numerical figures. The following verse recording the exact time of coronation of Vajrahasta Deva as found up till now in seven copper plate grants issued during his reign is important as it mentions the 'lagna' along with the solar month, the lunar tithi and the Shaka year expressed in words, e. g.

"वियदृतुनिधिसंख्यां याति शाकाब्दसंघे
दिनकर वृषभस्थे रोहिणीभे सुलग्ने
धनुषिच सितपक्षे सूर्यवारे तृतीया
युजि सकलधरित्रीं रक्षितुं योऽभिषिक्तः ॥

The Shaka year in the above verse is Viyat (O), Ritu (6) Nidhi (9) or 960 calculated from right to left according to the rule. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the Shaka year as well as of the "Lagna" in an epigraphic record of this period. In a record of the same king we find (30) "Aja Giri Nidhi-Śakabdare" where the word 'Aja' is used for the one, 'giri' means 7 and 'Nidhi' means 9 (nine). According to the rule of calculation of figures from right to left the term means 971 Shaka year. In another grant of the same ruler Kara Muni Nidhi Shakabda (31) has been used instead of 982 Shaka year. This mode of expressing the figures by means of words also became very popular with the authors of works on Jyotisha during the succeeding centuries.

YUGĀBDA :—

Up till now the earliest use of Yugabda has been found in a single royal grant e. g., the Polasara plates of Arkeshvaradeva (32), who was a chieftain of the Hingulakataka or Hinjilikatu in Ganjam. This was issued in Yugabda 4248 or 4348 which corresponds to 1147 or 1247 A. D.

The earliest work of Orissa. so far known in which both 'Shakabda' and Yugabda have been used in the 'Bhasvati' by Shatananda Acharya of Purushottama or Puri. In the first verse he has used the Shaka era, e. g.

'नत्वा मुरारे श्चरणारविन्दं
श्रीमाच्छतानन्द इति प्रसिद्धः
तां भास्वतीं शिष्यहितार्थमाह
शाके विहीने शशिपक्षखैकैः ।"

This work was begun in Shaka year Shashi (1), Paksha (2), Kha (0) Eka (1) or 1021, which corresponds to 1099 A. D.

The time of its completion is calculated in Yugabda in the last verse of this work, e. g.,

'खखाश्विवेदे प्रमिते युगाब्दे
दिव्योक्तितः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्थः
श्रीमान् शतानन्द इतीदमाह
सरस्वतीशङ्करयो स्तनुजः ॥'

Thus the time of completion was Yugabda Kha (0) Ashvi (2) and Veda (4) or 4200 Yuga year, the corresponding year of which in the Christian era is 1099 A. D. (33). The Kaliyuga year is still universally used in the horoscopes written through out Orissa.

ANKA SRĀHI :

The regnal years of the rulers of Orissa were being calculated in Anka Shrahi method in which the numbers 1 and 6 & all numbers ending with (6) and (0) except 10 were omitted at the time of calculatian. Thus if the Anka year is 50 the actual regnal years will be (41) as the numbers 1, 6, 16, 20, 26, 30, 36, 40, 46 will not be counted. Notable feature of this is the counting of the Anka year always from Bhadra, Shukla Dvadashi of the lunar year, which is called 'Sunia'. But in case of coronation of a king on some day before the 'Sunia' day "Bhadra Shukla Dwadashi" his second Anka will be counted from that date preceding the 'Sunia' of the year and his third Anka will be reckoned from the 'Sunia' day of the year. Consequently it may so happen that in a lunar year

three Anka years, e. g., the last Anka of the deceased rluer and the 2nd and the 3rd Ankas of his successor were taken to be current. The Anka years were so very popular throughout the Oriya speaking tracts, that they were not only being used in the official records of the State, but also by the authors,in their works and in the horoscopes prepared by the village astrologers.

The origin of this mode of reckoning the regnal years of the rulers has not yet been traced. The earliest use of "Shrahi" is found in an inscription of Vajrahasta at Mukhalinga e. g.;" "Svasti Shakayarsa vulu 980 Shrimat Ananta Varma Devara Pravardhamana Sambatsara mulu Yuga Shrahi" (34)

The word "Shrahi" is used in many inscriptions of C odaganga Deva (Nos. 21, 23. 24, 29, 30, 41, 43, 48, 50. 51, 53, 59, 63, 64, 66, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92) (35). But it is clearly understood from the records that the above mode of counting the 'Anka' from each 'Sunia' day was not followed. by him,because though he ruled for 70 years, the last Shrahi used is 72 only (36), whereas it should have been 85. But we find the omission of Shrahi 2,6, and 16 in the grants of Raghava Deva (1157-1170) whose last 'Shrahi' 18 is used for his fourteenth regnal year (37). Thus it can be tentatively concluded that the counting of Anka Shrahi was introduced in the second half of the twelfth century by the sons of Chodaganga Deva.

KAPILA ERA .—

In Orissa Kapilabda has been used in the annual almanacs prepared by the Astronomers since the year of accession of Gajapati Kapileshvara Deva (1434-35) a most powerful ruler of Orissa, of the Solar dynasty. Dhananjaya Acharya in the Palaka Panjika of the Shaka year 1655 or 1733 A. D. reckons Kapilabda and Mukundabda in terms of Kaliyugabda and Shakabda, e.g.;

'पञ्चाग्निशरवेदाब्दे गते कलियुगस्य च
ओड्रदेशेऽतिविख्यातो नृपोऽभूत् कपिलेश्वरः ।
शकाब्द पक्ष नागाब्धिसुधांशु परिशेषिते
श्रीमन् मुकुन्दनृपते र्गताब्दाः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥ 38

In Kaliyuga year Pancha (5) Agni (3), Shara (5), and Veda (4) or 4535 or 1434 A. D. the Great Kapileshvara Deva became the ruler of the Odra country or Orissa. The Mukundabda is counted from the Shaka year Paksha (2),Naga (8), Abdhi (4) and Sudhamshu (1) or 1482 or 1650 A. D. The Kapilabda is still used in Orissa, whereas the era introduced by Gajapati Mukunda Deva (1559-1558), the last independent and powerful ruler of Orissa was discontinued after some years of its start and is not used in the Almanacs.

SANA OR DILISHVARĀBDA :—

The Hijra Era, which was introduced in Orissa during the reign of Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor is called Sana or Sal by the common people and Dilishvarabda in the annual Almanacs of Orissa. The earliest mention of the Sana along with Vikrama Samvat, Shakabda and Anka, s found in the bilingual stone inscription of the Baripada Meusum, e. g. ;

''सम्वत् १६४५ शाके १५०६ सन ६६४
सनस्त २४ अङ्क श्राह्ो रीसभ दि २० सू १५ गुरुवारे ॥ (39)

This inscription containing years in three eras and the 24t Anka of the Hindu ruler, who was undoubtedly Gajapati Ramachandra Deva I was written in 1587-88 A. D. This clearly proves that the Akabari Sana was used in Orissa just after a few years of its introduction by the Mughal Emperor. But in Orissa the Sana began to be counted not from Vaishakha but from the day of 'Sunia' from which the Anka years of the independent Hindu monarchs of the past used to be calculated. It was used in all official and private records and the almanacs during the Mughal (1590-1751) and the Marhatta periods (1751-1803 A. D.). But after the introduction of the Christian era during the British regime (1803-1947) its use in offical and private records gradually diminished. Now-a days it is very scarcely used.

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35 -do- -do- -do-

36 -do- Nos, 216 and 217.

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A NOTE ON THE HYPAETHRAL TEMPLE OF SIXTY-FOUR YOGINIS AT HIRAPUR.

In course of my official tour for surveying the antiquities and the palm-leaf manuscripts in the village under the Balianta Police Station of the Puri District in the month of January, 1953, I unexpectedly got information from a village Chowkidar while encamping in the historical village of Alwarpur (1) about the existence of a circular enclosure, containing the images of various gods and goddesses in the village of Hirapur, two miles away from my camp. This information aroused hope of discovering some unknown monument, resembling the famous circular cloister existing in the village of Ranipur-Jharial in the District of Balangir, Orissa, which I had got the chance of visiting twice before. In the early morning of the 24th January 1953, I hastened to Hirapur with my informant and to my overwhelming joy I could discover another Hypaethral temple of 64 Yoginis at that place, which resembled the three other such temples, in many respects, that had been known before.

Hirapur stands not far from the south bank of the river Bhargavi, on which runs the well-known Jagannath road to Puri, at a distance of nearly three miles straight to the east of famous temple city of Bhubaneswar. Sisupalgarh, which has come to prominence during the recent years, stands midway between Bbubaneswar and Hirapur. The surrounding area also contains some other ancient monuments, the chief ot which is the temple of Kundalesvara Mahadeva in the neighbouring village of Umadei-Brahmapura, now-a-days called Tankapani, which marked the eastern limit of the ancient Ekamra-Kshetra, according to the verse quoted below.

खण्डाचलं समासाद्य यत्रास्ते कुण्डलेश्वरः
आसाद्य वलहांदेवीं बहिरङ्गेश्वरावधि ॥ (2)

This Kundalesvara Deva also finds mention in the grant portion of the Alwarpur copper-plate charter referred ta above e. g. "दक्षिण सीमा श्रीरामपुर शासनीय कुण्डलेश्वरदेवस्य दण्डार्द्ध पर्यन्तेन" This temple seems to be a monument

of the twelfth century. From the tradition still current in this area, it is known that like the Kundalesvara temple, this circular enclosure at Hirapur was also included in the 'Pancha-Krosa Ayatana' of the ancient Ekamra Kshetra, now-a days known as Bhubaneswar. But for want of proper Archaeological survey this Pitha of sixty-four yoginis existing within the limits of the ancient kshetra had escaped the notice of the scholars who had visited Bhubaneswar, and even remained unknown to the local people.

This circular enclosure (see plate 9) resembles a Gauri-patta in appearance having a projection measuring 4' in length 2' 6" in breadth and 5' in height to its east where-in the only passage leading inside is found. The height of the enclosure from the level of the ground around the monument is 8 ft. to 9 ft. and the length of its outer circumference is nearly 90 ft. The diameter of the circular space inside is nealy 25' and the height of the wall from its level is 6'—6'. The passage measures 8' in length and 2'—6" breadth. The main structure is built of a coarse kind of stand-stone which is generally found in the Khandagiri and the neighbouring stone quarries, whereas its foundation has been constructed with blocks of laterite many ancient temples of Bhubaneswar.

In the middle of the enclosed space, there is a rectangular Mandapa called Devi-Mandapa, measuring 9'—6" in length and 8' in breadth, the upper portion of which has been reconstructed a few years ago. It stands to a height of 9' from the ground level. This Devi Mandapa has four doors facing east, south, west and north having a breadth of 3'-4", 2'-1", and 3'-4", and 2'-1" respectively. Near the Mandapa are to be seen some pillars, and blocks of sand-stone that were used in it before its fall.

Tho Yogini Images :—In the circular wall round the enclosed space there are sixty niches for holding the images of sixty yoginis, all of which still exist. All these images are carved in black chlorite and are in standing posture. They are described clock-wise as they exist in the wall from the south-west corner of the passage to its north-west corner. Their measurements are given within brackets.

1. A four-armed figure (1'-8" × 11") with broken hands, standing on a corpse. The braid of hair is over her head. She is adorned with ornaments like anklets, girdle, necklace, armlets, kapa (ear-ornament).

2. A two-armed figure with broken hands (1'-7" × 9") standing on a corpse. The braid of hair is to the left side of her head. She wears ornaments like No. (1)

3. A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 10") standing on an elephant. She wears a garland of skulls (mūndāmala)and holds in her left hand a skull-cup near her mouth, while her right hand is broken, The braid of hair is to the right side of her head. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1

4. A four-armed figure (1'-10" × 1') standing upon a tortoise having raised curling hair over her head. She holds a skull-cup in her upper right hand while her other three hands are broken. She is adorned with ornaments like No. **1**. She may be taken as goddess Yamuna.

5. A two-armed figure with broken hands (1'-8" × 11") standing on a full-blown lotus, with leaves on both sides. The braid of hair is over her head. She wears 'Naga-keyura' (armlet of Naga), while the other ornaments are the same as in No. **1**.

6. A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 10") with broken hands having the braid of hair to the left of her head. In the pedastal is seen a line of waves (Tāranga-mala). She is adorned with ornaments like No. **1**.

7. A four- armed graceful figure (1'-8") with broken hands standing upon the back of all alligator. The beautiful braid of hair is over her head. She wears ornaments like No. **1**. She may be identified with Gauri. (3)

8. A two armed figure (1'-10" × 11") with broken hands standing upon the back of an elephant. The braid of hair is over her head. Her legs are broken. She may be identified with Aindri.

9. A boar-faced four-armed figure (1'-10" × 11"), riding upto the back of a buffalo. She wears Mukuta and Kirita over her head and other ornaments like No. **1**. She holds a skull-cup in her upper left hand and a chapa (bow) in her lower left, while her two right hands are broken. She may be identified with Varahi.

10. A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 9") with a fierce face standing on the hood and body of a serpent and having the braid of hair over her head. She wears garland of skulls and 'Alaka' (an ornament of the head) and holds a khadga (sword) in her right hand, while her left hand is broken.

11. A monkey-faced four-armed figure (1'-10" × 11") with broken hands, having the braid of hair over her head. In the pedastal is seen a camel. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.

12. A two-armed graceful figure (1'-7" × 10") with a smiling face and curling hair over her head. Her hands are broken. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1. In the pedastal is seen the Garuda for which she can be identified with Vaishnavi.

13. A two-armed graceful figure (1'-10" × 1') with broken hands and a beautiful braid of hair over her head. She is found standing on a boar and is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.

14. A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 11") with broken hands standing on a drum. The braid of hair is over her head. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.

15. A two-armed figure (1'-10" × 11") with broken hands standing on a a male figure (See plate 10). The male figure has beautiful curling hair over his head and holds the stem of a lotus in his right hand. She is adorned with ornaments like No.2.

16. A four-armed figure (1'-11" × 1') with broken hands standing upon the back of a fish and having the braid of hair over her head. She wears a garland of skulls and ornaments like No. 1.

17. A four-armed figure (1'-8" × 10") standing on a severed human head (chhinna mastaka) and having the braid of hair over her head. She holds a bow in her lower left hand, while the other hands are broken. She wears ornaments like No. 1.

18. A two-armed figure with broken hands (1'-8" × 10") standing on something which appears like a flat-roofed house or cave having a door-like hole in the middle. She looks terrific in appearance with a buffalo-face and dishevelled hair over her head.

19 A two-armed figure (1'-7" × 11") with broken hands standing on a big frog. She wears ornaments like No. 1 and has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head.

20 A two-armed terrific figure (1'-10" × 11") standing on a lion and bavin raised hair over her head. She lifts an elephant in her two hands over her head. She wears ornaments like No. 1.

21 A two-armed graceful figure (1'-8" × 11") standing upon the back of a dog and having a nice braid of hair to the right of her head. Her right foot held tightly by both of her hands is placed over her left thigh. She wears ornaments like No.1.

22 A four-armed figure (1'-10" × 11") standing upon the back of a big serpent. She has got moustache, which is being trimmed by her upper left hand while her other hands are broken. On her left shoulder lies a 'Tumuru' (a stringed musical instrument), the lower portion of which is seen on her right thigh. She has the braid of hair over her head and wears ornaments like No. 1.

23 A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 10") with broken hands having the braid of hair over her head. She is adorned with ornaments like ankletes, girdle, armlets, necklace etc. In the pedastal is seen a line of waves.

24 A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 10") with broken hands having seven 'Ratna-kalasas' in the pedastal as her cognizance. She wears 'Mukuta and Kirita' over her head and a jewelled girdle and other ornaments. The braid of hair is to the right of her head. She may be identified with Kauveri (See Plate No. 11.).

25 A two-armed boar-faced figure (1'-8" × 10") with raised hair having padmalata (lotus creeper) in the pedastal as her cognizance. She holds a Damaru in her right hand while her left hand is broken. She wears various ornaments.

26 A lion-faced four-armed figure (1'-8" × 10") with raised curling hair, like the mane of a lion over her head. She looks terrible in appearance. In her lower two hands she holds a potlike thing, while the other two are broken. On the pedastal are found five flowers with leaves.

27 A two-armed graceful figure (1'-8" × 10") with the braid of hair to the right of her head. She is adorned with various ornaments, and stands on a lotus bud together with leaves on both sides.

28 A two-armed terrific figure (1'-9" × 10") with broken hands, having a fierce face with protruding lips and curling matted hair over her head. The pedastal is broken.

29 A two-armed graceful figure (1'-9" × 10")standing on a full-blown lotus. She wears a garland of snakes and holds a Vajra (thunder-bolt) in her right hand and in the other a sheild. The braid of hair is to the right of her head.

30 A two-armed graceful figure (1'-9" × 10") standing upon the back of a peacock,with broken hands. She wears'Akshamala' on her right arm and necklace, girdle and anklets. The shield held in her left hand is broken. She may be identified with Kaumari.

31 A ten-armed graceful figure (2'-2" × 1'-1") with broken hands, and slightly bigger than the other 59 images.She stands upon a full-blown lotus under which is seen a square pedastatl (1'-10" × 1'-13") with a prjection to the north measuring 6". She wears Mukuta and Kirita over her head and a beautiful necklace, a bejewelled girdle,anklets and armlets.The image, which is the presiding deity of this place is worshipped as Mahamaya and after her name this monument is also called the Mahamaya temple and the ancient tank to the south of this place also called the Mahamaya Pushkarini.

The description of Mahamaya as given in the 58th chapter of the Kalika Purana tallies with that of this image, and as such she can be indentified with Mahamaya.

32 A two-armed figure (1'-6" × 10") with broken hands having a fierce face and raised curling hair over her head. In the pedastal is seen the figure of an archer kneeling on the ground and fighting with a bow in her left hand and an arrow in other, while the quiver is seen hanging on his right shoulder.

33 A two-armed graceful figure (1'-9" × 10") standing upon a crab and having the braid of hair to the left of her head. She is adornned with ornaments like No.1.

34 A four-armed snake-faced figure (1'-9" × 11") adorned with various ornaments. Her four hands and the pedastal are broken.

35 A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 10") standing on a cot with four legs. Her are hands broken. She wears Mukuta and Kirita over her head and various ornaments on her body.

36 A two-armed figure (1'-9" × 10") with a fierce face and raised hair over her head, standing upon the back of a horned animal resembling a buffalo.

37 A two-armed figure (1'-9" × 11") standing upon the back of a crow with the braid of hair over her head. She holds a sword in her right hand while her left hand is broken. She is adorned with various ornaments.

38 An elephant-faced two armed figure (1'-9" × 9") standing upon the back of an ass and having Jata-juta (knot of matted hair) over her head. Her hands are broken.

39 A two-armed graceful figure (1'-9" × 11") standing upon the back of a rat and having a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head. She is adorned with various ornaments and holds a bow in her left hand and the bow-string in the right. (See plate No. 1L)

40 A four-armed graceful figure (1'-10" × 11") standing upon a scorpion. She wears Kirita over her head and various ornaments over her body. Her upper two hands are raised while the lower two are broken.

41 A two-armed figure (1'-9" × 10") standing upon the back of a bull, with the braid of hair to the right of her head. She is adorned with various ornaments on her body.

42 A four-armed figure (1'-10" × 11") keeping her two legs on two chakras or wheels below which is seen a mongoose. The braid of hair is to the right of her head. Her two lower hands lean against both the knee-joints. In her upper right hand she holds a damaru, while the upper left hand is broken.

43 A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 11") with broken hands having a cock in the pedastal as her cognizance. See wears various ornaments and the braid of hair is to the right of her head.

44 A two-armed figure (1'-9" × 10") with broken hands standing upon the back of a lion. She has curling hair over her head and wears various ornaments.

45 A four-armed figure (1'-10" × 1') with broken hands standing in a wooden pot meant for containing turmeric-paste (Haladi-Kathua in Oriya). To the south of this pot is seen a flower vase. She has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head over which is tied a flower-garland. She wears a Mukuta and various ornaments over her body.

46 A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 13") standing on a male figure with two hands in lying posture. She holds a Trisula in her right hand while her left hand is broken. The male figure wears a Mukuta and a Kirita over his head and has a third eye over her fore-head and as such he may by identified with Shiva and the female figure with Kali.

47 A four-armed graceful figure (1'-10" × 11") wearing Mukuta and Kirita over her head and various ornaments on her body. In her upper left hand she holds a 'Nagaphasha' and her lower left hand is in the pose of Abhaya mudra. In the pedastal are three big and some small full-blown flowers and on the middle big flower the deity stands. Her two right hands are broken.

48 A two-armed graceful figure (1'-9" × 10") holding a sword in her left hand and keeping her left hand upon a wine vessel (Madya Bhanda), kept on the pedastal. She has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head and wears a 'tiara' on her head and other ornaments on her body. In the pedastal is seen an earthern pot with a conical lid on it.

49 A two-armed figure (1'-10" × 11") with broken hands, having the braid of hair to the left of her head. She wears a 'tiara' on her head and other ormaments on her body. In the pedastal is seen a conch-shell with its two legs.

50 A three-faced four-armed figure (1'-7" × 11") with broken hands wearing Mukuta and Kirita over her head, and sacred thread and other ornaments on her body. The pedestal is gone, but in its left end is seen a decorative lion holding a garland of beads in its mouth. She can be identified with Brahmani.

51 A two-armed figure (-10" × 11") with a fierce face standing on a wooden seat having eight legs. She has two long raised ears, and two long knots of matted hair hanging on both sides of her head.

52 A two-armed figure (1'-8" × 11") standing upon the back of a ram. She holds a sword in her up- raised right hand, but her left hand is broken. She wears various ornaments. The flames of fire are seen rising in the background. She may be identified with Agneyi. (See plate No. 12)

53 A two-armed figure (1'-10" × 10") with the braid of hair over her head. In the pedestal is seen a parrot as ber cognizance. She holds something in her left hand, but her right hand is broken,

54 A two-armed figure (1'-10" × 10") with broken hands, standing on a wooden seat having four legs The braid of hair is to the right of her head. She wears various ornaments

55 A two armed graceful figure (1'-8" × 10") with broken hands, having a beautiful braid of hair over her head. She is adorned with diffenent ornaments. In t e pedestal is seen a Chamari cow (female yak) as her congizance.

56 A four- armed terrifying figure (1'-9" × 11") reduced to a mere skeleton, with lean hanging breasts and raised hair over her head. She wears a garland of skulls and holds a fierce lion over her head in her upper two hands, a Kartari in her lower right hand and a severed head (Chhinna mastaka) in her lower left hand. In the pedestal is seen a musk-deer as her cognizance.

57 A two-armed figure with broken hands (1'-9" × 11") standing upon the back of a horned deer. The braid of hair is over her head. She is adorned with various ornaments.

58 A four-armed figure (1'-9" × 11") standing upon the back of a ' Makara ', with the braid of hair over her head. She is adorned with various

ornaments. She holds the petiole of a full blown lotus in her upper right hand and a Naga phasha in her lower left, but her two right hands are broken. She may be identified with Ganga.

58 A two-armed figure (1'-9'' × 10") standing upon the back of a duck, with the braid of hair over her head. She holds a surpa (winnowing-fan) in both of her hands.

60 A two-armed figure (1'-11" × 1') standing on the back of a horse, with the braid of hair to the left of her head. Her hands are broken. In the back-ground is seen a Kadamva tree. Out of these sixty figures Nos. 8, 9, 12, 30, 50 represent Aindri, Varahi, Vaishnavi, Kaumari, Brahmani respectivly which belong to the famous Sapta-Matrika group.

Images on the modern shrine called Chandi-Mandapa :—There is a niche in each corner on the outer surface of the four walls of the Chandi-Mandapa, for holding an image. So there were altogether 8 images on this Mandapa, all carved in chlorite of which 7 are still existing and one is missing. They are described as follows :—

1 In the southern niche of the eastern wall, there is a four-armed male figure (2' × 1') with only one leg,standing on a full-blown lotus. He wears a garland of skulls,kirita over his head,and bracelets and armlets of snakes, (Sarpa-valaya & Sarpa Keyura). He holds a Khadga (sword) in his upper right hand,a shield in his upper left hand and the back-bone of a fish (used as a kind of weapon) in the lower left hand,while his lower right hand is broken. There is a halo over his head. There are two male attendants on both sides of the deity, each of which holds a sword in his right hand and a shield in the other. This may be identified with ' Ajaikapada Bhairava'.

2 In the eastern niche of the southern wall there is a ten-armed male figure (1'-11'' × 1'-1'') sitting on a seat of double conventional lotus, (Visva Padmasana) with its Linga raised upwards. In the pedestal is seen a corpse whose Navinadi-rajju (umbilical cord) is being pulled out by one of the left hands of the deity. He holds in two other left hands, ' Akshamala ' and a skull-cup,

and a drum in his lower right hand. He wears Kirita over his head, over which there is a halo. In the left corner of the pedestal there is a two-armed female attendant holding a Shankha (conch-shell) in her right hand and a skull-cup in the other. There are the figures of two flying damsels at the two corners above the halo.

3 In the western niche of the southern wall, there is a ten-armed male figure (1'-11 × 1'-1') sitting on a seat of double conventional louts (Visva-padmasana) with its Linga raised upwards. His right leg is pressed over the head of a figure sleeping in the padestal. He wears Kirita over his head and various ornaments over his body. There is a halo over his head above which are seen two flying damsels at the two top corners. He holds a 'Damaru' in his uppermost right hand and some fruit (?) in his lowest right hand. In his two upper left hands are found a Trishula (trident) set in a shield, and an Aksha-mala. In the right corner of the pedestal is seen the frgure of a female attendant with a terrific face and dishevelled hair over her head, holding a skull-cup in her left hand.

4 The S. W. N. niche of the western wall is empty and the Pujakas say that there was a Yogini image there which had been taken away to a place called Yamunkuda.

5 In the N. W. W. niche of the western wall, there is a four-armed female deity, (1'-8" × 10") standing upon the back of a female deer. She wears various ornaments and has got a beautiful braid of hair over her head resembling a lotus bent downwards.

6 In the N. W. N. niche of the northern wall there is a four-armed graceful female deity riding on a galloping horse. She wears a Kirita over her head and various ornaments on the body. She holds a sheild in her upper left hand and a bow in her lower left one. Her two right hands are broken. She also posseses a quiver.

7 In the N. E.N. niche of the northern wall there is a two-armed female deity (1"-8" × 10") in dancing posture with a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head. She places her left hand over the waist. In the pedestal is

seen a male deer on both sides of which are two vases, from each of which a flower plant rises upwards.

8 In the N. E. E. niche of the eastern wall there is a ten-armed nude deity (2' × 1') sitting on male seat of double conventional lotus 'Visva Padmasana'. He wears a Kirita over his head above which there is a halo and two flying damsels at two top corners. He holds a ' Damaru ' in his uppermost right hand and an 'Akshamala' in his upper-most left hand, but his other hands are broken. In the pedestal is seen a male figure lying with his head placed on his right palm over whom the right leg of the deity is pressed. In the left corner is seen the figure of a female attendant holding a sword in her right hand and a skull-cup in the other. (See plate No. 12.)

Images on both sides of the passage :—1. Right-side : A two-armed standing nude male deity (3'-8" × 2') wearing a garland of skulls and anklets of snakes. He looks terrifying in appearance, with his emaciated body, sunken belly, matted hair, and fighting pose. He holds a skull-cup in his right hand but his left hand is broken. He is facing west towards Mahamaya. On the pedestal, to the left side of the deity is seen a flower plant. In the pedestal is seen a jackal and in its left corner are the figures of two male attendants looking very lean and thin Each of them holds a 'kartari' in his right hand, a skull-cup in the other.

2. Left side : The image (3'4" × 1'-9") is similar to that on the right side. But there is some difference between them. This image holds a severed head in his left hand. The attendant to the left of the flower-plant is found drinking something (blood ?) and the attendant to its right is found holding two skull-cups in both the hands. Both the images are carved in sand-stone of some-what yellowish colour.

The two Dvarapalas :— 1. The southern Dvarapala is a two-armed male figure (2'-10" × 1'-9") with broken hands, having a lotus creeper in the pedestal as his congnizance. He wears ear-ornaments.

2 The northern Dvarapala is also a two-armed male figure (2'10" × 1'7") having a bulging belly, and a fierce face with matted hair over his head.

He holds a skull-cup in his left hand, while the other one is broken. A lotus creeper is seen in the pedestal. This image is broken into two parts near its waist.

NINE KATYAYINI IMAGES :—There are nine female deities set in nine niches on the outer surface of the circular enclosure which are called Katyayinis by the local people. All of them have been carved in sand stone of some what yellowish colour. They are described clock-wise from the meeting point of the enclosure and the right wall of the passage.

1 A two-armed female deity (2"-9" × 1'-7") standing on a severed human head with curling hair. She holds a sword in her right hand, but her left hand is broken. She has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head and wears Churis (a kind of bracelet) and a necklace. At both the ends of the pedestal are seen the figures of two male attendants each beating a drum.

2 A two-armed female deity (2'-6" × 1'-6") standing on a severed human head with curling hair. She holds a skull-cup in her left hand, but her right hand is broken. She wears bracelets, a necklace and anklets and the braid of hair is to the left of her head. On the right side of the deity there is a male attendant holding an umbrella over her head. In the pedestal are seen a dog and a jackal to the right and the left respectively of the severed head.

3 A two-armed female deity (2'-11" × 1'-6") standing on a severed human head, and holding a Kartari (knife) in her right hand and a skull-cup in the other. She wears various ornaments and the braid of hair is to the left of her head. On the right side of the deity is seen a female attendant holding an umbrella over her head. In the pedestal are seen a jackal and a dog as in No 2.

4 A two-armed female deity (2'-9" × 1'-6") standing on a severed human head and holding the same things as No.3. The female attendants in No. 3&4 are also similar. But her braid of hair is to the right of her hand and She wears Akshamala on her arms. The jackal is seen to the left and the dog to the right of the severed head in the pedestal and a female is seen feeding the dog.

5. This deity (2'-7" × 1'-7") is similar to No. 2, the only difference being that a famale attendant is seen holding an umbrella over the head of the deity. (See Plate 13.)

6 This deity (2"-7" × 1'-7") is similar to No. 4. But there is some differenc which is noted below, e.g. there is a tree standing to her right and the female attendant is seen holding something over her head resembling the crescent of the Moon instead of an umbrella.

7. This figure (2'-8" × 1'-6") is similar to No. 3.

8. This figure (2'-9" × 1'-6") is also similar to No. 3.

9. This deity (2'-6" × 1'-5") is smaller than the other 8 images. She is nude and looks terrific with dishevelled hair over her head. She stands on a severed human head and holds a sword in her right hand and a skull cup in her left like others, but a bow is seen lying on her left shoulder, wich is a special feature. There is no attendant here and in the pedestal are seen two jackals instead of one Jackal and one dog.

Thus there are at present existing altogether 60+7+2+2+9=80 images in this sacred Pitha while only one Yogini image is missing. Like Ranipur Jharial the entire pantheon of sixtyfour Yogini images was existing here from the beginning, but one Yogini image has been removed to some other place. Of the existing 63, only Mahamaya, the presiding deity of this Pitha is ten-armed, 19 are four-armed and 43 are two-armed. If the entire lot of 80 is taken into account, we find that 56 image are two-armed, 20 are four-armed and only 4 are ten-armed. Thus two-armed deities predominate here.

The special features of this Pitha which deserve notice are mentioned below.

(1) The dimension of this Pitha is smaller than those of Ranipur-Jharial and Bheraghat; the inner diameter of this enclosure is only 25; whereas that of Ranipur Jharial and Bheraghat are 47' and 116'-2" respectively.(5)

(2) At Ranipur-Jharial there is a small Mandapa on four pillars in the middle of the enclosure, enshrining an image of three-headed eight-armed Siva

in the pose of Tandava-dance, near which are seen the images of Ganesha and Parvati.(6) From the existence of pillars that are lying on the ground near the Devi-Mandpa at Hirapur, it can safely be ascertained that like Ranipur-Jharial there was also a pillared Mandapa here before the existing one was reconstructed in recent years, but the images it contains are different from those at Ranipur-Jharial. In Bheraghat, instead of a pillared Mandapa the temple of Gauri-Sankara is to be seen. But it does not stand in the centre or centre-line as at Hirapur and Jharial, but stands at a point which approaches too close to the circumference.

(3) The projection for the passage, found at Hirapur is absent at Ranipur-Jharial and Bheraghat.

(4) Both at Hirapur and Ranipur-Jharial, the number of Yogini images was 64, as is required in the Hindu scripture, but it exceeds the conventional 64 at Bheraghat. The number remaining the same there is some difference regarding the enshrinement of the Yogini images, At Ranipur-Jharial there were 64 niches in the wall of the enclosure for containing the images of 64 yoginis, of which only 48 are existing at present. At Bheraghat all the 81 images are found in niches made in the circular enclosure. But at Hirapur there are only 60 niches in the enclosure from the very beginning for holding 60 images only, while the remaining four were perhaps enshrined in the former Pillared Mandap.

(5) One most important point of difference, which has got much significance, is the absence of the images of two Dvarapalas, two Bhairava images on both sides of the Passage; and the images of nine female deities called Katyayinis on the exterior of the enclosure. Both at Bheraght and Hirapur the total number of images was 81. (7) But the arrangement of the images at Hirapur, clearly proves that the Shastric injunctions regarding the construction of the Yogini Pitha have been strictly followed at Hirapur, but not at Ranipur-Jharial and Bheraghat which may be taken as a proof of its earlier origin. More-over the Vahanas of the deities have not been given at Ranipur-Jharial which is also a violation of the Shastric rules.

(6) At Hirapur 77 out of existing 80 images are standing figures and only three are seating figures and again these three are of male deities. In Ranipur-

Jharial almost all the images excepting a few are standing or dancing figures. But at Bheraghat out of 81 images only five are standing figures. Thus standing figures predominata at Hirapur as well as Ranipur-Jharial, where as it is just the reverse at Bheraghat.

(7) Not a single image at Hirapur and Ranipur-Jharial is inscribed, whereas the majority of the images at Bheraghat are inscribed. R. D. Banerji wrote on the images as follows:—

"The images inside the circular temple fall into two broad groups. One class consists of standing figures carved out of a brittle reddish sandstone, which are not inscribed, while the second class consists of seated images and in the majority of cases carved out of a dull yellowish sandstone, which are invariably inscribed and the letters of which point to the tenth century, as the date of there execution × × × Now the standing images are earlier in date than the seated images."(8)

He further writes about the standing images. "This class of images is not inscribed, but appear to belong to the Kushan period on the analogy of the images discovered by the late Mr. Pandey at the same place."(9)

From the above description it is quite clear that the images at Bheraghat belong to different periods. Even the circulr cloister at Bheraghat belongs to different periods in the opinion of Cunningham, who writes thus—"I conclude, therefore that the circular cloister as it at present stands is the work of two different periods. The old circular wall with its inscribed statues belonging to the 10th century and the cloister, with its roof,being the wok of queen Alhana Devi in the twelfth century."(10) But the images as well as the structure of the circular enclosure at Hirapur belong to the same period and excepting the upper portion the Chandi Mandapa, every thing remains in its original position.

Date of the monument:— The circular cloister at Bheraghat has been assigned to a period ranging from the tenth century to twelfth century on the strength of evidence furnished by the inscriptions found there. As regards the date of the circular temple at Ranipur-Jharial, Cunningham writes as follows:—

"Of its antiquity there can be no doubt as in style of work and execution, it approaches closest to the great inscribed temple, which I have already assigned to the eighth century of our era; I can not assign it to a later date than the ninth century."(11) But there is no inscription in this circular temple at Hirapur or nearby with the help of which its date can be fixed some-what definitely. So its date can be fixed with the help of archaeology and the extant literature on Tantric religion.

The prodeminance of the standing as well as the two-handed figures in the circular temple at Hirapur is a sure sign of its antiquity and as such it may be taken to be earlier than those at Ranipur-Jharial and Bheraghat. The sculpture of the images at Bheraghat and Ranipur-Jharial is much more elaborate than that of the images at Hirapur, there being the figures of attendants and worshippers near the Yogini images, in those two places, which are completely absent at Hirapur, which tends to prove its greater antiquity.

Thirdly the Yogini Pithas were established, when the Brahmanical Tantric religion became very popular in the society and began to vie with the Vajrayana of the Buddhists, which originated in Uddiyana in the sixth-seventh century. From the Kalika Purana, which was written in Assam in the 11th century, (12) it is known that the first Brahmanical Tantric Pitha in India, orginated and developed in Odradesha, the presiding deity of which country was Jagannatha.

जालन्धरं लिखेत पीठ मुत्तर पश्चिमे लिखेत्
ओड्रपीठं दक्षिणेतु कामरूपन्तु पूर्वतः । 13
ओड्राख्य प्रथमं पीठं द्वितीयं जालशैलकं
तृतीयं पूर्णपीठन्तु कामरूपं चतुर्थकं
ओड्रपीठं पश्चिमे तु तथैवोड्रेश्वरी शिवां
कात्यायिनीं जगन्नाथमोड्रेशंच प्रपूजयेत् ॥ 14

The Kalika Purana, which describes in great details the origin, development, religious significance and the rituals of the Yogini Puja, speaks in unmistakable terms that in Odra or Orissa, the Brahmanical Tantric religion first developed. This statement of Kalika Purana is corroborated by the existence of a lot of temples in the coastal region of Orissa, some of which are pure Hindu

Tantric Pithas,while othres have been greatly influenced by the Tantric faith. The temple of goddess Viraja at Jajpur, who finds mention in the Sanskrit Mahabharata, is one of the oldest Tantric Pithas of the Hindus. The images of the Sapta Matrukas on the Vaitarani at Jajpur and those near the Markandesvara temple at Puri have been assigned tentatively to the eighth century. The Parasuramesvara temple at Bhubaneswar, which is assigned to the seventh century contains the images of Sapta Matrukas.(15) (1) The Kapalini, (2)the Mohini (3)the Uttarayani, (4) the Gouri, (5) the Ramayani and (6) the Dakshina Chandi templs of Bhubanaswar are regarded as famous Tantric Pithas and the existing temples of the first four deities have been assigned to the eighth century by all the reputed historians. Only in the temple of Kapalini sixteen images, besides the images otKapalini, who is the presiding deity of the temple, have been set in the walls inside the Garbhagriha. The Kapalini is a Chamunda image and of the other sixteen, seven are the figures of Matrukas, and four are Yogini images .In this respect the temple of Kapalini seems to be intimately connected with the circular temple at Hirapur, where the entire pantheon of 64 Yoginis, nine Katyayinis and some Bhairava images are worshipped, which indicates the gradual development of the Tantric cult. From this point of view, the temple of Hirapur seems to be later than that of Kapalini. On the grounds stated above the temple of 64 Yoginis at Hirapur may be assigned to the eighth or early ninth century of the Christian era, when Brahmanical Tantric religion became predominant in Orissa and most of the famous Tantric temples of this region raised their heads. 'Odrapitha' being the first Tantric Pitha in India, according to Kalika Purana, which is taken as an authority on Hindu Tantra, it can legitimately be assumed that the Yogini cult which originated in the coastal region of Orissa somewhere near Puri, gradually spread in the adjoining hilly tracts of Orissa and M. P., having its centres first at Ranipur-Jharial, which is also another small city of temlpes, like Bhubaneswar, and then in Bheraghat, near which are seen the monuments of different ages.

References

1. From the paddy-field of this village Alwarpur a set of copper-plate grants of Narasimha II of the Imperial Ganga family was discovered in 1900 A. D.

which was subsequently melted by a brazier. But the reading of this charter made by the late Pandit Ratnakar Garabadu of Bhubaneswar is going to be published in E. I., by Dr. D. C. Sircar & Sri P. Acharya.

2. Svarnadri Mahodaya. Chapter I. Page 4.
3. Elements of Hindu Iconography by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Vol. I, Part II P. 360.
5. The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments by R. D. Banerjee, P.67.
6. Archaeological Survey of India by A. Cunningham, Vol. XIII. P. 136.
7. At Hirapur the number of existing niche images is 80, but if the missing one is added to it, the number comes to 81.
8. The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments by R. D. Banerji, P. 69.
9. Ibid, P. 78.
10. Archaeological Survey of India by Cunningham, Vol. IX, P. 73.
11. Ibid Vol. XIII, P, 132.
12. Kalika Purana, a compilation of the time of Dharmapala of Kamarupa by Tirthanath Sarma I. H. Q. Vol XXIII pp, 322-326.
13. Kalikapurana, edited and Publishd by Panchanana Tarkaratna in Bengali Script, Chapter 63, Verse No. 11.
14. Ibid, Chapter 63, verses 43 & 44.
15. Date of the Parasuramesvar Temple at Bhubaneswar by Sri K. C. Panigrahi, M. A, J. R. A. S. Vol, XV. No. 2, P. 110.



ANTIQUITY OF JAGANNĀTHA PURI AS A PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE

Late M. M. Chakravarti made the first attempt to fix the date of the existing Jagannath Temple at Puri with help of the epigraphic records that were available in his time. (1) After some forty years, Pandita Binayak Mishra made a critical study of the folk-lore and some Puranas, namely, Kurma Purana, Narada Purana, Padma Purama,and also the Vishnu Khanda of the Skanda Purana which contains the Purushotta.. `` hatmya. to trace the origion of Jagannatha and the antiquity of the Purushottom kshetra.(2) But the date of these Puranas is still a subject of controversy. So I have made an attempt to trace the antiquity of Jagannthа-Puri with the help of some epigraphic records and literary works, the date of which are approximately correct.

Jagannatha, as a synonym of either a Buddhist or Brahmanical deity does not find metion in the popular lexicon 'Namalinganushasanam' of the celebrated lexicographor, Amarasimha, which was compiled in rhe fourth century A. D. The first mention of Jagannatha, as the manifestation of the Buddha is found in the work, 'Jnanasiddhi' (4) of Indrabhuti, the king of Uddiyana, who was the founder of the Vajrayana system of the Buddhism. The author begins this work offering his prayer to Jagannatha Buddha, in its Mangalacharana :—

प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं सर्वजिनवरार्चितं
सर्वबुद्धमय सिद्धिव्यापिनं गगनोपम

(First verse of Chapter 1)

Jagannatha is mentioned in four other verses of this work e. g.

स गुरुः शिष्यसंग्राही सर्वबुद्धानुकारकः
इत्युवाच जगन्नाथो नान्येवै गुरवः स्मृताः ।

(Verse 27 of Chapter I)

तान् प्रयुक्ता जगन्नाथैः वज्रसत्त्वविभावनैः
भुजवर्गसमायुक्त मुद्रामण्डलकै स्तथा ॥

(Verse 92 of Chapter I)

अतएव जगन्नाथा वालानां प्रति वोधने
निर्वाणं दर्शयन्त्येव रूपस्थानित्य दर्शकाः ॥

(Verse 28 of Chapter II)

सर्वज्ञः सर्वदर्शीच सर्वलोकार्थ कारकः
तत्र तत्र जगन्नाथः दर्शितः करुणात्मभिः ।

(Vsrse 8 of Chapter V)

Jagannatha, propitiated by Indrabhuti in the beginning of his work, can be identified with Jagannatha at Puri for the reasons given below.

(a) The image of Jagannatha, be it Brahmanical, or Buddhist, in origin is not found anywhere else in ancient India except at Puri. The images of Jagannatha that are to be seen in various other places of Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesa and Andhra were carved in imitation of the image of Jagannatha at Puri which has got a long history behind it,

(b) Tradition regarding the Buddhist origin of Jagannatha are current in Orissa for centuries, and have found expression in the Oriya literature of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (5). The Buddhist origin of Jagannatha also finds mention in the literature of the Dharma cult written in old Bengali language which will be evident from the quotation given below.

"In the esoteric Buddhist literature the epithet Jagannatha (i. e., the lord of the world) is widely used before Budhha or rather the Lord Supreme, and it is also a well-known adjective used before the Lord Supreme of the Hindus and thus through the medium of the epithet Jagannatha, the first of the three jewels could very easily be Hinduised and the Hinduisation of the other two was but a matter of course. This theory of the transformation of Buddha, the first jewel of the Buddhists, into Jagannatha (and later on frankly conceived as Krisna) has its corroboration in the tradition of the literature of the Dharma cult. Jayadeva, the famous Vaisnava lyric poet, described Buddha as the 9th incarnation of Visnu, and in the literatere of the Dharma cult we

find in connection with the description of the incarnations of God that in the 9th incarnation God was born as Jagannatha, who is none but lord Buddha, and he settled his residence on the sea-coast, where he has relived the whole world by distributing to all irrespective of caste and creed his Prasada (i. e., the food offered to God and supposed to be accepted by him)

It may be pointed out here that in the ten incarnations of Visnu, inscribed on the gateway of the temple of Jagannatha in Puri, Buddha, the 9th incarnation, has been replaced by Jaganatha. (6)

(c) In the famous Tantric works ; like, Kalika Purana, Rudra-yamala, Brahmayamala, Tantrayamala, which were compiled before circa 950 A. D., Jagannatha is described as the famous deity of Odra or Utkala. There being no other deity bearing that name any where else in India before circa 950 A. D., it will be quite justifiable to indentify Jagannatha, mentioned by Indrabhuti with the celebrated deity at Puri.

(d) The Jnanasiddhi by Indrabhuti is stated in its colophon to have been written in the Oddiyana Pitha e. g.

श्री मद्दोडियान विनिर्गता ज्ञानासिद्धिर्नाम साधनोपायिका
समाप्ता । कृतिरियं श्री इन्द्रभूति पादानाम्''

The Oddiyana Pitha can be identified with the Odra Pitha which is eulogised in the Kalika Purana as the first Tantric Pitha in India. e. g.

ओड्राख्यं प्रथमं पीठं द्वितीय जालशैलकं
तृतीय पूर्णपीठन्तु कामरूपं चतुर्थकं ।।
ओड्रपीठं पश्चिमेतु तथैवोड्रेश्वरी शिवां
कात्यायिनीं जगन्नाथ मोड्रेशश्च प्रपूजयेत् । (7)

Jagannatha who is described as 'Odresa' or the supreme deity of the Odrapitha in the Kalika Purana can be indentified with Jagannatha of the Oddiyana Pitha, where Jnanasiddhi was written. Regarding the identification of Oddiyana with Orissa, the arguments put forth by Dr. Benoyatosh Bhatta-

charya, an authority on Vajrayana system, are quoted below, as they are quite convincing.

"There is a great deal of controversy regarding the identification of Oddiyana; some hold it is the same as Uchang-na of Hiuen Tsang or Udyana in Swat valley in the North- western Frontier Province, but many others are of opinion that it is the same as Orissa, The latter theory seems probable, for Uddiyana must be a place where Vajrayana flourished, and a place where we should expect to find some Vajrayana images. Sadhanamala mentions four Pithas or sacred spots of Vajrayana, namely Kamakhya, Serihatta, Purnagiri and Uddiyana and Uddiyana must be a place not very far off from Kamakhya and Serihatta. Moreover, in the Sadhanamala there is a Sadhana for the worship of a four-armed variety of Kurukulla, which goes by the name of Uddiyana-Kurukulla as worshipped in Uddiyana. Images of this deity is extremely rare and if we are to belive the testimony of Mr. N. N. Vasu the only image of this veriety of Kurukulla has been discovered in Orissa. Lastly in Buddhist manuscripts of the Tantric period, the variants, Odda, Odra, Ordavisa, Odiyana, are mentioned and all these seem to be variants of Uddiyana. All this evidence, combined together, points to the indentification of Uddiyana with Orissa, where innumerable images belonging to the Vajrayana school have been discovered. Against the first theory identifying Uddiyana with Udyana several arguments may be brought forward. We have no evidence that Tantra in the form of Vajrayana ever flourished in Udyana, nor a single Tantric image is reported to have been discrvered there though much earlier images of the Gandhara school are daily coming out from this site. It is, moreover, improbable that Uddiyana being one of the four Pithas would be two thousand miles away from two others Kamakhya and Sirihatta, which are contiguous. In view of these facts we may conveniently identify Uddiyana with Orissa and set aside its indentification with Udyana (8). This conclusion of Dr. Bhattacharya is now corroborated by the discovery of an image of Kurukulla in the village of Kurukura not far from the Devi river in the district of Cuttack.

Thus Jagannatha propitiated by Indrabhuti is no other than Jagannatha at Puri, whose Buddhist origin is recognised in early Oriya and Bengali litera-

ture. So Jnanasiddhi, which was written in circa 7-17 A. D., furnishes the earliest authentic evidence, so far available, regarding the antiquity of Jagannatha at Puri, whose fame must have spread before the eighth century.

According to tradition, Sankaracharya (788-820 A. D,) in course of his spiritual conquest of India, stayed at Puri, which was well-known by his time and founded one of his four Pithas there, the other three being founded in Sringeri (Mysore State) Dvaraka and Badrikasrama. This Pitha, known as the Bhogavardhana Pitha, still exists there. Padmapada Acharyya, one of Shankaracharyya' s four chief disciples was also a Nambutiri Brahmana like his Guru (9). He was placed as the first Guru of spiritual guide in this Pitha at Puri. According to Madala Panji, the images of Sankara and Padmapada, used to be worshipped on the Ratnasimhasana of Jagannatha, till the time of Raja Divyasimha Deva of Khurda (1787-1793), when they were removed from that place and were later on broken by the Vaishnavas e. g.

> रत्नसिंहासन कान्थि वसाइले। एथिरु शङ्कराचार्य्यङ्कु पद्माचार्य्यङ्कु वाहारकरि दाक्षिणघरे रखिथिले। पुनश्च केते दिन उत्तारु एहाङ्कुनेइ सिंहासने विजे कराइले वष्णवे भाङ्गिले। (10)

The literary evidence regarding Sankara' s stay at Puri, as corroborated by traditions appears to be based on truth. Traditions regarding Sankara also inform us that during his stay at Puri, he defeated the Buddhist Pandits by his vast learning and irrefutable arguments; converted many of them to his own faith and proclaimed Jagannatha as identical with the great Brahmanical God Purushottama of the Gita.

It also seems probable, though definite evidence is still lacking, that Sankaracharya converted Jagannatha from a Buddhist to Brahmanical deity to strengthen the infulence of Brahmanism at Jagannatha—Puri, which was a strong centre of Budd ism before his time.

We now turn to the 'Anargharaghava Natakam' by Murari Mshra, written within half a century of Sankar's visit to Puri. This drama was presented at the time of a festival (Yatra) of God Purushottama who was being worshipped on the sea shore. :—

"नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः-अलमतिविस्तरेण। भो भो लवणोद-वेला-वनाली तमालतरु कन्दलस्य त्रिभुवन-मौलि-मण्डन-महानीलमणेः कमला-कुच-कलश-केलि-कस्तूरिका पत्राङ्कुरस्य भगवतः पुरुषोत्तमस्य यात्राया मुपस्थानीयाः सभासदः (12)

The world-famous God, Purushottama, the consort of Kamala worshipped on the sea-shroe, in whose yatra, this great drama was presented before an audience of learned people, can be no other than Jagannatha at Puri, who must have been well-known throughout India, by t e time of Murari, who is assigned to the 9th century A. D. (12) Murari, who wrote his drama 'Anargha Raghava' in imitation of Mahavira charita of Bhababhuti, got it performed at the time of the yatra (perhaps car-festival) of god Purushottama at Puri, who must have been the family-deity of his royal patron, whose name is not given.

The next question, which deserves consideration, whether there was a temple of Purushottama at that time. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De write in this connection as follows :—

"We are told that this drama was presented at the procession (yatra) of Purushottama; this cannot, in the absence of historical knowledge of the construction of the Jagannatha temple at Puri, refer to the deity in particular." (13) The existence of a temple of Purushottama at the time of Murari cannot be doubted as this deity, had earned great celebrity before his days, for whom a temple might have been constructed by some unknown ruler of Orissa. This fact is mentioned in the prabodha Chandrodaya Natakam, written in circa 1050 A. D. It appears that Puri had become a famous place of pilgrimage, throughout India before the end of the 9th century.

This view is corroborated by the reference to Jagannatha in the list of synonyms of Vishnu in the lexicon, 'Trikandasesha,' by Purushottama Deva, who flourished before the famous Rajasekhara (14) some time in the 9th century :—

हेम शङ्खः शतावर्त्तो मनु-शाश्वत-वारीशाः
वर्द्धमानः शतानन्दो जगन्नाथः सुयामुनः । (15)

The word, Jagannatha in all probability was for the first time used as a synonym of Vishnu in the Trikandashesha. Thus, when Trikandashesha was compiled, Jagannatha of Puri was already acknowledged as a Vaishnavite deity. Otherwise, Purushottama, who is taken as a Buddhist by the scholars, must have given Jagannatha as a name of Buddha, like Indrabhuti of the olden days.

The celebrated Jaina writer, Siddhasena Divakara, wrote his Varddhamana Dvatrimshika, a hymn to Varddhamana Mahavira in thirty-two Sanskrit stanzas in order to glorify the Jina. In these verses, the names and epithets of the great deities of Hinduism are attributed to Mahavira, who is compared with Shiva, Brahma, Hrishikesha, Vishnu, Jishnu and Jagannatha. This Jaina writer has been tentatively assigned to the 9th century, or some years earlier (16). Thus, Jagannatha was recognised as a great deity of the Hindus by the Jainas of Western India before the 9th century.

Rudrayamala, a famous Hindu Tantra, finds mentions in Brahmayamala, another Hindu Tantra, manuscript of which preserved in the Darbar library of Nepal was copied in 1052 A. D. (17) Thus, it must have been written some years before 1052 A. D.. and as such, it may tentatively be assigned to a period from 950 to 1000 A. D. Rudrayamala, which is earlier than Brahmayamala, must have been compiled some years before 950 A. D. This date for Rudrayamala, finds corroboration from the fact that a portion of it was commented upon by the Kashmirian Mahamaheshvaracharya Abhinaba Gupta, who lived in the latter half on the 10th century (18). The glory of Jagannatha is described at two places in this famous Tantra, e. g.

(क) महाकन्दवासीमहानन्दवासी पुरग्रामवासी महापीठदेशा
जगन्नाथवक्षस्थलस्थे । वरेण्यां वृतानन्दकर्त्ता शिवानन्दकर्त्री

(ख) ब्रह्मविष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च ईश्वरश्च सदाशिवः
ततः पर शिवः शम्भोः षट्शिवाः षट्प्रकाशिकाः ॥

X X X X

एतेषां स्तवनं कुर्यात् परदेवसमन्वितं
एतत् प्रकारकरणे यश्च प्रत्यहमाशुगः ॥

क्रियानिविष्टः सर्वत्र भावनाग्रहरूपधृक्
स पश्यति जगन्नाथं कमलोरुगतं हरिं ॥ १६

Jagannatha is conceived here as Hari in the embrace of Kamala, or Lakshmi, which may aptly be compared to कमलाकुचकलशकेलिकस्तूरिकापत्राङ्करस्य भगवतः पुरुषोत्तमस्य' of Anargharaghava Natakam and 'श्रितकमलाकुचमण्डल धृतकुण्डल जय जय देव हरे' of Gitagovinda. Thus, the conception of Jagannatha (Hari) as the consort of Kamala, can be traced since the beginning of the ninth century.

Tantrayamala, which is an equally old Tantra of the Hindus describes the Darurupi Jagannatha as the Presiding deity of the Purushottama Kshetra in Utkala, e. g.

भारते चोत्कले देशे भू-स्वर्गे पुरुषोत्तमे
दारुरूपी जगन्नाथः भक्ताना मभयप्रदः ॥ (२०)

The word, 'Darurupi' is quite significant, as by this, the antiquity of the wooden images of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra at Puri, goes to a period prior to circa 950 A. D.

Kalika Purana, which was a very popular work on Hindu Tantricism,is regarded as a part of the famous work 'Rudrayamala' (21). It was accepted as an authority & is found quoted in important works like the Tirtha Kanda of 'Krityakalpataru' of Lakshmidhara Bhatta (1110 A. D.), in the Bharatabhashya of king Nanya Deva of Mithila (1097-1135 A. D.), and by Apararka (1115-1140 A. D.). According to Sri P. K. Gode, Kalika Purana, which is really an upapurana, was earlier than 1000 A. D. (22) This important work, from which two verses have been quoted before, definitely mentions Jagannatha, as the Supreme deity of Udra e. g. " Jagannatha Odresham cha prapujayet. "

The quotations made above from various works of different sects, clearly go to prove that the presiding deity at Puri was well-known throughout India by both the names Jagannatha and Purushottama, in a period ranging from 700 to 1000 A. D,

The existence of a temple of Jagannatha or Purushottama prior to the construction of the present temple by the Ganga Monarch Cholaganga Deva some time between 1112 to 1148 A.D. is clearly and definitely proved by the mention of Devayatana of God Purushottama in the well-known Prabodhachadrodaya Natakam.

From the prologue of this drama, we come to know that it was written by Sri Krishna Mishra to commemorate the victory of his patron Kirti Varman over the Chedi king Karna identified with Lakshmi Karna (1041-1070 A D.) and it was staged in the palace of Kirti Varman (23).

In the second Act of this drama, there is a clear reference to the Devayatana of Purushottama on the sea-shore of the country of Utkal e.g.,

इति प्रविशति पत्रहस्तः पुरुषः

पुरुषः—अहमुत्कलदेशादागतोऽस्मि । आस्तितत्र सागरतीर-संनिवेश पुरुषोत्तमशब्दितं देवायतनं । तस्मिन्नदमानाभ्यां भट्टारकाभ्यां महाराज सकाश प्रेषितोऽस्मि । एषा वाराणसी । इदं राजकुलम् । यावत् प्रविशामि ।

महामोहः— (पत्रं गृहीत्वा) कुतोभवान् ।

पुरुषः—अहं पुरुषोत्तमादागतोऽस्मि ।

महामोहः । (पत्रं वाचयति) स्वस्ति श्रीवाराणस्यां महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर महामोह-पादान् पुरुषोत्तमायतनादात् मदमानौ साष्टाङ्गपातं प्रणम्य विज्ञापयतः ।

Thus, it is quite clear that a Devayatana (temple) (25) of God Purushottama was existing at Puri not far from the sea-shore long before (1070 A.D.) In some copper plate grants of the Ganga kings it is stated that Cholaganga, the founder of the Ganga Empire in Orissa built the present temple of Jagannatha as the old temple existing before his days was in a dilapidated condition being neglected by the former rulers of Orissa (26).

पादौ यस्य धरान्तरीक्षमखिलं नाभिस्तु सर्वादिशः
श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुग रवीन्दु युगलं मूर्द्धापिच द्यौरसौ ॥
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्त्तुं क्षम
स्तस्येत्याद्यनृपै रुपेक्षित मयं चक्रेथ गङ्गेश्वरः । २७

लक्ष्मी जन्मगृहं पयोनिधिरसौ सम्भावितस्य स्थिति-
र्नो धाम्नि श्वशुरस्य युज्यतइति क्षीराब्धिवासात् ध्रुवं
निर्विण्णः पुरुषोत्तमः प्रमुदित स्तद्वासलाभा द्रमा-
प्येतद्भर्त्तुर्गृह वरं पितृगृहात् प्राप्य प्रमोदान्विता ।

Veres 27—" What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a God as Purushottama, whose feet are the earth, whose navel is the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the Sun and the Moon, and whose head that heaven (above). This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings,was fulfilled by Gangeswar. "

In my opinion, the translation of the second part of the above verse is defective. It clearly states 'Tasya Purushottamasya prasadam' the temple of that God Purushottama, (which existed as proved before in the time of Krishna Mishra, which had heen hitherto neglected by the previous kings, was made (Chakretha) by Gangeshvara.

Verse 28—"The ocean is the birth-place of Lakshmi, so thinking in his father-in-law's house (the ocean) Vishnu lodged with some shame, though he got full adoration. Thus ashamed the God Purushottama was glad to get this new house, and Lakshmi, too, gladly preferred living in her husband's new house to living in her father's house".

The second verse quoted above perhaps refers in a veiled manner to this construction of a temple for Goddess Lakshmi, by the same ruler Gangeshvar.

Orissa was under the rule of the Somakuli Keshari kings for about two hundred years before its conquest and occupation by Cholaganga Deva some time, after 1112 A. D. So, it may safely be assumed that the old temple of Purushottam noticed by Krishna Mishra in circa 1070 A. D. might have been constructed by one of the Somakuli Keshari kings of Orissa, some of whom were famous temple builders. This old temple was perhaps built at least two hundred years before Cholaganga as a very long period of neglect, by many former kings might have caused the dilapidation of the old temple as suggested

by the expression ' Adyanripai rupekshitam ' in the grant of the Ganga kings refered to above. So, it may be taken as the work of earlier kings of the Somakuli who were very powerful. In this connection the tradition recorded in the 'Madla Panji', or the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple at Puri deserves mention here. e. g.

"श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे सङ्खनाभिमण्डले हा३८थ करिं पटोल गोटिए तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेसरङ्कु विजे कराइले । ए महाराजाङ्क अ१३ ङ्के ककडा १५ दिने सिंघासने विजे कराइले ।"

According to another Panji:—

"ए उत्तारु देउल गोटिए शुभ कले । ३८ हात करि देउल गोटिए करि प्रतिष्ठाकरि परमेश्वरङ्कु विजे कराइले । एं महाराजाङ्क अ४५के मेस २५ दिने सिंहासने विजे कराइले । एहिदिने विमलाङ्क देउल हा१८त मापरे तोलाइले । एहि मापरे परमलक्ष्मीङ्क देउल तोलाइले । " २७

In both the chronicles, Yajati Keshari is stated to have built the former temple of Jagannatha, the height of which was 33 cubits or 57 ft. But the second chronicle further states that the same ruler built two other temples for Vimala and Mahalakshmi, the height of each of which was 18 cubits or 27 ft. The history of Orissa prior to the Ganga period as given in the Madala Panji is mostly legendary in character. But fortunately for us, we get the names of two Yajatis in the genealogy of the Somakuli kings as elicited from the epigraphic records, each of whom was very powerful. A large number of traditions are still current in Orissa about the manifold achievements of Yajati. So the traditional account about the construction of the former temple of Jagannatha by one Yajati preferrably the first may be accepted as true as a temple of Purushottama actually existed at Puri long before 1070 A. D. as proved before.

Some other references to the Purushoottama Kshetra are also found in the epigraphic records and works of the eleventh century, which are noted below.

The partially published Pujaripali Inscription of one Gopala Deva, perhaps of the Naga family gives a list of holy places, where his glory spread

like that of the autumnal Moon. In this list we find the name of Purushottama. e. g.

कोटिमन्त्र प्रभावेण पुनर्देवी वरं ददौ
अतुलं तव गोपाल वल्वीर्य पराक्रमं । ३४
X X X
श्रीकेदारे प्रयागे च पुष्करे पुरुषोत्तमे
भीमेश्वरे नर्मदायां श्रीगोपालपुरे तथा । ३८

This inscription has been attributed to the eleventh century A. D. on palaeographic grounds. In the Boramdeo temple, there is another inscription of the reign of Gapal Deva written in the Kalachuri era 840 or 1088 A. D. This is perhaps the earliest reference to Purusottama Kshetra in the epigraphic records so far discovered.

The next reference to Purushottama Kshetra in the epigraphic records is found in the Nagpur Stone Inscription of the Rulers of Malava of the Vikram years 1161 or 1104 A. D. (29). e. g.

देवोऽसौ पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाशिश्रये यः श्रिया
येनेदं वलिवैरिवन्धविधिना विश्वं समाश्वासितं ।
येनाधारि वसुन्धरेति दधतः सानन्दमन्दाक्षतां
तस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ वुधजनैः व्याजस्तुतिः प्रस्तुता ॥

"Near the Eastern ocean clever men thus art-fully proclaimed his praise while he looked on bashfully. O' lord, it was the holy Purushottama to whom, fortune resorted, who relieved the universe by subduing the enemy Bali and who supported the earth." The translation will give better meaning if the words ' God ' and ' Lakshmi' are substituted for the words 'holy' and 'fortune' used by the learned scholar, as the relation of Goddess Lakshmi with God Purushottama has been shown previously by the quotations from 'Anargha Raghava' & 'Rudrayamala'.

The next verse 45 refers to the waves of the Eastern sea "Stepyambudhe urmayah" which was near this holy place.

While commenting on this verse late M. M. Chakravarti concluded this " Hence the Purushottama temple would have existed some time before this, or say circa 1090 A. D. and again it was built under the orders of Chola-ganga between 1085-90 A. D. ". But as it is now definitely known that Chola-ganga conquered Orissa in 1112 A. D. (30) the temple which existed in 1085-90 A. D. must be the old temple mentioned by Krishna Mishra. So the conclusion made by Chakravarti some 56 years ago is not tenable.

Reference to God Purushottama and to the Kshetra are also found in the works of Shatananda, a great Astronomer, who lived at Puri. e. g.

रत्नमालिका (रत्नावली)

ॐ सूर्य्याय नमः ॐ श्रीविघ्नेश्वराय नमः ।
यस्य प्रभोः सर्वविदः प्रसन्न—
ज्ञानाञ्जनै रञ्जित लोचनश्रीः ।
त्रिकालदर्शी च कलौ नरःस्यात्
तस्मै नमः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाय । ३१

This work Ratnamala is still unpublished, but is very often quoted in the works of Dharma Shastra written by the Smriti-writers of Orissa like Vidyakara Vajapeyi, Narasimha Vajapeyi, Visvanatha Mishra as 'Ratnamala-yam' or 'Shatananda Ratnamalayam.' In the last verse of 'Vasvati', we find that its author Shatananda, son of Samkarananda Sarasvati, was a resident of Purushottama and finished this work in Kaliyuga year 4200 or 1100 A. D. e. g.

खखाश्विवेदाब्द गते युगाब्दे दिव्योक्तितः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्थ
श्रीमान् शतानन्दो इतीदमाह सरस्वती शङ्करयोस्तनुजः । ३२

One thing which deserves mention in this connection is that Shatananda, who lived at Puri, before the advent of the Gangas in 1112 A.D. is said by the commentator to have based his calculation on the meridian of his native city. (33) This shows that Purushottama Kshetra had attained great importance when this work was written by Shatananda of the pre-Ganga period.

Kritya kalpataru of Lakshmidhara Bhatta, a celebrated work on Dharma-shastra, which was compiled at Kasi in 1110 A. D. belongs to the Pre-Ganga

period. In its Tirtha Kanda, the following description from the Vamana Purana regarding the holy places of Orissa is quoted. viz.

अथ नानातीर्थ माहात्म्यं

वामन पुराणे :-

उपोष्य रजनी मेकां विरजां सः नदीं ययौ
स्नात्वा विरजसे तीर्थे दत्त्वा पिण्डं पितुस्तथा ।
दर्शनार्थं ययौ श्रीमानजितं पुरुषोत्तमं
तं दृष्ट्वा पुण्डरीकाक्ष मक्षरं परमं शुचिः ।
उपोष्य षड्दिनान्येप महेन्द्रं दक्षिणां ययौ
तत्र देववरं शम्भुमर्द्धनारीश्वरं हरं ॥ (२४)

Vamana Purana from which the above quotation about the Tirthas of Orissa is made in this famous work on Dharmashastra, must be anterior to the latter, by some centuries. So it can be concluded that Purushottama Kshetra had been well-known in Northern India at least prior to 900 A. D.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, we find the mention of this sacred place in the Govindapur Stone Inscription of poet Gangadhara of the court of king Rudramana of the Gaya region, which was written in the Saka year 1059 or 1137 A. D. (25) Manoratha, the father of poet Gangadhara came on a pilgrimage to Purushottama in circa 1120 A D. The relevant verse No. 12 of the text is quoted below.

"गत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं (भग) वयोहृद्यः प्रतिश्रापदं
पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रमहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्वं विततार तर्पित पितृस्तोमः करोल्लासितै-
स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणं ।

The translation of the above verse as given by th Editor is given below :—"Pleasing with the good fortune and youth and a person of good renown, Manoratha went to the sacred Purushottam and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon and gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands

he for a moment-obtained the fellowship of the moon, eclipsed at full-moon time. "

Being attracted by this far-famed place, Ramanuja Acharya came to Orissa to establish a Pitha at Puri like the Great Samkaracharya of the days gone by. The account of the visit of Ramanuja to this place as recorded in Prapannamrita and other works is not believed by some scholars due to lack of contemporary epigraphic evidence. 'It is interesting to note in this connection that none of the Hoyasala inscriptions mentions the name of the Ramanuja execept one inscription of 1259 A. D. (36) which was written some 120 years after his death, though he spent a long part of his life in the Hoyasala kingdom. Similarly in the case of Orissa there is enough indrect evidence to prove the truth of this traditional account.

"We know that all the earlier gangas were Saivas, being staunch devotees of God Shiva Gokarneshvara worshipped at the top of the Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District. Like his predecessors, Ananta Varma Chodaganga is called a Parama-Maheshvara in earlier records viz. the Korni and Vizagpatam plates of 1081-82 A.D. But the Korni plates of 1112-13 A.D. describe him both as a Parama Maheshvara and as a Parama Vaishnava while the Vizagpatam plates of 1118-19 A. D. omit the title of Parama Maheshvara altogether and represent Chodaganga as a devotee of Vishnu alone. " (37)

This change of religious faith of Chodaganga was due to his coming in contact with Ramanuja who perhaps visited Puri during the course of " his journey from Melukote to Delhi and back between 1107 to 1111 A. D." (38). So it seems quite natural to find Chodaganga using the title of 'Paramavaishnava' only in his records from 1112 A. D.

A similar example of the change of religious faith from Shaivism to Vaishnovism can be cited from the Antigram plates of Jaya Bhanja Deva (39) who was a contemporary of Chodaganga. The relevant portion of the text of this grant is quoted below.

रूपैर्यो मदनोपमः क्षितितले दानैश्च कर्णोपमः ।
मानैश्चापि सुयोधनोपगमगतः शक्रोपमो विक्रमैः ।

दुर्वारारिकुरङ्गमारणहरिः श्रीशङ्करे भक्तिमान्
भक्तो वै पितृमातृ पादयुगले श्रीवैष्णवः साम्प्रतं ।

स च महामण्डलेश्वर सर्वगुणालंकृत श्रीमद् राजाजयभञ्जदेवकुशली ॥

This clearly proves that Raja Jaya Bhanja Deva who had formerly been a devotee of Shri Shamkara became at the time of this grant a 'Shri Vaishnava' or a follower of Ramanuja. His elder brother Yasha Bhanja Deva claims victory over one Jagadekamalla e. g. " Jagadekamalla vijayi X X Bhati Sri Yasabhanja Deva nripati " (40). This event furnishes some clue to fix approximately the date of the granter. Jagadekamalla mentioned in this grant may satisfactorly be identified with the powerful Sinda chief Permadi I Jagadeka malla whose konwn dates are 1104 and 1141 A. D. (41)

Thus both Yashabhanja Deva, a centemporary of the well-known Sinda king Jagadekamalla and his younger brother Yayabhanja Deva, who was not much removed from his elder brother in time may be tentatively assigned to the first four decades of the twelfth century, the period of activity of Shri Ramanuja, who died in 1137 A. D. So it was quite natural for Jayabhanja Deva to call him a 'Shri Vaishnava' by coming in contact with Shri Ramanuja.

The visit of Ramanuja to Puri is also indirectly proved by the existence of two Mathas there, one namely 'Ramanuja Matha' which is said to have been founded by himself and the other being ' Embar Matha ', the foundation of which is attributed to Govinda, the cousin and favourite disciple of Shri Ramanuja. It may be noted here that the word 'Embar' is a shortened form of the original Tamil word 'Em-peru Man-ar'. The existence of the Alwaranatha Temple 16miles to the south of Puri and a village named Alwarapur, near the Jagannatha Road 3 miles to the east of Bhubaneswara are also reminiscent of the visit of Ramanuja, the last of the Alwars to puri.

The earliest reference to Orissa and its presiding deity Jagannatha in the Hindi literature is found in poet Narapati Nalha's ' Bisaldeva Raso ' the first in the series of Raso Mahakavyas in old Hindi. The king whose deeds of war and are sung in this poem was probably Vigraharaja VI, reputed to be the

uncle of the last Prithviraja of Delhi (1175-1192 A. D.) It gives an account of the Raja of Orissa and God Jagannatha of the Jagannatha Puri, in two chapters, who was held in high esteem by the People of Rajasthana and U. P. even in the twelfth century (42),

The next respectful reference to Orissa and its presiding deity Jagannatha, worshipped in a town (Kataka) on the sea-shore is found in the 'Prithviraja Raso' by Chanda Bardai. In the opinion of John Beams this earliest extent Hindi poem was written about 1200 A. D. (43). Poet Chand while describing the expedition of Vijayapala, king of Kanauj to Orissa states that one Mukunda Deva of the Soma dynasty, who was ruling over Orissa at that time was a devout worshipper of God Jagannatha (44). e. g.

कनव ज्नह् कामधज्ज। राजाविजयपालनृपवर ।
X X X
सोमवंश राजाधिराज । मुकुन्ददेव प्रभु
सरित समुद्रतटह् । कटकमय मर्गिनृयन नभू ।
X X X
दिवदिवसरीतिमन्त्र जपत । जगन्नाथ पूजत दिनह् ।
दिग्विजयकरन् विजयपाल नृप । सपतकोसिभिद्योतिनह् ।

Vijayapala of the Raso has been identified with Vijayachandra (1154-1170 A. D.) of the Epigraphic records; but the Somavamsi Mukunda who gave his daughter to Vijayapala seems to be a legendary character. Inspite of this, the reference to Lord Jagannatha, worshipped in a town (Kataka) near the sea-shore is note-worthy. It clearly proves that Jagannatha of Puri had been well-known in Northern India before 1200 A. D, and was highly venerated by the common people, which inspired their great poets to sing the praise of the Lord in glowing terms.

Let us now turn our attention to the Epigraphic records of Bengal of the pre Muslim period.

The earliest reference to Purushottama Kshetra is found in a verse describing the exploits of king Lakshmana Sena in the Edilpur copper plate grant of Kesava Sena and Madanapada C. P. grant of Visvarupa Sena (45) e. g,

वेलायां दक्षिणाब्धे मूंषलधरगदापाणिसंवासवेद्यां । क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसि-वरणाश्लेषगङ्गोर्मिभाजि । तीरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः कमलभवमखारम्भनिर्व्याजपूते । येनोच्चैं यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्तम्भमाला न्यधायि ।

The supremacy of Lakshmana Sena is mentioned in this verse to have been established in the sacred place (Puri) where dwell the two Gods holding respectively a club and a mace in their hands, the realm of Vishveshvara, watered by the united flows of Asi and Varana, and on the banks of the Triveni, sanctified by the Vedic sacrifices. Whatever may be historical value of this verse, herein is found the earliest reference to Purushottama Kshetra in the epigraphic records of Bengal.

In Gujarat Jagannatha as a form of Vishnu was well-known at least before 1100 A. D. So in the lexicon called 'Abhidhana Chintamani' of the famous Jaina scholar and poet Hemachandra, (1088-1172 A. D.) the word Jagannatha is given in the paryaya of God Vishnu. e. g. सोमसिन्धु जंगन्नाथो गोवर्द्धनधरोऽपिच (46) along with Purushottama.

It has been shown before that Jagannatha-Puri was well known in the Southern India before the days of Sri Samkara and both Sri Samkara and Sri Ramanuja established their Mathas there. Following the example of Sri Ramanuja the three other great Vaishnava preachers of Southern India visited Puri for establishing Mathas there. Of these three, Sri Vis nu Svami is tentatively assigned to the second half of the twelfth century. It is known from his biograaphy that Vishnu Svami after visiting Dvaraka, Brindabana and Puri settled at Kanchi in his old age (47). This account of his visit is corroborated by the mention of the Vishnu Svami Linga, during the reign of Madana Mahadava in the Madala Panji (48). This Vishnu Svami Linga established by this saint or in honour of his visit has been located by prof. B. C. Ray in an old dilapidated Siva temple standing on the top of Visvanatha hill near Delanga Rly. Station not far from Khurda Road Junction (49). There is a Matha called Vishnu Svami Matha near the Markandeya tank at Puri and there are also two other small Mathas of this sect in this sacred place. Thus the account of the visit of Vishnu Svami to Puri is based on historical truth.

Nimbarka, another great Vaishnava preacher of the South, who lived a few years after Ramanuja is said to have visited Puri to establish a seat of his relgious faith here. Of the five Mathas at Puri of the sect of Nimbarka, the Radhaballava Matha just to the east of the Lion's Gate of the Jagannatha temple is note-worthy. Jayadeva who is taken as a follower of Nimbarka wrote his famous Gita Govinda. or hymn to Ccd Gcvinda, in the famous Jagannatha temple, where it was recited daily by the poet and his wife Padmavati. e. g.(50)

तदारभ्यातिभक्त्या वै पत्न्या सह हरिं भजन् । ५३
गायन् वै गीतगोविन्दं तोपयामास केशवं ।
निर्माय गीतगोविन्दं पुस्तकं पुरुषोत्तमे । ५४
निवेद्य कृतकृत्योऽभूज्जयदेवो महामना । ५५

This account given in the Sanskrit Bhaktamala regarding the composition and recitation of the Gita Govinda by Jayadeva in the Jagannatha temple of Puri is supported by some other traditions, which are current in different parts of India.

Madhva Acharya or Ananda Tirtha, the latest of the four famous preachers of Southern India is also said to have visited Puri. We possess a lot of epigraphic evidence about his famous disciple Narahari Tirtha, who was a contemporary of the Eastern Ganga kings Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264) Bhanu Deva I (1264-1278), Narasimha Deva II(1278-1315) (51).

Thus Puri had become a strong hold of Hinduism in India before the establishment of the Muslim power in Northern India. From the discussion made above, the following conclusions may be arrived at :—

(a) The Uddiyana Pitha of the Vajrayana, which was of the centre of activity of the famous Indrabhuti existed somewhere in Orisa near Puri and became known as 'Odrapitha' in the age of revival of Brahmanism.

(b) God Jagannatha, the manifestation of Buddha, who was propitiated by Indrabhuti can be identified with the Jagannatha of Puri who was all through these centuries regarded as an incarnation

of Buddha and as such Jagannatha-Puri was famous as a sacred place of the buddhists before the days of Indrabhuti (first quarter of the eighth century).

(c) The identity of the Buddhist Jagannatha with the Purushottama Vishṇu of Brahmanism was established by the great Sankara Acharya, in the first quarter of the ninth century, whereby this place became a famous centre of Hinduism since his days.

(d) There had existed a temple of Purushottama where the drama of Murari was presented, (circa 850 A. D.) which finds mention in the Prabodha Chandrodaya Natakam of Krishna Mishra. Cholaganga Deva built the present temple after demolishing the old temple built probably by Yayati I which was in a dilapidated condition, having been neglected by the former rulers of Utkala.

(e) Purushottama Kshetra had become a famous centre of Hinduism long before the beginning of the Muslim rule in Northern India.

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PURĀNIC STORIES IN THE EARLY RECORDS AND SCULPTURES OF ORISSA.

The age of composition of the two great epics the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas is still a subject of controversy among the scholars. But they are generally unanimous in ascribing the final recension of these popular works to the early centuries of the Christian era, when the Sanskrit literature began to develop rapidly in all its branches.

Up till now no direct evidence is available to ascertain the age, when these popular works in Sanskrit began to be studied in Orissa, which was a stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Jainism, in the pre-Gupta period. But from the study of epigraphic records that have been discovered in different parts of Orissa, it is now definitely known that the culture of Sanskrit began to develop in this State during the period of Gupta rule over this region. The patronage given by different royal dynasties for the revival of Brāhmaṇism, (300-1100 A. D.) of which, the culture of Sanskrit formed an integral part, greatly stimulated the study of these popular works among the scholars, who played an important part in making this faith gradually popular among the classes and the mass.

The earliest epigraphic reference to the study of the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa, so far available is found in the Pārlākhimedi plates of Shri Pṛthvi Mahārāja (1) who has been assigned to the last half of the sixth century A. D.

वेदवेदाङ्गपारगाय षट्कर्मनिरताय यमनियमपरायणाय पुराण रामायण धर्मशास्त्रा-द्यानेकविद्यापारदर्शिने X X X पद्मशर्मणे ।'

In the Dharmaliṅgeśvara plates of Devendra Varman, it is stated that his illustrious Guru Bhagavān Pataṅga Shivāchārya,

the donee of this grant was proficient in Vedas Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Nyāya and was the author of a Siddhānta 'वेदवेदाङ्गेतिहासपुराणन्यायविद्यास्वसिद्धान्ताधिगताय भगवत्पतङ्गशिवाचार्याय गुरवेदीक्षोत्तरकाले गुरुपूजायं' (3)

It is known from the Baud plates of Solaṇa Bhañja that Gopāla, the grand father of the poet Mahādeva, the donee of this grant was well-versed in Shruti, Smṛti and Purāṇas e. g.

"मध्यदेशोद्भवो विप्रः श्रुतिस्मृति पुराण वित्
नाम्ना गोपाल इत्यासीच्छान्तः काश्यपगोत्रजः ।
× × ×
तन्सूनुस्तार्किको ज्ञातवेदान्तवेदवित् कविः
उपासनिः महादेवः श्रीमान् पात्रं सः उत्तमम्" (4)

The quotations made above clearly indicate that equal stress was laid on the study of the Purāṇas like that of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas by the scholars in the age of revival of Hindusim.

Puranic stories in the epigraphic records

The popularity of the impressive and interesting stories of the Epics and the Purāṇas inspired the poets and sculptures of those days to depict them in their own creations. The following quotations made from early epigraphic records will illustrate how allusion to mythological stories has been skillfully made by their authors.

"विष्णोः पोत्राग्रविक्षेप क्षणभाविनसाध्वसां
शेषाशेषशिरमध्य मध्यासीनमहातनुं
कामारातिशिरोभ्रष्टगङ्गौघध्वस्तकल्मषां
श्री शशाङ्को मही पाति चतुर्जलधिमेखलां ।" (5)

The above verse contains veiled reference to the legends of Gaṅgā descending from the head of Shiva, Shiva's enemity with Kāma, Shesa Nāga holding the earth over his hood of thousand fangs and the agitation of the earth by the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The two quotations made below from the Gañjām plates of Mādhavarāja bring into our imagination the picture of(1) Bhagīratha's bringing Gaṅgā from heaven (Surasarit) and her descent over the Himālayas, where it is converted to Martya Gaṅgā and Pātāla Gaṅgā, (2) Shiva whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull (Nandī) as the pillow of a couch while mounting on it and the crescent of the moon illuminating his 'Jaṭā kalāpa'.

a) भगिरथावतारिताया हिमवद्गिरेरुपरिपतनादनेक-
शिलासंहातविभिन्न वहिष्पातालान्तजलौघाया सुरसरित इव ।

(b) महावृषभपर्य्यङ्ककुद्दोपाधानविन्यस्तबाहोर्व्यलवन्द्रोतित-
जटाकलापैकदेशस्य भगवतः × × त्रिभुवनगुरोः । (6)

The maṅgalācharaṇa verse in the grants of the later Shailodbhava rulers allude to the union of Shiva & Pārvatī; while invoking the mercy of his Jaṭā or matted locks of hair, on which the particles of ashes are separated by the overflowing waters of the Gaṅgā which are touched by the soft white rays of the Moon, of which the lustre is daubed by the red rays of the sparkling gems on the hoods of the entwining snakes and which are slackened because of their knots being set aside on account of the grasp of Pārvatī (embracing Shiva) e. g.

"इन्दोर्धौतमृणालतन्तुभिरिव श्लिष्टाः करैःकोमलै
र्वेद्राहेररुणैःस्फुरत् फणमण र्दिग्धप्रभासोंशुभिः
पार्वत्याः सकचग्रहव्यतिकरव्यतिकरन्धश्लथा
गङ्गाम्भःप्लुतिभिन्नभस्मकणिकाः शम्भोर्जटाः पान्तु वः" (7)

The two maṅgalācharaṇa verses in some grants of the kings of the earlier Bhañja dynasty contain a beautiful descripiion of the third eye of Shiva which caused the destruction of Kāma, and an allusion to his Tāṇḍava dance e. g.

"जयति कुसुमवाणप्राणविक्षोभदक्षं
स्वकिरणपरिवेशाज्जित्य जीर्णन्दुलेखम् ।

त्रिभुवनभवनान्तर्द्योतभास्वत् प्रदीपं
कनकनिकषगोरं वभ्रूनेत्रं हरस्य

शेषाहे रिव ये फणाग्रविलसत् सांभास्वदिन्दुत्विषः
प्रालेयाचलशृङ्गकोटय इव तुङ्गन्ति येत्युन्नताः
तृत्ताटोपविघटिता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शाम्भवा
स्तेसर्वाघविघातनः सुरसरित्तोयोर्मयः पान्तु वः" (8)

The Banatumva copper plate grant of Neṭra Bhañja Deva, invokes the blessing of the terrific Shiva (Vairava) who wears a garland of skulls (Kapālamālā), in its first verse quoted below :

जटाधरः खण्डशशाङ्कशेखरः कपालमाला सितभस्मधूसरः
स्फुरन्महापन्नगवद्धकङ्कणः सदाशिवं वो विदधातु शङ्करः" (9)

The Bhairava conception of Shiva is also alluded in the Singhara plates of Shatrubhañja, where he is depicted as the destroyer of Andhakāsura.

"संहारकाल हुतभूग् विकरालघोरं
संभ्रान्तकिङ्कर कृतान्त नितान्तभिन्नं
भिन्नान्धकासुर महागहनातपत्रं
तद्भैरवं हरवपुः भवतः प्रपातु ।" (10))

Like the stories of the Shiva, myths and legends depicting the achievements of Viṣṇu, his various incarnations, and the union of Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa etc. are alluded to in the epigraphic records of that period, e. g.

(a) 'क्षीरोदान्मधुसूदन गतवती तस्माद्रघूणां कुलं' (11)
(b) "लब्ध्वा जयश्रिय मदभ्ररिपुप्रतापान्
नारायणायितमिह क्षितिपेन येन" (12)

The two quotations made above contain veiled reference to the story of Samudramanthana or the churning of the ocean, which was formerly the abode of Lakshmī. Similarly moon is described as

the son of क्षीरोदार्णव "क्षीरोदार्णवनन्दनो विजयतां देव सुधादीधितिः" in the maṅgalācharaṇa verse of the Ratnagiri C. P. grant of the Somavamī king Yayāti (13). A beautiful description of Samudramanthana is found in the first verse of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Udyota Keśarī e. g.

"ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रमहेश्वरेन्द्रवलिभीरज्जुकृताहीश्वरै
र्भ्राम्यन्मन्दरपर्वतेन मथितात् क्षीरोदधेर्मध्यतः
विस्फीतामृतकौमुदीभि रखिलं त्रैलोक्यमुद्योतय
न्त्राजेन्दुः सकलासमप्रवसतिः सार्द्धं श्रिया जातवान् ।

The Trivikrama incarnation of Viṣṇu is hinted at in the two expressions cited below :—

(क) "पादौ हरेरिव नमायितमां त्रिलोक्यां (15)
(ख) दर्पोद्धतान् वालिरिपून् X X निजविक्रमेण" (16)

The Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu finds mention in the Kanas plates of Shrī Lokavigraha, e. g.

'जय वराहं सपूज्य विज्ञापयति' (17)

Dharmaratha, a Somavamśi king is compared with the Paraśurāma incarnation of Viṣṇu for his great prowess e. g.

"तस्मादजय्यं भुजवज्रनिर्जितारि
रुर्जस्वलः परशुराम इव द्वितीयः
मध्यन्दिनार्क तीव्रतरप्रतापो
राजा वभूव भूव धर्मरथो प्रतीतः" (18)

The first two benedictory verses of the Shrīpur stone inscription of Balārjuna, the first Somavaṃśi king to conquer Orissa, invoke the blessings of God Nṛsimha; an incarnation of Viṣṇu e. g.

X X X

"हासोह्रासावहेल तदितरकरजाग्रेण निर्भिद्यक्रोधा
च्चिक्षेप तज्ज मलमिवदनुजं यः स वोऽव्यान्नृसिंहः" (19)

In the same praśasti Kaṃsanisudana (Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma) and Kalkī incarnations of Viṣṇu and Damayantī are alluded to in other verses e. g.

(क) 'सीरायुधः स इवकंसनिषूदनस्य'

(ख) 'यस्या कल्कमतेर्नचापि भविता कल्कीभविष्यन्पुन:

Reference to the union of Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa is found in a verse of the Hindol plate of Shubhākara Deva :

(ग) 'यावच्चन्द्रार्द्धमौलेः शिरसि शशिकला कौमुदी मातनोति
लक्ष्मीर्वक्षस्थलेवा वसतिमधुरिपो र्यावदम्भोजहस्ता'' (20)

Allusion to the Purāṇic stories of (a) Kulagiri (b) unrivalled skill of Arjuna, (c) the great Pāndava hero in archery, (d) the terrific appearance and matchless prowess of Bhīma, the second Pāṇḍava, and Hanumān the most faithful fighter in the cause of Rāmachandra is made in the quotations given below -

(क) 'श्रीमान्मेरुसखो वृहद्कुलगिरिः ख्यातः महेन्द्रः क्षितौ' (21)

(ख) 'पाणिभ्यां चतुरः शिलीमुखमुखैभिन्नं सुतीक्ष्मैर्भृशं
जातो दिव्यगतैः पृथासुत समं कोङ्गदरत्नं क्षितौ' (22)

(ग) 'युद्धे भीमपराक्रमेण विजिता निवृत्पदं प्रापिता' (23)

(घ) हनुमत्पराक्रम इति ख्यात: क्षमामण्डले (24)

The Purāṇic episode of Indra lopping off the wings of mountains, which were flying in the sky is hinted at by the expression.

'पक्षछेदभयात्त् भूभृदपरव्यापार लब्धोन्नतेः' (25)

The following expressions taken from the records of the Bhauma kings contain veiled reference to Purāṇic legends e. g.

प्रजापतिः सन्नपि सत्यभामा समन्वितोयं परमेश्वरोपि (26)

तस्यात्मज स्त्रिदिवराज इव प्रसूतो (27)

निःसंशयं घनद इत्यभिधान मेतत् (28)

प्रोत्फुल्ल कल्पपादप इव कलिकालापमुक्तविषयो (29)
चिन्तामणिनेव यथाभिलषितार्थप्रदान एवं सत्यानुरक्तया

सरस्वत्या X X X पुरुषोत्तमेन (30) कात्यायिनीव सिंहासनारूढा (31) पौरतुल्यः प्रतापी (32) वैकुण्ठतुल्यमहिमात्पतिर्गयाडः (33) केतुपुच्छ श्वसदरगमरुत् (34) कुमार इव लब्धजन्मा (35) यावद्वा सप्तसप्तिः विलसति गगने X X चन्द्रदाराश्चतारा (36) राहौ तीक्ष्णकरग्रहः (37) नन्दनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः (38)

The illustrions monarchs of the Purāṇas are respectfully referred to in some grants of this period e. g.

(क) भरतभगदत्त भगीरथाना मन्यतमावतारइवेतराधाराधिनाथानां (39)
(ख) प्रथितानेक नलनहुषमाध्नात् दिलीप भरत भगीरथादिराजचरित (40)
(ग) मान्धातेव पृथूपमो भरतवद्राजा जगज्जित्वर: (41)

The picture of the austere ascetics, who were held in high esteem in the society presented in two verses of some Sailodbhava records brings into our imagination the stories of the great stages of the days gone by e.g.

"केचिद् वन्यमृगेण सार्द्धं मचरँस्तांतां स्थितिलीलया
केचिद् दग्धमुखाः (उर्ध्वमुखाः) सहस्रकिरण बालावलीप्रेक्षिणः
केचिद् वल्कलिन स्तथाजिनधराः केचिज्जटाधारिणः
नायारूपधरा स्तपन्ति मुनयो दिव्यास्पदाकाङ्क्षिणः
केचिद्वैलगृहदरेषु नियता धूमावलीपायिनः
अन्ये वायुफलाम्बुभक्षनिरता केचिन्निराहारकाः
इत्थं योगयुपो विहाय वसतिं ध्यायन्ति दिव्यंपदं
चित्रं मध्यमराजदेव गुणधृग्राज्येपि तत् प्राप्तवान्"(4)

PURĀNIC STORIES IN TEMPLE SCULPTURES :—

Discussion about the Purāṇic studies in Orissa in the past ages will remain incomplete without an examination of the temple sculptures , which present the Purāṇic stories in a very lively manner. The references in epigraphic records cited before though valuable, could be understood by a few people who knew Sanskrit

but the beautiful temple sculptures, characterised by a homely feeling, restraint modesty and liveliness could easily attract the attention of all who would feel interested to know them. In this connection the old shrines of the temple city of Bhuvaneśvar offer ample scope for the study of the Purāṇic stories.

Over the lintel of the Satrughneśvara temple of Bhubaneśvar, which is one of the earliest temples of Orissa, is carved in relief, Shiva in the role of curbing the pride of Rāvana (Rāvaṇānugrahamūrtti), where the demon king makes a supreme effort to uproot mount Kailāsa, the abode of Shiva. The relief depicts Shiva soothing the panic-striken Pārvatī along with others including Ganeśa and Kārtikeya, ready to fight. Above this is found the figure of Shiva as Natarāja. The marriage procession of Shiva depicted on its northern side is very interesting. Over the lintel of this temple are carved the figures of seated Shiva and Pārvatī, with their attendants by their sides and their mounts below worshipped by devotees. The enshrinement of Shiva both in its Liṅga and human forms, is represented by the two outermost panels. The extent side niches have different forms of Shiva like Natarāja and Harihara. (43)

The temple of Paraśurāmeśvara, assigned to the seventh century A. D. is the best preserved specimen of the early group of temples. Of the three Pārsvadevatās, only two are found. The four-armed Gaṇeśa in the southern niche is shown seated on a siṃhāsana. In the eastern niche is found the seated two armed Kārtikeya and his mount, the peacock carved on the pedestal is seen killing a serpent. The lintel above Kārtikeya depicts the marriage of Shiva and Pārvatī who are seen standing to the right of Agni seated above a Pūrṇa ghaṭa and a tiny Ganeśa. To the left of Agni, is the kneeling figure of Brahmā, next to Brahmā is Sūrya. The front rāhā contains Shiva in his Rāvaṇānūgraha mūrtti, a figure of Shiva as Natarāja above which is a seated Lakuliśa in meditative pose. In southern rāhā is delineated the Bhikshyāṭanamūrtti of Shiva, where the God is seen

begging food of his consort. The eastern rāhā contains Lakulīsa with his four disciples and Shiva Pārvatī, while Mahiṣāsuramardinī is re-presented on the northern rāhā. Over the lintel of the main entrance to the Jagamohana is carved the motif of Gaja-Lakshmī.

The lowest panel of the Jagamohana is divided into compartments within which are found a host of deities of the Brahmanical pantheon including Shiva, Sūrya, dancing Ardhanārīśvara, Shiva-Pārvatī, Harihara, Yama, Varuṇa, Gaṅgā, Yamunā the Sapta Matṛkās, Vīrabhadra, Gaṇesa and Lakulīśa (44).

The Shvarṇajāleśvara temple is a replica of the famous Paraśurāmeśvara temple. Above its northern niche containing Pārvatī are depicted Shiva Pārvatī, worship of the Liṅga and the marriage of Shiva and Pārvatī. On the northern and western sides are depicted scences taken from the epics, like the conference between Rāma and Sugrīva, Rāma killing the golden dear, Bālī's death at the hands of Rāma and the fight between Shiva in the guise of Kirāta and Arjuna. (45)

In the Mohinī temple, which belongs to the Paraśurāmeśvara group of temples is worshipped a ten-armed dancing Chāmuṇḍā, terrific to behold. In the Jagamohana there stands a six handed Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The Pārśva-devatās of this temple are Pārvatī, Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa, all in situ.

The icons of Kapālinī temple also called Vaital Deul deserve special consideration, as it is the only tantric temple at Bhubaneswar. The facade of the Deul contains a very beautiful figure of Sūrya, with Ushā and Pratyushā shooting arrows on either side and with Aruṇa in front of driving a chariot of seven horses. The medallion above it contains a beautiful ten-armed Natarāja. In niche on the back side of the temple is carved the figure of Ardhanārīśvara (composite form of Shiva and Pārvatī). The Pāśvadevatā on the south side is a four-armed standing figure of Pārvatī holding a pātra, kartarī, akshamālā and triśūla. In the niche above it are carved

seated figures of armed Shiva and two armed Pārvatī. The upper medallion contains Lakulīśa with his four attendants. The Pārśvadevatā on the northern face is an eight-armed Mahiṣāsura-mardinī holding a snake, bow, shield, sword, trident, thunderbolt and arrow and piercing the Mahiṣāsura with her trident. Above it is found a four-armed seated Pārvatī devoid of ornaments. The medallion of the upper chaitya window contains the composite form of Harihara.

The image enshrined in the central niche is an eight-armed Chāmuṇḍā(called Kapālinī) who is depicted in her most terrific aspect conceivable. Seated on a corpse (Shavāruḍhā), with an owl on the right and a jackal on the left she has an emaciated body with only skin and bones (Nirmāṃsā), shrunken belly, open mouth and sunken eyes (Koṭarākshī), wearing a garland of skulls (Muṇḍamālā Jhāriṇī). The niche above the deity contains the seated figures of Shiva and Parvati, the former playing on vinā with his two lower hands and carrying Akshamālā and Triśūla in his upper hands.

The Chāmuṇḍā is surrounded by a host of deities, all carved in separate niche in the lower part of the walls, e. g., Virabhadra, and the Mātṛkās like Brahmāṇī, Māheśvari, Kaumāri, Vaiṣṇvi, Vārāhi Indrāṇī and Gaṇeśa. The remaining are male figures of Bhairavas, who are as awe-inspiring as the Chāmuṇḍā, but they cannot be identified. The Tāntric character of the temple is unmistakable. According to tradition it once witnessed Tantric rites of most horrible kind entailing even human sacrifice.

In the Shiśireśvara temple standing immediately to the north of Vaital temple, the figure of the Natarāja is found on the frontal rāhā. All the three Pārśvadevatās a four armed **Gaṇeśa**, a two-armed Kārtikeya, & an eight-handed Mahiṣāsuramardinī are intact in their respective niches. The figures of the अजैकपाद्भैरवां अर्द्धनारीश्वर and Harihara are carved in niches on either side of the central projections. In each door jamb are to be seen the figures of a Nāga holding a foliated purāṇa-ghaṭa and four armed Dvārapāla. The figure of

Lakuliśa seated cross legged in the central niche of the south side is most interesting. On the floor of the Jagamohana lies a ten-armed महिषासुरमर्द्दिनी, bearing close similarity to that in the Vaital temple.

The Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple standing near the south west corner of the Vindusarovara is a replica of the Shiśireśvara temple. In the left jamb of its door-frame from bottom upwards are found a Dvārapāla, a four handed Brahmā, and a two-armed Agni. In the right jamb, are carved the figures of Dvārapāla and Varuna, the central figure being damaged. On the facade of the temple is carved a ten armed Natarāja of fine workmanship. Besides the usual Pārśvadevatās, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī, wearing Jaṭā-mukuṭa, the figure of Ajaikapāda, a four armed Mahiṣāsuramardinī on the northern rāhā and Brahmā paying homage to Shiva are remarkable. (46)

The small temple of Mukteśvara, which forms an important landmark in the history of Orissan architecture, is remarkable for its iconography. In it we find the introduction of Ketu as the ninth planet, the association of Kārttikeya with the cock, the appearance of the mouse as the mount of Gaṇeśa and construction of pilasters entwined either by a nāga or nāgī and carving of female figure(Nāyikā) in various graceful poses. A beautiful Naṭarāja is found on the rāhā pāga of the temple.

Considerable ingenuity and artistic skill are displayed in the arrangement of the figures of Saptamātṛkās and Vīrabhadra in the cusped and coffered ceiling (47) of the Jagamohana. In the corner niches of the enclosure wall of this temple are found the figures of divinities like Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Chāmuṇḍā, Pārvatī, Lakulīśa, Sūrya, etc.

The Rājārāṇī temple, a combination of grace and elegance, is famous alike for its superb workmanship and the unusual formation of its tower. The figures of Dikpālas in the corner projections of the temple are remarkable for their beauty and liveliness clad in

diaphanous drapery they stand on lotuses, with their mounts, below. Starting from the east we encounter successively (1) Indra holding Vajra and Aṅkuśa with elephant below (2) pot-bellied and bearded Agni (south east) with the ram (3) Yama (south) holding Daṇḍa and Pāśa with the buffalo, (4) Nirṛti (south west) holding a Khaḍga and Chchinnamasta above a prostrate figure (5) Varuṇa (west) holding a Pāśa in his hand, the right hand being in the attitude of blessing (Varadamudrā) with his mount 'Makara' (6) Vāyu (north-west) holding a banner, (7) Kubera (north) with seven jars of nidhi(8) Iśāna (north-east) by the side of an emaciated figure.

The figure of Lakulīśa at the centre of the lintel, panels having the worship of the Liṅga, Natarāja and Pārvatī and the presence of the (Triśūladhārī) Dvārapālas on the jambs of the door strongly indicate that this temple was dedicated to Shiva, who according to Purāṇas was called Indareśvara.

From a tenth century inscription originally attached to the temple, but now lost, it is known that the temple of Brahmeśvara was built by Kolavatī Devī, mother of Udyota Keśari, who is regarded as the most powerful of the Soma kula or lunar dynasty.

The central niches of the temple contain Dikpālas seated on their respective mounts while in the intermediary ones are to be seen the figures of अजैकपाद भैरव, अन्धकासुरवध मूर्त्ति, अर्द्धनारीश्वर, नटराज, and भैरव in his skeleton form. On the frontal rāhā there is also a beautiful figure of Natarāja.

The figures of eight Dikpālas are also carved in the niches of the Jagamohana. The figure of Gaja-Lakshmi is found at the centre of the lintel and the architrave over it is relieved with navagrahas. The topmost slab, which seals the interior of the Jagamohana is shaped like one inverted fullblown lotus with Nāga figures at corners.

The majestic temple of Liṅgarāja is regarded as one of the most finished and refined manifestation of temple architecture in

India for the elegances of its proportions, the richness of surface treatment and grandeur of its tower. In the niches of the main temple are found the seated figures of eight Dikpālas and the deities like Sūrya, Gaṇeśa Kārttikeya, Pārvati, Ardhanārīśvara, Shiva, Brahmā. Under the huge amālaka are found beautiful four-armed seated figures of Shiva, one each above the rāhā.

The Pārśvadevatās Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī carved in fine chlorite stone are notable for their large dimensions and fine workmanship. The vertical sides of all the nine piḍhas of the lower tier of the Jagamohana are relieved with friezes consisting of the war processions of infantry, cavalry and elephants. It is said that some battle scenes of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are depicted in them.

In some of the subsidiary shrines standing around the great Liṅgarāja temple are to be seen a number of images of different dates mostly of Pārvati, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya and rarely of Balarāma, Subhadrā, Kṛṣṇa, and of Trivikrama. The fine chlorite image of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa placed in the northern entrance (now converted in to a room) of the Bhogamaṇḍapa, and the figure of Nṛsiṃha worshipped in a temple near kitchen, are worthy of mention.

Like the Brahmeśvara temple, the temple of Chitrakāriṇī is of the Pañchāyatana (five-shrined) type, but within the sanctum is worshipped a Chāmundā image. Two of the friezes on the windows of its Jagamohana deserve special attention. The one on the south depicts the marriage of Shiva and Pārvati, while that on the north shows Kṛṣṇa playing on his flute amidst his enchanted flowers and the cattle listening with rapt attention. This above figure of Kṛṣṇa, which is very seldom found in other temples of Bhubaneswar forms a landmark in the history of Orissan iconography.

The temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva is the only Vaiṣṇava shrine at Bhubaneswar. The deities installed inside the sanctum being the chlorite figures of Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā. This temple was

built in 1278 A. D. by Chandrikā Devī. daughter of Anangabhīma III (1211-1238 A. D.) The balusters of the north window have the figures of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Sītā, Hanumān, and monkey attendant. In this temple as well as in the Yameśvara temple and Sārī Deula of Bhubaneswar the eight Dikpālas with their Shaktis or female counterparts are found carved. This is a new feature of these later temples, the earlier temples having only the figures ot the Dikpālas.(48)

Let us now turn our attention to some other important temples of Orissa, besides those of Bhubaneswar already discussed for noticing the representations of the Puāṇic stories in temple sculptures. In this connection the eighth-century Vārāhī temple built by some Bhauma monarch in the village Chaurasi near the Prāchī river deserves first mention. The beautiful sanctum of this temple is a replica of the Gaurī temple, whereas its Jagamohana resembles that of the परशुरामेश्वर temple at Bhubaneswar. The vertical face of the sloping cave of the Jagamohana on tne south, east and north sides is relieved with the scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa like shooting of the golden deer, Rāvaṇa carryins away Sītā and killing the bird Jaṭāyu, piercing with an arrow the seven palm trees (Saptatālabheda) by Rāmachandra, death of Bālī in the hands of Rāma, building of the Setubandha, the great embankment across the sea, all of which bear ample testimony to the popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa stories in that age. In the sanctum of this temple is worshipped a two handed chlorite figure of Vārāhī, who belongs to Saptamātrikā group. Not far from this, is seen the lower portion of a temple of the same age, wherein a beautiful image of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa is still worshipped.

In the ruins of the Māṇikeśvara temple (circa 7th century) in the village of Shukleśvara under P. S. Mahanga, Dist. Cuttack are found some carved stones in which Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, and Hanumān giving some message with folded hands, Kālīyadalana Kṛṣṇa, and Naṭarāja are beautifully depicted. In the Chāteśvara temple (1220 A. D.) there is a standing four-armed figure of Kṛṣṇa in Tri-

bhaṅga pose, holding a flute in his two lower hands and lifting Govardhana hill with his two upper hands. In another panel of the same temple are depicted Rāma and Lakshmaṇa holding bow in their hands.

ANANTASHĀYĪ

Near the village Saräṅga, in the district of Dheṅkānāl there is a hillock rising from the bed of the Brāhmaṇī river, wherein is carved a colossal figure of Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu, 92 ft. in length. God Brahmā is found sitting on the (Nābhikamala) lotus flower, the stalk of which originates in the navel of Vishṇu. Near the right bank of the same Brāhmaṇī river in the village of Bhīmakāṇḍa (which is 18 miles far from the town of Tālcher) there is another hillock contaning a still more gigantic figure of Anantaśāyi Viṣṇu, which is 41 & half ft. in length. The figure of Brahmā sitting on the Nābhikamala has not been carved in this image. The Viṣṇu image of Bhīmakāṇḍa village is the biggest of all the Hindu icons so far discovered in any part of India.

DASHĀVATĀRA—

Definite evidence regarding the popularity of Daśāvatāra or the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu is furnished by the two Viṣṇu images in the village of Saintala in the district of Bolaṅgir-Pātna, which can tentatively be assigned to the beginning of the ninth century A. D. In the pedestal of each image are found Garuḍa to the right, some worshippers in the middle and sage Nārada to the left. Above the worshippers are carved the figures of fish and tortorise representing Mtsyāvatāra and Kūrmāvatara. On the right and left sides of the pedestal stand respectivly Lakshmī, holding a lotus flower and Sarasvatī playing on a musical instrument. On the right pilaster of the toraṇa are carrved from bottom to top, the figures of Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana and Paraśurāma (broken) and on the left pilaster are found from top to bottom the images of Rāma, Valarāma, Buddha and Kalkī. On the lintel over the two pilasters is depicted Samudra

manthana or the churning of the ocean with the Gods on one side and the demons on the other. The chief object of worship, was a two-armed figure of Viṣṇu, standing on the pedestal described above.49

On dilapidated brick temple at Rāṇipur Jharial, some four out of the ten incarnations still exist. In a place called Tirthamaṭha in the Ersama P. S. of the Cuttack district, beautiful figures of Rāma, Paraśusrāma, Balarāma, Vāmana, and Nṛsiṃha assignable to the 8th century are still preserved, while others are perhaps buried in a mound nearby. The ten incarnations were carved on a very old temple (circa 9th century) near the Shiśireśvara temple at Bhubaneswar of which two have disappeared. On the lintel over the lion's gate of the famous Jagannātha temple at Puri (1112-1147 A.D.) are carved the figures of the ten incarnations. But we find the icon of Jagannātha instead of that of Buddha, as the former is regarded as the manifestation of the Buddha. There is a unique image of Kṛṣṇa, datable to the twelfth century in the Archaeological gallery of the Orissa State Museum, where the ten incarnations are beautifully carved round the figure Kṛṣṇa, who is represented as Daśākṛtikṛt or the very creator of the ten incarnations as prayed in the famous verse of the Gītagovinda. (50)

CHATUHSHASTHI YOGINĪ—

Like the Shaiva and Vaishṇva deities, the Tāntric cult, which played an important part in moulding the religious faith of the people in the past ages, had also their own adherents. The three chief centres of Tāntric faith in Orissa, were Jājpur on the river Vaitaraṇī. Hīrāpur situated at a distance of three miles to the east of Bhubaneswar, and Rānipur in the Bolangirpatana district. Almost all the ancient temples of Jājapur were destroyed by the Muslim iconoclasts, whereas at Hīrāpur and Rāṇipur are to be seen two circular enclosures dedicated for the worship of the sixty-four Yoginīs. The enclosure at Rānipur is much damaged, and sixteen out of 64 Yoginīs have been carried away (51), whereas at Hīrāpur 63 out of 64 Yoginī images, nine figures of Kātyāyinī (Nava Kātyāyinī) and some Bhairava images are still to be seen (52).

SAPTAMĀTRIKĀ--

The figures of Sapta Mātṛkās are found in the Parśurāmeśvara and Kapālini temples of Bhubaneswar. There was once a separate temple at this place dedicated to them, which has now gone out of existence. This group at Jajpur and the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple at Puri are famous in Orissa. In recent year, the images of these have been discovered in Belkhandi, in Kalāhaṇḍi district near Titlagarh in Bolangir district, in Kuṇḍeśvara and Dharmasala in in the district of Cuttack. Intensive exploration may bring to light the existence of this group in some other places of Orissa. All these clearly indicate that the worship of Saptamātṛkā was once very popular in Orissa.

The brief discussion made above will give some idea about the representation of Purāṇic stories in temple sculptures and the development of Hindu iconography based on them.

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50. बेदानुद्धरते X X दशाकृतिकृते कृष्णाय तुभ्यं नमः ।

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52 -do- on Hirapur published in O. H. R. J., Vol, II, pp. 23-41

GAGANASIVĀCHĀRYA AND THE DATE OF THE MONUMENTS AT RĀNIPUR JHARIAL

The name of Gaganasivacharya, a famous Saiva ascetic is known from his inscription in the old Somesvara temple at Ranipur-Jharial in the Titlagarh subdivision of the Balangirpatana district. This inscription has been deciphered and published by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, who has identified this Gaganasivacharya with Vyomasiva, whose inscription is found at Narod or Ranod. (1) Dr. Chhabra writes as follows regarding this identifictaion.

"Now, considering that Vyomasiva, so far as the meaning of this word concerned, is the same as Gaganasiva, one feels suspicious whether the two names refer to one and the same person. And this suspicion is heightened by the fact that Vyomasiva is variously mentioned in the Ranod inscription by such equivalent appellation as Gaganesa (V. 39) Vyomasambhu (V.14), Vyomesa (V. 40) and Gaganasasimauli (V. 65). The same is to be found in the case of certain other sages. Thus, for example, Hridayesa of the Ranod inscription is called Hridayasiva in the Bilhari inscription. It is clear from this that with regard to the names of the Mattamayura sages, it was the sense of the word and not the word itself that mattered, so that any synonymous term could be substituted for a personal name, be it though to confirm to metrical requirements. In view of these considerations, one would naturally conclude that Vyomasiva and Gaganasiva are, in all probability, but two different names of one and the same person. This conclusion is favoured also by the likelihood of, Terambi being identified with Uttara-Terambagriha. There is yet another point which would lend support to the identification of Vyomasiva, with Gaganasiva and that is the name Ranipadra. Has this name any thing to do at with Ranipur-Jharial ? Referring to the deserted temples this later place, Mr. Beglar points out that they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten. But one may as well ask can it not be that we have a replica of Ranipadra itself in Ranipur-Jharial, with its name, tank, temples and all, owing their origin to one and the same personage, viz., Vyomasiva or Gaganasiva ?" (2)

This identification suggested by Dr. Chhabra is quite plausilbe and convincing and the points raised by him in this connection can each be substantiated by facts, elicited from other sources.

In the Somesvara temple inscription Gaganasiva is called
"उत्तर तेरम्बगृहविनिर्गत गगनशिवाभिधान सिद्धाचार्य्य"
the Acharya or Siddhacharya named Gaganasiva. an immigrant from the glorious Uttara Terambagriha.' The qualifying epithet Uttara indicates that this place was to the north of Ranipur-Jharial. 'Teramba' may be identified with Terehi in the Ex State of Gwalior now merged in the Madhyabharat Union. From the description of the place as quoted below it will be evident that this place was a famous centre of Saivism in the medieval period.

"Village Terehi is five miles north-east of Kadwaha or eight miles south-east of Ranod by cart-track and may be visited from either of the places. It was a centre of Saivism in the mediaeval times and possesses the ruins of a few temples and a Hindu monastery of that age. An old Sanskrit inscription at Ranod gives its old name as Terambi, of which Terahi, the modern name is a corruption. The most interesting part of the monument to be seen here is the torana gateway of an eleventh century temple. The temple is now a mere wreckage but the archway is almost in perfect preservation. X X X In the compound of the temple is lying an inscribed memorial pillar of X X V. S, 960 or A. C. 903. Two other memorial pillars X X X X X (circa 7th century A. C.) stand just outside the compound. The monastery is now enclosed in the ruins of a modern gadhi or fort in the village." (3) The existence of wo memorial pillars of the seventh century A. D clearly shows that this place had gained importance at least from that period. From the Ranod stone inscription, it is known that the first and third Saiva Acharyas were known as 'Kadambaguhadhivasi' (the inhabitant of Kadambaguha) and Terambipala (the protector of Terambi) respectively. This Kadambaguha is identified with Kadawaha in the same Ex-State of Gwalior which is only five miles of Terehi. 'Kadwaha possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery and not less than fourteen Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A. C. Such a large group of old temples is found at no other single place in Gwalior

State. Kadwaha thus deserves to be styled the Khajuraha or Bhubaneswar of Gwalior (4)" The third ascetic who calls himself 'The protector of Terambi" lived six generations before Vyomashiva, which will be evident from the genealogy of Shaiva Acharyas given in the Ranod inscription as shown here-after. Thus Terahi (Terambi or Teramba of the olden days) wherefrom Gaganashiva emigrated to Ranipur-Jharial, was an important center of Shaivism at least one hundred years before his days, where the third ascetic of his line called Terambipala flourished. So it can be safely concluded, that Gaganasivacharya, whose inscription is found in the Somesvara temple at Ranipur-Jharial hailed from Teramba,which is modern Terehi located above.

The second point which requires some elucidation is the relation between Ranipadra and Ranipur-Jharial. The description of a place called Ranipadra is found at three places in the Ranod inscription, while describing the achievements of Purandara Sadasiva and Vyomasiva the fifth, seventh and ninth ascetics respectively of this line e. g.

पुनर्द्वितीयं स्वयमद्वितीयोगुणैर्मुनीन्द्रो रणिपद्र संज्ञम्
तपोवनं श्रेष्ठमठं विधाय प्रष्टः प्रतिष्ठां परमां निनाय ।

(Verse 15)

सदाशिवस्तस्य च शिष्य आसीत् सदाशिवः सर्वजनस्य शान्त्या
तपोवनं यो रणिपद्रनाम प्रसाधयामास तपः समृद्ध्या ।

(Verse 17)

येनेदं पुरमापदन्धतमसे मग्न नियोगाद्विधेः
सत्कीर्त्या रणिपद्र संज्ञमचिरादुद्धृत्य यत्याश्रमं
भूपृष्ठं शशिनेव निर्मलतरस्फारस्फुरत्तेजसा
सर्वानन्दयुदयेन पौर सहित नीतः पुनस्तां श्रियं ।

(Verse 32)

Village names ending with the word Padra (Sanskrit Padraka) are very common in the Sambalpur tract of Orissa, but are scarcely to be found in the Gwalior area, wherefrom this inscription has been found. So it can safely be assumed that the place 'Ranipadra' mentioned thrice in the inscription might better refer to Ranipur, the original name of which was Ranipadra.

If the activities of the Golaki Matha of the Dahala country and the achievements of its head Vishveshvara Shambhu are found described in the Malkapuram pillar inscription of the Andhra country, there can be be no wonder that the description of the Matha at Ranipadra (Ranipur) is found in the inscriptions of the Gwalior region. In that case there can be no valid objection if Ranipadra of the inscription is indentified with Ranipur, which was also a centre of activity of this sect.

Date of Vyomashiva or Gaganashiva

As regards the date of Gaganashivacharya, no information is obtained from the two inscriptions at Ranod and Ranipur-Jharial as they are not dated. The inscription at Ranod was assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. by Dr. Keilhorn. According to Dr. Chhabra, the characters of the inscription at Ranipur-Jharial belong to the northern script of about the 10th or 11th century A. D. But the date of Gaganasiva may be pushed by some years with the evidence elicited from literary sources. Prof. Dasaratha Sarma, who has discussed about Vyomashiva and his work Vyomavati writes about his date as follows.

"Gunaratna and Rajashekhara mention Vyomashiva as the writer of Vyomavati or Vyomamati, a commentary on Prasastapada's Bhashya. According to Vardhamana, he was anterior to Udayana the writer of Kiranavali who flourished about 984 A. D. (5) Prof. Sharma has inferred that Vyomashiva of the Ranod inscription wrote a commentary on Prasastapada's Bhashya and has quoted five verses from this to prove this point. But the verse 23 of the same inscription, where the composition of some work bearing his name e. g. 'Vyoma padadi mantrarachana' has been alluded to has perhaps escaped his attention. So it is quoted by me below.

श्लाध्यं जन्म जगत्रयोपि दधतः शेपस्य तस्य क्षमा
मस्य व्योमपदादि मन्त्र रचना ख्याताभिधानस्य च

Another verse quoted by Mm. V. V. Mirashi from the Gwalior Meseum inscription clearly proves the fact of composition of a commentary by Vyomas mbhu of the Ranod inscription:

मुनिमृग्येण निरस्तं टीकालोकेन लोकस्य
प्रकटयतेहि पदार्थं सन्तमसच्चसन्तमसम्

He Vyomasambhu) by his commentary, expounded the true nature of the real padartha (a category of the Vaisesika system) and also the unreal gross ignorance, even as the Sun by his light reveals the existing objects and dispels pitchy darkness. (6) Thus it is proved that Vyomashiva of the Ranod inscription was the author of a commentary named Vyomavati on Prasastapada's Bhashya on the Vaisesika system.

As this commentary has been mentioned by Gunaratna, Rajasekhara and Udayana, Vyomashiva becomes anterior to them by some years. Gunaratna was a Jaina scholar (7)whose.date is not definitely known. Udayana flourished in the second half of the tenth century, so Vyomashiva who is mentioned by him may be placed before 950 A. D. But this date for Vyomashiva may be pushed back by half century, if the date of Rajasekhara is taken into consideration. According to the editors of Kavyamimamsa, its author Rajasekhara lived about 880-920 A. D. (8) So, Vyomashiva who lived before Rajasekhara may. be assigned to a period from 880-88 A. D. Thus the posterior limit for Vyomashiva may be fixed at 880-900 A. D. if both of them are taken to be contemporary. The anterior limit can be fixed with the help of verse 37 of the Ranod inscription where he is compared to the great Sankara.

'सर्वज्ञः स्फुटमेव कोपि भगवानन्यः क्षितौ शङ्करः'

He being regarded as another Sankara must have flourished after Sankara, whose death at 820 A. D. is generally accepted by the scholars. Thus Vyomashiva who lived after Sankaracharya (788-820 A. D.) and prior to Rajasekhara (880-920 A. D.) may definitely be placed in the middle of the ninth century.

This date fixed for Vyomashiva or Gaganashiva may be verified with the help of the genealogy of the Saiva Acharyas of the Mattamayura clan prepared by Mm. V V Mirashi. (9) This is noted below to which I add the name of another Gaganashiva, who was the disciple of Ishanashambhu of this list.

```
                        Kadambaguhadhivasin (The inhabitant of
                             I                    Kadambaguha.)
                             I
                        Sankhamathikadhipati (The Lord of
                             I                  Sankhamathika.)
                        Terambipala ( The protector of Terambi. )
                             I
                        Amardaka tirthanath (The Lord of
                             I          Amardaka tirtha.)
                             I          alias Rudrashiva.
                             I
                        Purandara alias.Mattamayura natha.
                             I
  ---------------------------------------------------------
      I                      I
  Kavachashiva.          Dharmasambhu.
      I                      I
   Sadashiva.            Sadashiva
      I                      I
   Hridayesha            Purandara alias Madhumateya
      I                      I
  Vyomashiva (Gaganashiva I )   Chudashiva
      I                      I
  Patangasambhu              I
                             I
      -------------------------------
      I                             I
   Hridayashiva                Prabhavashiva
      I                             I
   Aghorahsiva                 Prasantashiva
                                    I
           ---------------------------------------
           I                                     I
       Isanasambhu                          Prabodhashiva
           I                                ( 972 A. D.)
       Gaganashiva. II
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According to this genealogy Prabodhashiva whose known date is 972 A. D. lived two generations after Chudashiva, who becomes a contemporary of Vyomashiva I . So allowing some seventy years for Prabhabashiva, Prasantashiva and Prabodhashiva, the date 902 A. D, is arrived at for Chudashiva as well as his contemporary Vyomashiva I . This date may further be verified with the help

of the Karhad plates of the Rastra-Kuta king Krishna III of Sakasamvat 80 or 958 A. D. (10) which mentions Isanasivacharya and his disciple—Gaganashiva :

करहाटीय वल्कलेश्वर स्थानपति कर..खेट सन्तति विनिर्गतेशानशिवाचार्य शिष्याय महातपस्विने सकल शिवसिद्धान्त पारगाय गगनशिवाय :—

The donee Gaganashiva is praised as one versed in all the Shaiva siddhantas, the pupil of the preceptor Ishanashivacharya, who is the head of the establishment of Valkaleshvara in Karahata and is an emigrant of Karanjakheta. Karahata has been identified with Karhad in the Junion Maraj State in Maharastra, The name of this Gaganashiva is also found in a damaged stone inscription written in old Kannada language. It is found in the Someshvara temple at Barakuru in the South Kanara district (11) Ishanashivacharya of the Karhad plates may be identified with Ishanashambhu of the above list. As this Gaganashiva II of 958 A. D. is posterior to Vyomashiva or Gaganashiva I (contemporary of Chudashiva) by three generations, the latter may safely be placed in the second half of the ninth century.

The monuments at Ranipur-Jharial

It is said that in very ancient times there were about 120 temples, of which only about half the number can now be found. Judged by the importance and antiquity of these monuments, which are mostly in ruins, this place may aptly be called the Bhubaneswar of the Patna-sambalpur region. A few lines are quoted below from the account of this place left by Mr. Beglar, who visited it in 1874-75.

" The ruins at Ranipur-Jharial, in the southern portion of the Patna State, close to Temra on the Tong-Nagla, or Tong-Jor are of much greater extent and greater importance than those at Patna; they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten. The modern village is situated in the fertile plains immediately to the south-west of the large out- crop of flatrock on which the temples are perched; at the south-western foot of the out-crop of rock is a tank formed by embanking the valley and there is another close to it nearly dry; the out-crop of rock forms a large gently rising elevation,which may be about 200 feet high at its highest point. " X X X X X

" The whole of the existing ruins cover a space of about half a mile long by not even a quarter mile wide; but within this small space they lie in thick clusters. " X X X

" There are accordingly no less than 57 temples on or near the banks of the tank in various stages of preservation and decay, but there must once have been brick temples also, as numerous brick-bats are lying about scattered on the banks of the tank ; of these even the sites are unknown, and they must have been dismantled and the materials carried off long ago to the adjacent village." (12)

Someshvara Temple

But the largest temple of the entire group standing on or near the banks of the tank is that of Someshvara Shiva, wherein the inscription of Gaganashiva-charya is found. It records the construction of this temple by this famous Shaiva ascetic. It is also clear from the inscription that the main deity was called both ' Shri Someshvara Deva ' and ' Shri Someshanatha ' and the temple contained images of at least four different deities, namely Soma (Someshvara, the chief deity), Svami (Kartikeya), Siddheshvara (Buddha) and Lakshmi e.g.

'सोमस्वामी सिद्धेश्वर लक्ष्मीनाम चतुर्थक'

The figures of Buddha and Lakshmi (Gaja-Lakshmi) are found sculptured on the jamb and lintel of the entrance respectively. As this temple is a work of Gaganashivacharya, it may safely be placed in the second half of the ninth century, between circa 850-880 A. D. when he flourished as proved before. Mr. Beglar wrote about the date of this temple as follows :

" The characters of the inscription would place it as early as the ninth century. " (13) The conjecture made by Mr. Beglar some 80 years ago has now proved correct, by the evidences furnished above. The temple attained great importance in the South-Kosala country which is attested by its mention in the verse 62 of the Bilhari stone inscription as quoted below :

जित्वा कोसलनाथ मोड्रनृपते रापस्तुयः कालियो
रत्नस्वर्णमयः स येन विहित स्सोमेश्वराभ्यर्च्चनम्

दत्त्वा यः करिवाजिशुभ्रवसनस्रक्चन्दनादीन् पुनः
संसारश्रमशान्तये तिविनत स्तुष्टाव तुष्टः प्रभुः ॥

Translation

" Atfer defeating the lord of Koshala, he made the effigy of Kaliya wrought of jewels and gold which was obtained from the prince of Odra, a revential offering to Someshvara. Having besides presented elephants, horses, splendid dresses, garlands, sandal and other (gifts), the prince to get out of the toils of this life humbly praised (the God) full of joy." (14)

The date of the expedition of the Chedi king Lakshmana raja to Koshala when he paid a visit to the temples of Someshvara is not known definitely. But it can be tentatively placed in Circa 950 A. D.

The date of the minor temple of this place can not be fixed definitely. Only one of the smaller temples called the Kenduvalli temple, which stands at a short distance in front of the Someshvara temple contains a small inscription in 4 lines which is quoted below :

L1. योगेश्वर सुतः शुद्धो
L2. देवानन्देति विश्रुतः
L3. तेन कष्टोपचारेण *
L4. कीर्त्तिरेषा प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥

This has roughly been assigned to the tenth century A. D. by Dr. Chhabra who has deciphered and edited it. (15) So the temple containing it should belong to that period. There is another small inscription at this place, in 3 lines the purport of which is the conservation of the foot-marks (at the instance of a Siddhacharya) :

L1. अँ ॐ प्रतिष्ठाप्यामि L2. दं प (द्यं) सिद्धा L3. चार्येण वाचितं ।

This is inscribed on the top of a rocky elevation known as ' Rakshasa-parvata' lying opposite the Kenduvalli temple at a short distance. The inscription is accompanied on the left by a line drawing, representing a pair of human foot-prints enclosed within a rayed circle." The mention of the word

'Siddhacharya' in it is significant. It may either refer to Gaganashiva, who is called a 'Siddhacharya' in the Someshvara temple inscription or some other famous Shaiva ascetic, whose name is not given or yet known from any other source. This shows that this place which had gained importance as a centre of Saivism in that age was being visited by Sidhacharyas. Regarding the importance of this place Beglar aptly remarked thus "The occurence of so many temples at this spot is sufficiently accounted for by the inscription which records the existence here of a tirtha or place of pilgrimage ; I have no doubt a careful perusal and translation of the inscription X X would throw much light on the ancient importance of this spot and identity of one of the many ancient tirthas mentioned in the Hindu sacred literature." (16)

True to the remark of Mr. Beglar the Tirtha Kanda of Krityakalpa-taru, which was compiled in Circa 1110 A. D. gives the description of one 'Somatirtha' after Viraja (Jajpur), Purushottama (Puri), Mahendra, (the Mahendra range of the Ganjam district in Orissa). This Somatirtha could be visited by going in a northernly direction from Mahendra :

वामनपुराणे

दर्शनार्थं ययौ श्रीमानजितं पुरुषोत्तमं
तं दृष्ट्वापुण्डरीकाक्ष मक्षरं परमं शुचिः ॥
उपोष्य षडदिनान्येप महेन्द्रं दक्षिणां ययौ
तत्र क्षेत्रवरं शम्भुमर्द्धनारीश्वरं हरं ॥
दृष्ट्वा संपूज्य च पितृन् महेन्द्रस्योत्तरं गतः
तत्र देववरं शम्भुं गोपालं सोमशीतलं ।
दृष्ट्वा स्न्वात्वा सोमतीर्थे सह्याचलमुपागतः । १७ ।

The Editor of this work says thus " Somatirtha, a tirtha in Utkala in Orissa. Somanatha in Gujarat does not suit the context so well." (17) The " Somashitalam Devavaram Shambhum " of the Text quoted above is no doubt God Someshvara. 'Somatirtha' was the big tank to the south of the temple, where the pilgrims used to take their bath. This is also mentioned in the inscription " Idam tirtham snatva sarvapapa vimochanam ". The God Gopala

mentioned in the text, was no doubt the Vishnu image, (now missing) enshrined in the ancient brick temple of Vishnu, which is described below. The mention of this place in the Vamana Purana as quoted in the Tirthakanda clearly shows that this must have attained importance as a place of pilgrimage before the compilation of this Purana.

The temple of Sixty-four Yoginis

A detailed description of this unique temple or enclosure of sixty-four Yoginis is given by Beglar (18), which need not be quoted here. As regards the date of this temple Beglar wrote thus, " Of its antiquity there can be no doubt and as in style of work and execution it approaches closest to the great inscribed temple, which I have already assigned to the eighth century of our era, I can not assign it to a later date than the ninth century, or about the same period when a similar temple to the same sixty-four Yoginis was built, of which the ruins now exist at Bheraghat near Jabalpur, and to which period also I would assign the Chaousat Jogini temple at Khajuraha. "

The existence of this temple here indicates the importance of this place as a centre of Tantric worship in the early medieval period. Besides this, till recently two other Hypaethral temples of sixty-four Yoginis were known to exist at Bheraghat near Jabalpur and Khajuraha. Of these two, the former is circular, while the latter is oblong in shape. In 1953, another Hypaethral temple of 64 Yoginis was discovered by me at Hirapur near the river Bhargavi in the Puri District, which has been assigned tentatively to the eighth or early ninth century. (19) In this paper it has been shown that the Yogini cult of the Hindu Tantra was greatly influ need by the Vajrayana form of Buddhism, which originated in the coastal region of Orissa and gradually spread in the adjoining hilly tracts of Orissa and Madhyapradesa. On this basis, this circular temple at Ranipur-Jharial may be assigned to a date later than that at Hirapur. So the suggession of Beglar that this is a monument of the ninth century may be accepted as correct. As the Somavamshi kings were ruling over this part of Orissa from the eighth century it may be taken as a work of one of the kings of this family, whose name is still to be traced.

The Vishnu Temple:— From the quotation made above from the Vamana Purana, it is known that there existed a temple of Gopala at this place, which can be identified with the ancient brick temple existing here. The presiding diety of this temple is not to be seen now, but on the outer surface of the shrine are still to be seen the images of Varaha, Hanuman carrying the Gandhamadan hill over his head, Nrusimha killing the demon Hiranyakashipu which clearly prove that this temple was dedicated for the worship of god Vishnu. As all the other temples of this place belong to Saivism it may be taken as the only solitary Vaishnava monument in this centre of Shaivism, which is called the temple of Gopala in the Vamana Purana.

A great portion of the Vimana or Sanctum upto a height nearly 60 ft. with its attached Antarala still stands on a pitha or plat-form. (20) But the Mahamandapa or Jagamohana in its front is now totally gone, except the portion of the pitha on which it once stood. According to Beglar the pitha or plat-form of the entire temple made of sandstone was 90 ft. long and 37 ft. in width.

As regards the age of this temple Beglar wrote as follows : "And although it is not possible with any certainty to assign its age, there can, I conceive, be little doubt that it must be placed a century anterior to the numerous small plain stone temples which dot the bare rock above noticed. The basement mouldings are plain, but massive and devoid of the elaborateness which became a principal feature in later temple architecture, and the existence in particular of the Kumbha-shaped moulding goes far to support the antiquity which I would assign to it."......

"The opening in front is not in the usual style of a tall triangle,so that taken altogether the temple is a specimen of the Sirpur style of brick temples." (21)

Thus according to Beglar this is the oldest existing monument of this place and belongs to the seventh or eighth century as he has assigned the other two notable monuments e. g. Someshvara temple, and the circular Yogini temple to the eighth or ninth century, and it has close resemblance with the brick temples of Sripur. (22)

This Vishnu temple has great resemblance with the Lakshmana temple at Sripur, which is also made of brick and stands on a platfrom made of stone (77'×33') with a height of 7'. Both the temples have got a sanctum or Vimana and a Mahamandapa in front. This Lakshmana temple was also dedicated to Vishnu as his Avataras are carved on the door-jambs and there is a Varaha figure on one of the broken pilasters. (23) From the Lakshmna temple stone inscription edited and published by Hiralal (24) it is learnt that this temple of Hari was built by Queen Vasata, the wife of Harshagupta and mother of Mahashivagupta Balarjuna as both Harshagupta and his wife were great devotees of Vishnu e. g.

तया निजः प्रेत्य पतिर्यथाविधे
वसत्यसौ नित्यमुपासिताच्युतः ।
प्रकाशितुं तादृशमेव कारितं
विभोरिदं धाम हरेः सनातनम्

(Verse 27)

Madhashivagupta Balarjuna has been assigned to the first half of the seventh century A. D. by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (25). Consequently the Lakshmana temple, which was built during the first part of his reign by his old mother may be placed in the same period. The Vishnu temple at Ranipur-Jharial which is stylistically a proto-type of the Lakshmana temple, was not much posterior to the latter and as such it may also belong to the same century.

The question who was the builder of this temple still awaits solution. It has been shown by me elsewhere (26) that the supremacy of the earlier Soma-Vamsi kings of Sripur extended over some portion of the tract bounded by the Tel river in the south and the Mahanadi in the north. This view is supported by the fact that specimens of Sripur style of brick temples are found not only in Ranipur Jharial, but also at Belkhandi in the Kalahandi District and Vaidyanatha of the Sonepur subdivision, both of which stand just on the bank of the river Tel.

Another fact which deserves mention in this connection is the mention of two villages named Vaidyapadraka & Khadira padraka in the Lodhia plates of Mahashivagupta Balarjuna,(27) which were issued in the 57th year of his reign. It is clear from this charter that these two villages were included in his kingdom. These two villages were identified by me with the present villages of Vejipadar & Khairpadar respectively,which lie not far from the Tel river in the district of Kalahandi. But Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sharma, the editor of the plates has identified these two villages with the villges of Baidpalli and Khairpalli on the Ang river, both of which lie in the Bargarh subdivision of the Sambalpur District. Either of the two identifications suggested goes to prove that Mahashivagupta Balarjuna was ruling over some portion of the Sambalpur tract till the close of his reign. The same Khadirapadraka is again mentioned in the Sonepur plates of Janamejaya. (28) Thus it can be concluded that the Vishnu temple at Ranipur-Jharial was built during the reign of Mahashivagupta Balarjuna, who was a great temple-builder, and whose reign was one of the longest in Indian History. Therefore this temple has become a proto-type of the Lakshmana temple of Sripur.

Form the fore-going discussion, it is clear that the temples at Ranipur-Jharial may be placed within a period ranging from Circa 650 A. D. to 950 A.D. when this tract was under the rule of the earlier and the latter Somavamshi kings. Due to the existence of many temples, at this place, it became a famous Tirtha (Soma Tirtha) so as to deserve mention as one of the Tirthas or holy places of India in the Vamana Purana.

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* The word " Kastopacharena " is quite clear in the facsimile preserved in the museum. So Dr. Chhabra's reading " Krishnopacharena " has not been accepted.

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SECTION—III

PAPERS ON POLITICAL HISTORY OF ORISSA

KALAHANDI UNDER THE GANGAS AND THE NĀGA KINGS

From traditions still current in Kalahandi it is known definitely that this State was under the sovereignty of the Ganga Rulers before the advent of the Naga kings to this area. The Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga had their capital at Kalinganagar or Modern Mukhalingam in the Parlakhimdi zamindary on the river Vansadhara which has its source in the Niyamagiri mountain in the Lanjigarh zamindary of the Kalahandi State. On the basin of the Vansadhara there are ruins of temples near Biswanathpur in Lanjigarh. The river served as a link between Kalahandi and the Ganga Kingdom of Kalinga. From the history of this family it is known that the Gangas rose to power and prominence after the lapse of nearly four centuries during the reign of Vajrahasta Deva-I who assumed the title of Trikalingadaipati as a sign of his powers like the mighty Somavamsi Kings mentioned before. He ruled for 30 years from Shaka 960 to Shaka 990 (1038 A. D., 1068). It was he who, perhaps brought the Kalahandi-Patna reign under the sway of the Gangas. His son Rajaraja who ruled from 1068—1078 A. D. was also a very powerful king. Choḍa Ganga the son of Raja raja was a mighty monarch and great conqueror and ruled for a long period of 70 years which is full of briliant achievements. It is definitely known from inscriptions that he led an expedition through Kalahandi and Patna to Ratnapur in the Bilaspur District of C. P. to fight with Ratnadeva II (C 1120-35) the Haihaya King of that place. In the Malhar stone inscription of Jajalladeva I, Ratnadeva II is described as a fierce cloud to extinguish the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the powers of prince Chodaganga (circa 1078-1147 A. D.) (1). This fact is also mentioned in a Kharod inscription of the time of Ratnadeva III (2). The ascription of victory over Chodaganga to Ratnadeva II by the inscription is of doubtful value as the inscription clearly indicates that Chodaganga's prowess was like the raging flames of the spreading mighty fire. This much can be ascertained that Chodaganga was a mighty foe that Ratnadeva II came across in his life. The

discovery of a gold coin of Chodaganga in Bilaspur area bears ample evidence to the extent of his conquest in this direction. An inscription found from Bhubaneswar clearly mentions that Paramadri Deba, a Haihaya King of Tummana was subordinate to Narasingh Deva I (1230-1264 A. D.) and worked under him as a commander-in-chief. He married Chandrika Devi the daughter of Ananga bhima II (1211-1238 A. D.) This was inscribed in Saka 1200 or 1278 A. D. in the reign of Bhanudeva (3).

The Chateswar stone inscription of the Ganga King Anangabhima II (1211-1238 A. D.) states that his Brahmin Minister Vishnu defeated the lord of Tummana(4). The study of all these epigraphic records clearly shows that the Ganga power was supreme over his reign from the time of Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva upto the end of the reign of Narsimha Deva I (1238-1264) who was the greatest ruler of the Ganga family of Orissa and conquered Radha and Varendra in the north-east and Tummana area in the Bilaspur District in the north-west. After Narasingha I the power of the Gangas gradually declined. So for nearly one and half a centuries from exactly 1118 to 1264 A. D. the Ganga power was established over a vast area which included the modern states of Kalahandi, Patna, Sambalpur, Bamra and other tracts upto Bilaspur, besides Orissa proper.

The discovery of an inscription in the old Siva Temple at Narla in Kalahandi State corroborates the above theory. This insersption mentions that one Madana Mahadeva was ruling over this part of the country which is described as 'Kamala Mandala' in 'SakaRamabanirudra Sambatsara' or in Saka Era 1113 or 1191 A. D. (5).

This inscription is unique in as much as it mentions the name of the king and his territory and is dated in Saka Era. This is the first record from Kalahandi where in the name of this region or mandala is mentioned. So it can safely be said that Kalahandi was known as 'Kamalamandala' in those days. Madana Mahadeva was most probably a Ganga ruler as traditions still current ascribe this Siva Temple at Narla to the Ganga rule in Kalahandi. In the genealogical tables of Naga Royal family of Kalahandi obtained as yet the

name of Madana Mahadeva is nowhere found. Moreover it was the period when the Ganga power was steadily rising in the political arena of India. So Madana Mahadeva of 1191 A. D. may safely be taken as a Ganga King of the Kalahandi area. The old monuments existing now in ruins in Topigaon (Biswanathpur) in the Lanjigarh Zamindry near the source of the river Vansadhara, at Dey pur, Dadpur and in Bhimkela and Deheli near Narla may safely be assigned to the Ganga kings of this State. Traditions about the Ganga rule are still current in those places. Nothing definite is known about any other Ganga ruler of this tract for paucity of authentic materials.

Kalahandi as a Separate Political Entity

Kalahandi as a separate political entity came into being during the Ganga rule over Orissa and finds mention as such in the Madalapanji, the well-known Chronicle of the Jagannatha temple of Puri, in connection with the description of the conquests of Kavikanta Narasingha "Kalahandi Bastare Patranku rakhi rajya bhoga kale" (6) According to this Panji (chronicle) Kavikanta Narasingha ruled upto Saka 1251 or 1329 A. D. So it can safely be assumed that Kalahandi as a separate and powerful State adjoining Bastar was well-known in this part of India by the beginning of the 14th Century. The name of Kalahandi is mentioned in the stone pillar inscription found in the Dadhibamana Temple of Junagarh, the former capital of this State. This was inscribed during the reign of Juga Saha Dev III 'Yugabda' 4819 or 1718 A. D. and was issued from 'Kalahandi Nagra' or Capital of Kalahandi. This Epigraphic record is of great importance as it clearly and definitely proves that this Kingdom was known as Kalahandi by the beginning of the 18th century of the Christian Era. The old palmleaf records and inscriptions found in the Nandapur Kingdom (the present Jeypore Zamindary of Orissa) also describe this Kingdom as Kalahandi. At the present state of our knowledge it is not easy to ascertain the derivation and connotation of this term. But it can doubtlessly be said that this region has been known as Kalahandi at least since the thirteenth century of the Christian Era.

Kalahandi under the Naga Family

From traditions still current and from genealogical tables and old palmleaf manuscripts now available it is known that the last Gangavamsi ruler

of Kalahandi named Jagannath Deo handed over this Kingdom as a dowry to Raghunath Shah, who had married his only daughter and heiress called Surekha Devi. Raghunath Shah was a descendant of the Naga family ruling over Chota-nagpur (now in Bihar) and was the first Nagavamsi king of this State. Traditions say that Raghunath Shah came to Kalahandi in V. Samvat 1062 A. D. or 1005 A. D. This date for the first Nagavamsi king seems too early in view of the study of the Narla inscription of 1191 A. D. of a Ganga King Madan Mahadeva. But in the absence of any other reliable material to examine the authenticity of the traditions this date for the first Naga King may be accepted tentatively for the present

1. Raghunath Shah

(1005-1040 A. D,)

The history of earlier kings of this dynasty can be compiled only with the help of old chronicles, records and genealogical tables upto the middle of the 17th century after which the history of his family upto-date became systematic and reliable due to abundance of materials. It is gathered from the old records that Kalahandi was divided into fourteen garhs when Raghunath Shah ascended its throne. He occupied thirteen garhs leaving (Pengsur) to Jagannath Deo, for his maintenance.But this reverted to the possession of Raghunath Shah after the death of his father-in-law. He ruled for 35 years.

2. Pratap Narayan Deo

(1040-1072 A. D.)

Raghunath Shah had five sons and his eledest son and crownprince Pratap Narayan Deo ascended the gadee of Kalahandi while his four other sons were made Zamindara e.g. Second son Kirti Simha of Narla, third son Hari Simha of Thuamul, fourth son Ramabhadra Simha of Dadpur and the fifth son Dhananjay Simha of Karlapat, Zamidaries in the state. The division of this torritory among his uterine brothers strengthened the power and position of the ruler and ensured thorough and sound administration of the Kingdom. He ruled for 32 years.

3. **Birabara Deo**

(1072-1108 A.D.)

After Pratap Narayana Deo his eldest son Birabara Deo became the ruler of Kalahandi while his second son Biswanath Simha was given Madanapur

as his appanage. Nothing important happened during his reign. He ruled for 36 years.

4. Jugasai Deo I
(1108-1142 A. D.)

He was the only son of his father and ruled peacefully for 34 years. He was succeeded by his eldest son (5) 'Ude Narayana Deo' (1142-1173 A. D.) while his second son Mukunda Singh was given the Zamindary of Lanjigarh as his appanage. He ruled for 31 years.

5. Harichand Deo
(1173-1201 A. D.)

He succeeded his father Ude Narayana Deo to the Gadee of Kalahandi and had a reign of 28 years.

6. Ramachandra Deo
(1201-1234 A. D.)

Ramachandra Deo, the seventh king of this line succeeded his father Harichand Deo to the throne of Kalahandi. It is gathered from traditions that the reign of Harichand Deo was full of disturbances and rebellions. So he had to fly to his father-in-law's house at 'Gadapur' in the Sanakhemidi kingdom in the present Ganjam District. There the Rani of Kalahandi gave birth to the prince Ramachandra Deo. Ramachandra was able to reconquer the lost territory of Kalahandi after the death of his father with the help of the Ganga ruler of Gadapur, who was his maternal uncle. In commemoration of this notable event 'Manikeswari' the presiding deity of the Ganga family of Gadapur was accepted as the presiding deity of the Naga family of Kalahandi since the time of Ramachandra Deo, in place of Goddess Lankeswari of Junagarh who was the family deity of the Nagas of Kalahandi since the time of the first ruler of this family. The Kandhas who were a great source of trouble and disturbance to the Raj family promised Ramachandra Deo all help and protection and he was crowned king of Kalahandi in the village called Jugasaipatna by a leader of the Kandhas who was called the 'Patamajhi'. Since that time the Kandha Patamajhis have been enjoying the right of placing the new ruler on his gadi at Jugasaipatna which was most likely the principal town of this kingdom in those days.

Until this installation ceremony of a new Raja by the Patmajhi is done, the chief is not formally recognised by the Kandhas as their ruler. This custom is similar to that in vogue amongst to the Bhuyans of Keonjhar and Bonai States. The Reign of Ramachandra Deo is important for these above events. He ruled peacefully for a period of 33 years.

Nothing important is known from the old records about the reigns of the following kings each of whom ruled for a period of years noted against his name till we come to the time of Dusmant Deo.

8	Gopinath Deo	37 years	1234-1271	A.D.
9	Balabhadra Deo	35 years	1271-1306	,,
10	Raghuraja Deo	31 years	1306-1337	,,
11	Raj Singh Deo	29 years	1337-1366	,,
12	Daria Deo	34 years	1366-1400	,,
13	Jugasaha Deo II	36 years	1400-1436	,,
14	Pratap Narayana Deo	32 years	1436-1468	,,
15	Harirudra Deo	28 years	1468-1496	,,
16	Anku Deo	32 years	1496-1528	,,
17	Pratap Deo	36 years	1528-1564	,,
18	Raghunath Deo	30 years	1594-1594	,,
19	Viswambhar Deo	33 years	1594-1627	,,
20	Rai Singh Deo	31 years	1627-1658	,,
21	Dusmant Deo	35 years	1658-1693	,,

Dusmant Deo

(1658-1693 A.D.)

An Oriya copper plate Charter issued by Maharaja Dusmant Deo to his younger brother Maharajakumar Padman Singh in Vikram Sambat 1739 or 1682-83 A.D. has been acquired by this office. This charter mentions the grant of two garhs (forts) of Thuamul and Deypur by the Ruler of Kalahandi to his younger brother. This is important as it indicates that the Maharaja of Kalahandi was at that time independent of any foreign power and bore the title of Sri Maharajadhiraja Sri Maharaja, generally assumed by mighty rulers and had the power to grant Zamindaries even, without referring to his overlord

as is done by the vassal Chieftains. The date given in this charter is important also as it enables us to verify the dates given in the old records and chronicles for this king which are found to be approximately correct when examined in the light of knowledge obtained from this grant.

Jugaraj Deo II
or
Juga Shah Deo III
(1693-1721 A.D.)

Two dated inscriptions of this King written in Oriya language and scripts have been found as yet in this State of which one is a copper plate charter issued in Vikram Samvat 1769 or 1712-1713 A.D. to Patraja Kesari Singh, Zamindar of Thuamul while the other is recorded on a stone pillar found in the Dadhibaman Temple of Junagarh and mentions some concessions granted to Brahmapura (the Panchayat organisation of the Aranyaka Brahmanas of the State) in the Juga Era (Kaliyuga Era 4819 or 1718 A. D.) by Juga Shah Deo III. But it may be noted here, while in the stone inscription we find the name of king as Juga Shah Deo, in the C. P. Charter he is mentioned as Jugaraj Deo. It may safely be assumed that one was the synonym of the other. The C. P. Charter is of historical importance as it states that the four garhs of (Vanpur) Kashipur, Mahulpatna, Chandragiri and Bisamgiri were ceded to Maharaja Jugaraja or Juga Shah Deo of Kalahandi by Buddha Viswambhar Deo, Raja of Jeypore kingdom (Koraput) in lieu of military services rendered by the former to the ruler of Jeypore, which enabled him to capture the throne of that kingdom by defeating his father in 1712-13 A. D. These four garhs obtained from Jeypore were given by the Ruler of Kalahandi to Patraja Kesari Singh, Zamindar of Thuamul. This charter bears convincing proof of the amount of independence that was being enjoyed by the old rulers of Kalahandi in matters of war and peace with the adjoining States or in other words the Rulers of Kalahandi were independent to follow their own foreign policy before the Marhatta conquest of this kingdom

Khadag Rai Deo
(1721-1747 A. D.)

Yugaraj or Yugashah Deo III had two sons named Bhramarbar Deo, the elder son and Khadag Rai Deo the younger son. Bhramarbar Deo began to

rule the kingdom from Yugasaipatna where he kept the Headquarters of the State while his younger brother Khadag Rai Deo was posted to Junagarh the real capital of the kingdom. In course of time Khadag Rai Deo being very powerful became the defacto ruler of the State. Consequently a battle was fought between the two brothers near Junagarh where Bhramarbar Deo was defeated and had to flee for his life to Khedapara in the Jeypore kingdom where he lived permanently. After this Khadag Rai Deo began to rule the kingdom ably and peacefully till his death.

Rai Singh Deo
(1747-1771 A. D.)

He had a peaceful and happy reign only the last part of which was disturbed by civil war fought between his sons Kesai Singh and Purushottam Deo. Kesai Singh his eldest son was born of his second wife while Purushottam Deo was born of the Patarani or the crowned queen. The Civil War began when Purushottam Deo was chosen as the crown prince in superssession of the claims of Kesai Singh, the eldest son the claimant for the royal throne. There were some disturbances due to this which could be easily subdued.

Purusottam Deo
(1771-1796 A. D.)

After his accession to the throne of Kalahandi, Kesai Singh again fought with Purushottam Deo with the military assistance of the Raja of Khariar, his maternal uncle. But he was defeated and put to flight. Being baffled in his attempts to capture the throne, Kesai Singh sought the help of Raghuji Bhonsla II of Nagpur, who by that time had suzerainty over a vast tract of land extending upto the Bay of Bengal in the East, the Narmada in the north and the Godavari in the South. This civil war offered a golden opportunity to Raghuji to interfere in the internal administration of the State. The dispute was settled in favour of Raja Purushottam Deo who was acknowledged the Ruler of Kalahandi by Raghuji and agreed to pay a takoll of Rs. 5330 to the Bhonsala Raja of Nagpur as a token of his submission to the Marhatta overlordship.

Though the exact date of this memorable event is not known it must have happened after 1788 (the year of accession of Raghuji and before 1796, the year of death of Purusottam Deo). Thus Kalahandi came under the domination

of Marhattas during the reign of this king and remained so until it came into political relationship with the East India Company in 1853.

Kalahandi State before the Marhatta Domination

Before we discuss about the political subordination of Kalahandi to the Bhonsala Rajas of Nagpur it is desirable to deal here briefly on the history of the State in the Pre-Marhatta period to gain accurate knowledge about its political status. After the downfall of the Gajapati Empire in 1568 Kalahandi became practically independent, there is no evidence to show that Kalahandi was a dependent State under the Mughal Emperors of Delhi for the Mughal rule was continued to coastal parts of Orissa and the Mughal army did never penetrate into the forest-clad and hill-bounded regions of this kingdom. The rulers of Kalahandi who became independent and powerful had 'Athargarhs' or eightee forts under their control long prior to the Marhatta Domination. Traditions state that Kalahandi had fourteen garhas in the time of Raghunath Shah, the first Nagavamsi Ruler of this State upto the time of Jugashah Deo III who got four garhs from the Raja of Jeypore (Buddha Viswambhar Deo) in 1712 A. D. and added them to Thuamul, thus making the number of garhs included in the Kalahandi Kingdom amount to eighteen. It is well-known fact that the overlordship of eighteen garhs was a symbol of great prowess and prestige for Indian Rulers from very ancient times. According to C. U. Wills Kalahandi which was a powerful and independent State must have eighteen garhs from the very beginning. So he writes : "There (Elliott Report) I found it stated that Kalahandi oirginally consisted of 14 garbs to which four were subsequently added in the year 1122 Fasli (or 1712 A. D.) having been ceded by the Raja of Jaipur" This at first sight, seemed fatal to any attempt to attach significance to the figure eighteen. But a further examination of the report made it clear that,invariably the state had always contained 18 garhs, but the five had been compressed into one presumably at the time of the cession of four additional garhs from Jeypore, with a view to preventing any distubance of the conventional Athagarhs."

Mr. Wills after closely examining the distribution of garhs in Kalahandi noted in the report of 1856 submitted by Lieut-Col. Elliott has come to the

conclusion " that the so-called Taluqs of the Madanpur Garh, each regularly subdivided, are in reality garhs which have been rechristened Taluqs. The Taluq, as an area intermediate between the 'garh' and the 'Sub-division' has no parallel in the rest of the dependency. And the obvious explanation of the anomaly is that Kalahandi originally contained not 14 but 18 garhs, and when four others were ceded from Jeypore the five garhs in the Madanpur Estate were telescoped into one and called Taluqs, simply in order to regain the conventional divisional of the Dependency into Athargarh.' (7) Mr. Wills is right when he says that the Zamindari of Madanpur Rampur had five garhs from days of yore as the ruins of forts are still visible in Madanpur (the old capital), Tersinga, Mohangiri. Sankosh etc of this Zamindari. Thus it can be proved convincingly that the Nagavamsi kings of Kalahandi were exercising overlordship on eighteen garhs as powerful and independent rulers like the Chouhan Rulers of Patna and Sambalpur. There is also evidence to prove that the Kingdom of Kalahandi had a larger area in those days for the pragana of Deobhog now included in the Raipur district of C. P. and a large area round about Kalyan Singhpur (now in the Jeypore Zamindari of Koraput district) were under the domination of the rulers of Kalahandi.

The Kingdom of Kalahandi with the conventional 'Athargarhs' or eighteen forts and many vassal Zamindaries e. g. 1. Narla,2 Dadpur,3. Koksar,4. Thuamul Rampur, Rampur, 5. Karlapat, 6. Mahulpatna, 7. Kashipur, 8. Madanpur, 9. Lanjigarh etc. was an independent and powerful State paying no tribute and owing no allegiance to any other paramount or Sovereign power till it came under the domination of the Marhattas. The Zamindaries of Narla, Dadpur, Koksar and Thuamul Rampur were annexed to the parent State in course of time due to break in the continuity of the families holding those Zamindaries as fiefs or due to their disloyalty to the parent State. The survival of the other five Zamindaries owing allegiance to the ruling house of Kalahandi till recently invested its rulers with special dignity and power.

Kalahandi under the Marahatta Domination

During the reign of Raghuji Bhonsla I of Nagpur, his Dewan Bhaskar Pant reduced the Rajas of Chhattisgarh in 1742 A. D. and led succesful

expeditions to the Kingdom of Cuttack. In 1745 A. D. Raghunatha Singh the last Raja of Ratanpur was deposed and ten years after Amarsingh his, Kinsman on the throne of Raipur was also removed and the Marhatta domination was firmly established on Chhattisgarh. Kalahandi which was adjoining the Raipur Kingdom might have been invaded at this time but there is no reliable evidence to show that it was brought under the Marhatta Yoke in 1755 A. D. On the other hand it can be proved that the Kingdoms of Sambalpur and Kalahandi (which was also known as ' Kandhan ' in those days) were independent at the time of the visit of Mr. Motte to Sambalpur in 1766 A. D. Mr. Motte while describing the Kingdoms adjoining Sambalapur has stated that only Ratanpur (Rottunpoor) was subject to Bimbaji (Bimboojee) son of Raghuji Bhonsala I. He writes thus " It (the province of Sambalpur) is bounded to the west by the countries of Borashumber (Borasambar) and Rottunpur ; to the east by Bimbara (Bamra); Lundacole (Rairakhol) and Bod ; to the south by Patna and Coondon (Khaiond) ; to the north by Gangpoor and Soorgooja. Rottunpoor is subject to Bimboojee (8). But it is generally accepted that Marhatta domination spread over the whole area extending from Berar upto Bengal before the death of Raghuji I, in 1755. In 1751 the whole province or Orissa as far north as Midnapur was ceded to the Bhonsala Raja of Nagpur with the States adjoining it. According to C. U. Wills the State of Sambalpur with its dependencies came under Maratta Yoke before the death of Raghuji the great. If this be the case, the State of Kalahandi might have been conquered by Raghuji I before 1755 A. D.

Rennell, the famous geographer of Hasting's time, writing in 1785 A.D. maintained that " in the general division of the Empire, the Subah of Berar is unquestionably meant to include the whole tract between Khandesh and Orissa." (9) In Rennell's Map of 1788 A. D. showing the dominions of the Raja of Nagpur, Kalahandi with its surrounding States are shown distinctly in the Maratha territory. So it can be said without any fear of contradiction that Kalahandi came under the domination of the Raja of Nagpur during the reign of its Nagabamsi Ruler Purushottam Deo (1771-1796 A.D.)

The Maratha territories reached their maximum extension during the reign of Raghoji II of Nagpur and in 1800 his kingdom consisted of eight sub-

divisions ; the eighth one including the province of Chhattisgarh and its dependencies e. g. Sarguja, Sambalpur, Bastar, Kanker and Kalahandi and it yielded an annual revenue of 6 lakhs of rupees. Kalahandi with other dependencies of Chhattisgarh were the appanage of Bimbaji, the youngest son of Raghuji I, who had a separate court and household at Ratnapur. On his death without issue in 1787 A. D. Kalahandi with others became the appanage of Chimanji the younger brother of Raghuji II whom Bimbaji had adopted. But unfortunately Chimanji died in 1789 A. D. and Chhattisgarh (including Kalahandi) was conferred on Vyankoji, the youngest son of the brothers of Raghuji II. These rulers of the Bhonsala House of Nagpur living at Ratanpur were not actually entering into the Government of their dependencies, which were to all intents and purposes ruled by the Subadars under them.

Downfall of the Maratha power of Nagpur.

The Maratha power of Nagpur received a severe blow in the second Anglo-Maratha War in which the British scored triumphant suceess. The ruin of Raghuji II was completed by the fall of Gawilgarh and on the 17th December, 1803 he signed the Treaty of Deogaon which deprived him of the province of Cuttack and the Sambalpur-Patna group of States. But it is not defineitely known whether Kalahandi was ceded to the British along with the Patna-Sambalpur group of States as a result of the Treaty of Deogaon. Most probably Kalahandi remained under the Maratha Raja of Nagpur as it finds no mention in the list of territories restored to Raghuji II on the 24th August 1806. (10) This view is also supported by Cobden-Ramsay when he writes :

" It is not improbable that Karond or Kalahandi was one of those States which together with Patna, Sambalpur and others were restored to Nagpur in 1806, after the Treaty of Deogaon in 1803 had deprived Raghuji Bhonsla of his eastern possessions but there is nothing to corroborate this view." (11)

This is a fact also corroborated by the narrative given in the ' Kalahandi Madala' a chronicle of Kalahandi written in old Oriya language, wherein the

dispute between Jugasai Deo and Biswanath Singh the sons of Purusottam Deo is stated to have been referred to the court of Nagpur for settlement. This clearly proves that this state remained under the domination of the Raja of Nagpur even after Treaty of Deogaon in 1803.

Jugasai Deo
1796—1803 A. D.

He became a ruler of Kalahandi after Purusottam Deo and was paying Rs. 4500 as tribute to the Raja of Nagpur in 1821 as shown in the 'Statement of Tribute payable by the Zamindars of Chattisgarh' and he entered into an engagement with the 'Sircar' or Government of the E. I. Company like the other Zamindars of Chattisgarh at Raipur on the 17th February, 1821.

During the reign of Jugasai Deo (also known as Jugaraj Deo) Kalahandi came in contact with the Government of the E. I. Company after the deposition of Appa Sahib, Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur in 1818 as a consequence of the third Anglo Maratha War. After 1818 the kingdom of Nagpur was practically dependent on the British crown and the Zamindars under the Raja of Nagpur came indirectly in political relationship with the Government of the E. I. Company. During the minority of Raghuji III (from 1818—1826 A. D.) who became the Raja of Nagpur after Appa Sahib,the Nagpur territory was under the management of the British Resident stationed at Nagpur. In 1818 the Nagpur State was actually forfeited through the treachery and hostility of Appa Sahib and was declared to belong by right of conquest to the British Government. They conferred it as a free gift on Raghuji III under the Treaty of 1826 which made him practically subordinate to the British crown. Raghuji nominally ruled the Nagpur State till 1853 when it lapsed to the British crown as he had died without a son natural or adopted and without leaving any heir and it was annexed to British India. In that year 1853 Kalahandi came under the domination of the British crown in the last year of the reign of Fate-Narain Deo who was the ruler of this State after his father Jugasai Deo ftom 1831 to 1853 A. D.

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RANAKEHSARI AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF ORISSA

The discovery of the stone inscription in a temple of Govindapur in Nayagarh State by Pandit Binayaka Mishra has not yet attracted the due attention of the history-scholars. The inscription is a fragmentary one no doubt, but it is of great historical importance as it contains the name of the king Ranakeshari and the Samvat 811 of an unspecified era. The reading of the inscription is given below :--

श्री रणके............1st line

सरी देवस्य विजय राज्ये स............2nd line

८११ माघ शुदि एकादशी बुधवारे·········3rd line

Translation :

"During the victorious reign of Ranakeshari Deva in the year 811 on Wednesday the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Māgha." (1)

Let us fitst of all examine to which royal family of Orissa Ranakeshari belonged. In the genealogical tree of the Somavamsi kings of Sripur we find two Ranakesharis. One of them Bhabadeva Ranakeshri or Chintadurga was the grandson of king Udayana, the first powerful king of this lunar dynasty. The second Ranakeshari was the brother of Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna, the last powerful king of Sripur branch. So it can be said without any fear of contradiction that this Ranakeshari of Govindpur stone inscription belonged to the family of the Somavamsi kings of Orissa who are even now known traditionally as Keshari kings. Moreover, from epigraphic records and other sources we have found the names of the following kings, e. g , Uddyotakeshari (2), Birabar Keśari (3), and Karṇa Keśari (4) having the title of Keśari.

If we study Mādalāpanji, the chronicle of the famous Jagannātha temple of Puri, we come across the names of nearly fifty

kings having the title of Keśari. Though these kings are not regarded as historical personages by antiquarians, still the assumption of the Keśari title is significant. So the present Ranakeśari belonged to the line of the Somavamsi kings of Orissa.

Let us now examine to which era the year 811 belonged. It can never be Gupta era as the paleography of the inscription clearly indicates that it belonged to ninth or tenth century and not to 12th century (811+320=1131 A. D.). It must either be Vikram Samvat or Saka Samvat. If the year is taken to be Vikram Samvat the year will be 811—56=754 A. D. If it is Saka Era it will be 811+78 =889 A. D. Whatever may be the Samvat, Saka or Vikram the record is unique as it contains a date clearly and legibly written whereas no other Somavamsi record discovered uptill now is known to have contained any year of any era except the regnal years of the kings by whom they were issued. So the proper study of this record will revolutionise the theory about the date of the Somavamsi kings.

Pandit Mishra is of opinion that this Ranakeśari was the brother of Bālārjuna, the Somavamsi king of Sripur. "I am often tempted to identify this Ranakeśari with the younger brother of the Somavamsi Bālārjuna Mahāsivagupta of the Sripur stone inscription and take this unspecified era as the Saka Era". (5) But this identification is untenable and unacceptable fot the reasons given below .

(1) It is the unanimous verdict of the epigraphic records of the Soma dynasty, the traditions that are still current in this country, and the old historical annals and books like Mādalāpānji, Bhakti Bhāgabata Mahākāvyam etc., that Yayāti (1) was the first Somavamsi king who began to rule over Utkal or the plain parts of Orissa (including Nayagarh State). It will be far from truth to say that Ranakeśari, younger brother of Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna, king of Sripur had his domination over Nayagarh area in the plain parts of Orissa when it is not yet definitely known whether this Rana·

keśari ever ruled at all as he was a younger brother of Bālārjuna. Supposing that this Ranakeśari ruled after Bālārjuna, it is extremely doubtful whether his kingdom extended far beyond Nayagarh, when there is no evidence to show that the Somavamsi kings of Sripur had any effective control over the Sambalpur tract which is very near Sripur. So this Ranakeśari of the Govindapur inscription can on account be accepted to be the younger brother of Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna.

(2) The identification sugggested by the learned Pandit cannot stand the test of paleography because box-headed characters were invariably being used in the epigraphic records of the Somavamsi kings of Sripur like Tibara Deva, Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna, and others, whereas in the Govindpur inscription of Ranakeśari we find Kutila characters of a later period having no resemblance with the former script. Therefore this Ranakeśari was quite distinct from Ranakesāri of Sripur branch.

(3) It seems quite certain that this Ranakesari belonged to the Somavaṃsa of Utkala and had no connection with the two Ranakeśaris of Sripur branch of Soma dynasty mentioned before. The repetition of the name of a king in the genealogy of the same royal family was a well-known feature of the history of Orissa. In the Bhauma family of Orissa there were three kings having the name Sivakara, four kings Subhākara, and three kings Santikara. In the Ganga family some names like Narasingha, Bhanu, Rājarāja, Kamārnava, Dānārnava, Bajrahasta, etc. were very common. In the Soma dynasty itself we find from inscriptions that two Yayātis and two Abhimanyus ruled in different periods.

(4) Supposing that this Ranakeśari was the brother of Bālārjuna and was ruling in 889 A. D. in Kosala and Orissa and knowing fullly well that the rule of the last king of Somavaṃsa of Kosala ended by circa 1020 A. D. after the defeat and death of Indraratha by the general of Rajendra Chola (6), and Chola rule was established in the Sonpur-Sambalpur tract from circa 1020 A. D. (7), we can

at best allow 131 years (1020 A. D.—889 A. D.) for all the kings of Kosalas known from inscriptions :

(1) Ranakeśari (brother of Bālārjuna), (2) Māhābhavagupta, (3) Mahāsivagupta, (4), Janamejaya, (5) Yayāti I, (6) Bhimaratha, (7) Dharmaratha, (8) Naghusa, (9) Abhimanyu I, (10) Yayāti II, (11) Uddyotakeśarī, (12) Abhimanyu II, (13) Kumāra Someswara Deva, and (14) Indraratha.

The calculation gives a reigning period of nearly 9 years for each of the above 14 rulers which is quite absurd. Moreover, there were three gaps during the period of rule of the Somavamsi kings : (1) after the death of Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna, (2) after Naghusa adopted a son of Dharmaratha, and (3) a big gap after Kumar Someswar Deva till we come to the reign of Indraratha who is mentioned in the inscription of Rajendra Chola and king Bhoja of Dhārā. So it is impossible to identify the Ranakesri of the Govindapur inscription with Ranakesri, brother of Bālārjuna. He was altogether a separate king of the Utkala branch of Somavamsa or Lunar dynasty and was most probably a descendant of Uddyotakesari Mahābhāvagupta, the sovereign of Kosala, Utkala and Trikalinga as is shown afterwards.

The use of title 'Kesari' by Ranakesari in 889 A. D. like Uddyota Kesari is quite significant as it disproves the theory of Mr. B. C. Mazumdar that the title 'Keśari' was invariably borne by the Chola kings of the South and that the Somavamsi kings of Orissa used this by imitating these Southerners (8). On the contrary, it clearly establishes the fact that the title 'Kesari' was used by the Somavamsi kings of Orissa (in 889) when the Chola power of the South was little known and was still in embryo. Nay, there were Ranakesaris in the Sripur line of this dynasty who flourished many centuries before the rise of the Cholas in the South (9). I think the title of 'Kesari' began to be used by the kings of 'Soma' dynasty as a family surname after Uddyotakeśsari the great. Similarly the assumption of the reputed historian late Mr. R. D. Banerjee that

the Kara or Bhauma kings of Orissa had the title 'Kesari' is equally wrong, as all the Bhauma kings invariably used the title 'Kara' with their names. 'Kesari' in the word 'Unmatta Kesari' is not a title or surname but the component part of the compound word used as a name. The real name of the king was Sivakaradeva and 'Unmatta-kesari' alias 'Unmatta Simha' was either a synonym of the king or a glorifying title like Vikramāditya, Silāditya, etc. (11)

Therefore the title 'Kesari' had nothing to do with the Chola rulers of the far South, nor did the Bhauma kings of Orissa ever used it. Of all the royal families of India, in the post-Harshavardhan period the Somavamsi kings of Orissa alone used this awe-inspiring and glorifying title 'Kesari' (meaning lion) perhaps from the time of Uddyotakesari, the great conqeror and the greatest ruler of this family. This title became so very popular in Orissa, that people began to call them Kesari kings instead of 'Somavamsi' or 'Somakuli' or simply Soma kings in later periods. Many traditions still current in Orissa since those days of yore glorify the golden deeds of these Kesari kings; and the old Oriya and Sanskrit literature of Orissa abounds in descriptions of these kings. (12)

The Orissan king who sent as a present the autograph manuscript of the Gandavyūha, the last section of the Budhāvataṃsa to the Emperor of China was regarded to be a king of the Bhauma dynasty by the famous scholar Professor Sylvan Levi. But if we take the year 811 of the Govindapur inscription as Vikram Samvat or (811-57=) 754 A. D., it can doubtlessly be proved that the Orissan king rendered from Chinese to English as ' One who does what is pure, the Lion' and ruling in 794 A. D. belonged to the Somavamsa or Lunar dynasty of Orissa, having the title 'Kesari' or Lion. He might be one 'Subhakara Kesari' ruling after Ranakesari referred to above. Even if we take the year to be in Saka Era or 889 A. D., it is only possible for a Somavamsi king to rule in 794 A. D., as it has been proved before by calculation that the group of kings from Janamejaya to Uddyotakesari most probably preceded Ranakesari.

For the reasons stated above this dated inscription of Govindapur may be deemed as the sheet-anchor for fixing the chronology of the Somavamsi kings of Kosala and Utkala which has not yet been definitely settled and has been the subject of much controversy for nearly half a century. The chronology given below is hoped to be accepted by learned scholars.

CHRONOLOGY OF SOMAVAMSI KINGS

Somavamsi Kings of Sripur

(1) Udayana—The first-known king of this family flourished in circa 450 A. D.

(2) Indrabala—Son of Udayana. He was a contemporary and vassal of the Saravapur king Mahāsudevarāja, whose charter was issued from Sripur circa 480-500. (A)

(3) Nannadeva or Nanneswar—circa 500 A. D.

(4) Mahāsiva Tibara Deva—He has been proved to be a contemporary of Madhava Varman, a powerful king of the Vishnukuṇḍi family of Vengi, by Mahāmahopādhyāya V. V. Mirashi, M. A. He flourished in circa 520-540 A. D. (B).

(5) Chandragupta circa 540-580 A. D.

(6) Harshagupta.

(7) Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna—circa 580-600 A. D.

Somavamsi Kings of Kosala and Utkala

(1) Mahābhāvagupta Janamejaya—He was 'Kosalendra' and 'Trikalingādhipati' and conquered Oḍra. He was the first powerful king of this line to be overlord of Trikalinga after the Eastern Ganga king Indra-Varman who was also a Trikalingādhipati (c). He was either the son or great-grandson of Mahābhāvagupta Bālārjuna of the Sripur line. He flourished in circa 640-675 A. D.

(2) Yayāti I Mahāsivagupta—Son of Janamejaya circa 675-705 A. D.

(3) Bhimaratha Mahābhāvagupta—Son of Yayāti circa 705-720 A. D.

(4) Dharmaratha Mahāsivagupta—Son of Bhimaratha circa 730 A. D.

(5) Naghusa Mahābhāvagupta—Adopted son of Dharmaratha circa 740 A. D.

(6) Abhimanyu I—Joint ruler of Utkala and Kosala (D) circa 750 A. D.

(7) Yayāti II alias Chandihara Mahāsivagupta---He conquered Gauda, Rāḍha, Vanga, Lāta, Mālava, Gujjara, Drāviḍa, and Kānchi and became supreme overlord of Kalinga, Kangoda, Kosala, Utkala, and Trikalingādhipati (E). It was only possible for such a mighty ruler and conqueror to establish the power of the Utkalas in the Southern Bengal on a strong foundation which was eradicated by Devapāla, the famous Pāla king of Bengal in the beginning of the 9th century. He flourished in crica 770 A. D.

(8) Uddyotakesari Mahābhāvagupta---Son of Yayāti II. He was a great conqueror and ruler like his father circa 770-790 A.D.

Kosala Branch after Uddyotakesari

(1) Uddyotakesari.

(2) Abhimauyu II--He was made the ruler of Kosala by Uddyotakesari, circa 800 A. D.

उद्योतकेशरी राजदेव प्रसादीकृत कोशलराज्याभिषिक्त श्रीअभिमन्यु देवस्यातीते राज्ये ।" (f)

(3) Kumar Someswar Deva---circa 820 A. D.

N, B.—The history of this family after Someswara Deva has not yet been discovered till we come to the time of Indraratha.

(4) Indraratha—King of Yayātinagar circa 1000-1020 A. D.

He was defeated by Bhoja (G). the famous Paramāra king of ārā which is mentioned in the Sanskrit Sloka given below and ; completely defeated and killed by the general of Rajendra Chola I er which Chola rule was established in Sonepur area. (H)

"चेदीश्वरेन्द्ररथ (तोग्व) ल भीम मुल्यान्
कर्णाट लाटपति गुर्जरराट् तुरुष्कान् X X X"

CHOLA RULE IN SONEPUR SAMBALPUR TRACT

Establishment of Chola rule in Sonepur-Sambalpur tract has been proved by two C. P. grants discovered in this area. The names of the following Chola kings have been mentioned in them :

(1)

Challamarāja
/
Yasarāja I
/
Someswara I
/
Yasarāja II
/
Someswara II

(2)

Someswaradeva Varman
/
Dhāranadeva Varman
/
Yogeswaradeva Varman
/
Someswaradeva I

Someswara II was vassal of Chandrāditya, Chola king of Bastar, 1060 A. D. (I).

Pandit Binayak Mishra's identification of Someswara II of the (1) inscription with the first king of the inscription is quite (2) tenable. So it can be proved that 5 or 6 kings of Chola lineage ruled over Sambalpur tract after Indraratha to whom at least a rule of a century can be safely assigned (K). It can now be asserted without any fear of contradiction that the rule of the Somavamsi kings disappeared from Sambalpur tract after the death of Indraratha, the last powerful king of this family.

Utkala Branch after Uddyotakesari

(1) Uddyotakeshari—circa 770-790 A. D.

(2) Subhakarakesari—A contemporary of the Emperor of China as mentioned before. He was ruling in circa 794 A. D.

A notable Sanskrit work named Bhaktibhāgavata Mahākāvyam composed in 1512 A. D. by Kavidinḍima Jiva Deva, the preceptor

and court poet of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva, Emperor of Orissa (1498-1540 A. D.) mentions about the Kesarivamsa or Kesari dynasty, Uddyotakesari and one of his descendants Someswara Kesari and the downfall of this family. In view of the great importance of this reference the original slokas are quoted below :—

"भोजेषु तेषु-विनयादिव राजपीठाद्
भ्रष्टेषु केशरीकुलं तदलंचकार ।
तैरर्चिता द्विजवरा गुरव स्तथैव
जाता जगत् प्रथित वत्ससगोत्रिण स्ते ।
उद्योतकेशरी कुलस्य गुरुर्बभूव
तेषु प्रसिद्ध महिमा भवदेव नामा ।
सोमेश्वरो नृपकुलस्य समर्चनीयो
वंशः स तेन कृतिनैव कृतप्रतिष्ठः ।
येनोद्धृते सकल विस्तृत यन्त्रसारे
तन्त्रार्ण्णवे महति मज्जति सर्वलोकः ।
यत् स्थापिता मरकुलै रिह कृत्तिवासः
क्षेत्रं बभूव वत तद् विपुलावकाशं ।
भूपेषु केशरीकुलप्रभवेषु तेषु
विप्रापकारदहनैः प्रलयं गतेषु ।
देव द्विजातिपदपङ्कजचञ्चरीका
भूपा बभूवु रथ केचन गङ्गवंश्याः ।"

The purport of the above quotation is :

The 'Kesari kula' or the kings of the Kesari dynasty ruled Utkala after the fall of the Bhoja kings. In this 'Kesari kula' there were two famous kings named 'Uddyotakesari' and 'Someswara Kesari'. Under Someswara this family rose to prominence. He was a great builder and a profound scholar. He compiled a book named 'Tantrārnava' and beautified the town of Kritivas (Bhubaneswara) by the construction of many temples. The Kesari kings lost all power due to the dissatisfaction of the Brahmins. After them Utkala began to be ruled by the kings of the Ganga dynasty. (D)

(3) Someswara Kesari--He may be identified with Someswara Deva, king of Kosala mentioned before; or another king of the Utkala branch.

(4) Raṇakesari—Mentioned in the Govindapur inscription ruled in 811 Samvat or 889 A. D.

(5) Birabara Kesari—Mentioned in the inscription of Lingaraj temple of Bhubaneswar. (M) He is described to be the contemporary of one Rājaraja and a general Ganapati who may be identified with Rājarāja, the Eastern Ganga king of Kalinga, the father of Chola Ganga Deva and his general Ganapati who is said to have destroyed the troops of the king of Utkala in the Dirghasi stone inscription, (N) dated 1075 A. D. If this identification is accepted he must be ruling in circa 1050 A. D. to 1075 A. D.

(6) Karna Kesari—A contemporary of Rāmapāla, king of Bengal mentioned in 'Rāmapālacharita' circa 1075-1100 A. D.

(7) Suvarna Kesari—He is described as the last Kesari king of Orissa in Mādalāpānji who was defeated by Chodagangadeva

Chodaganga for the first time refers to his invasion of Utkala in his Corni C. P. dated 1113 A. D. In his Sri Kurmam inscription dated 1135 A. D. he refers to his newly made conquests in the three quarters including Utkala. This shows that by 1135 the sovereignty of the Ganga king Chodaganga was firmly established in Utkala and the rule of the Somavamsi or Kesari kings disappeared for ever.

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HISTORY OF THE KALAHANDI STATE BEFORE THE RISE OF THE GANGA POWER

The ancient history of the present State of Kalahandi also known as Karund is shrouded in darkness like that of many Orissan States. At least from the middle of the seventh century B. C. this region formed a part of the Kalinga kingdom which at one time extended from the river Godavari in the south upto the river Hugli in the north and the Amarkantak Mountain in the west and sea in the east. The mighty kingdom of Kalinga maintained its independence intact till it was conquered and annexed to the Maurya Empire by Asoka the great, after the Kalinga war in 261 B. C. Under Kharavela, the Emperor of Kalinga and the greatest conqueror of the age (circa 188 B. C. 175 B.C.). Kalinga again rose into prominence in the political arena of India. The decline and downfall of the Kalinga power began after the death of Kharavela perhaps due to regular onslaughts of the mighty Andhra power that flourished in the valleys of the Godavari and the Krishnā. In the post-Maurya period the region in the basins of the Mahanadi and the Tel began to be called Kosala. It was practically co-extensive with the present States of Kalahandi, Patna, Sonepur, Bamra and the modern districts of Sambalpur and Raipur.

The valley of the Tel which includes the most densely populated and advanced areas of Kalahandi was a seat of ancient civilization as testified by the mention of the Tel (Tela-Vāha) and the people of its valley in the Buddhist Jātaka compiled during the Maurya period. From the account of Hiuen Tsang and other Buddhist records it is found that the Kosala kingdom became a stronghold of Buddhist religion during the rule of the Satavāhan kings and Nagarjuna, a great Buddhist philosopher and founder of the Mahāyāna Sect of Buddhism, lived in a monastery in Kosala country for a long time. Relics are still found in different parts of Kalahandi

which clearly indicate that Buddhism had a strong and deep-rooted influence over this tract in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

GUPTA PERIOD

The kingdom of Kosala (including Kalahandi) came under the suzerainty of the Guptas when Mahendra, the king of Kosala, was defeated by Samudragupta,the builder of the vast and glorious Gupta Empire, by 340 A. D. and remained so throughout the Gupta period upto the end of the 5th century.

SOMAVAMSĪ KINGS

Kalahandi along with the adjoining Patna-Sambalpur tract came under the domination of the Somavamsi kings (traditionally called the Keśari kings of Orissa) from the middle of the 6th century A. D. when this royal family rose to great power and prominence in the political field of India. This family had its first capital at Sripur on the Mahanadi in the Raipur district which was changed to Sonepur and Yayatinagar in a later period. A copper-plate charter of Mahāsiva Gupta Bālārjuna, a Somavamsī king of Sripur recently discovered and deciphered by Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sharma mentions two villages named Khadirapadrak and Baidyapadrak donated to a Siva temple, which have been satisfactorily identified with the villages of Khairapadar and Bejipadar in the Kalahandi State. This clearly proves that Kalahandi State or at least the plain portion of it was under the sway of the Somavamsi kings in the time of Mahāsiva-Gupta Bālārjuna. Some of the viṣayas mentioned in the epigraphic records of this family have been proved to have formed parts of this State during their rule over this tract. They are Lupattara Visaya, Telatata Visaya, Devibhoga Visaya. The Deobhog area (Devibhoga Visaya) though it is included in the Raipur District at present, formeda part of Kalahandi State in the past centuries till the 18th century.

Janamejaya the first great and powerful king of this dynasty who is described as the overlord of Kosala, Udra and Trikalinga in

the copper plate charters issued by him and his successors was ruling over the Sambalpur tract, Kalahandi and Jeypore area and the coastal districts of Orissa.

The successors of Janamejaya, e. g.. Yayâti I, Bhimaratha, Dharmaratha, Abhimanyu, Yayāti II (Chandihara) and Uddyotakeśari were all very powerful monarchs and retained their suzerainty intact over a major portion of Natural Orissa including Kalahandi. Nothing definite is known about this family after Uddyota Kesari. So the history of Kalahandi again lapses to oblivion till the invasion of this area by Rajendra Chola I of the Chola lineage in the first quarter of the 11th Century.

MONUMENTS OF THE SOMAVAMSI KINGS

The old and interesting monuments scattered in ruins at Rājapadar (also called Belkhandi) on the south bank of the Tel owed their existence to the patronage of these Somavamsi kings of Kosala. Mr. J. D. Beglar who visited this place in 1874-75 and 1875-76 has adduced convincing proofs regarding the resemblance of the ruined monuments of this place with those found at Rajim, Sripur, Seotinārāyan, Kharod in the Central Provinces, which places abound in monumonts built by the Somavamsi kings. He describes the ruined monuments as follows :

"In front of the temple appears to have been an enclosed courtyard so that the whole in plan formed, so far as can now be judged, the nearest approach to the temple of Ramachandra in Sirpur (Shavaripur) on the Mahānadi with this only exception that whereas the Sirpur temple is small and possessed of only a sanctum and its attached antarāla this was a complete temple of a large size." (1)

He further writes in the same chapter :

"I cannot speak too highly of the quality of the sculpture; although excuted in an extremely soft yellowish sandstone, and consequently greatly worn and injured by time and

weather, still from what little remains, there is no doubt that they were executed in the best style of Hindu art with a breadth of conception and a depth of execution which we vainly look for in the productions of later ages. They approach most meerly in execution and design the superb sculptures at Rajam, at Savaripur (Sirpur) at Seorinarayan and especially at Kharod, in the Central Provinces.' (2)

According to Mr. Beglar, the period when these monuments (now in ruins) were built may range from the 6th century A. D. at the earliest and 8th century of the Christian era at the latest.

"To return, however, to the ruins at Rajapodar the sculpture noticed proves, as does the cold design and execution, that the temple which it adorned must date to a period certainly anterior to the 8th century of our era. So strongly am I impressed with the excellence of sculpture, that I do not think it at all an exaggeration of age to ascribe it to the sixth century of our era. "(3)

At another place Mr. Beglar has remarked that the sculptures of this place were contemporaneous with those of Khiching in the Mayurbhanja State. "A good many of the sculptures remind me of the sculptures at Khiching, and I should not at all think it improbable that they were executed about the same time." (4)

The period from the beginning of the sixth century A. D. marks the time when Mahāsiva Tibara Deva, the Somavamsī king of Sripur, rose to power and prominence and styled himself as 'Kosalādhipati' or "the supreme lord of the Kosala country". Mahāmahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi, M. A. has conclusively proved in a learned article published in Epigraphica Indica that Mahāsiva Tibara Deba was a contemporary of Mahāraja Madhava Varman of the Vishnukundi family of Vengi who ruled from about 530 to 550 A. D. From the inscription of Tibara Deva it is found that he was the ruler of the entire Kosala country which also included our Kalahandi State. It has been stated before that Kalahandi was under the domination of Mahāsiva-Gupta Bālārjuna, grandson of Tibar Deva who donated two villages of this state to a Siva temple. So it can be

ascertained without any fear of contradiction that the glorious monuments of Rājapadar (Belkhandi) were the works of the Somavaṃsī kings who had their capital at Sripur on the Mahānadī and were ruling during the period covering the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era. The resemblance of the sculpture and architecture of these monuments with those of the temples of Sripur built by Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna and his forefathers strongly corroborates this theory.

Excavation work at Rājapadar (Belkhandi) recently undertaken has brought to light the plinth and lower part of another famous temple dedicated to the Goddess Chandi, wherein were placed the beautiful images of "Sapta Matṛka," the celebrated seven 'Mother Goddesses', which are also found installed in the Daśāśwamedha ghāt of Jajpur on the river Vaitarani and in a temple on the Markandeswar tank of Puri. Mr. Beglar does not make any mention of this temple and the images of the Matṛs as it was then perhaps a heap of ruins and appeared like mere shapeless mounds hidden under vegetation. The discovery of the images of seven goddesses at this place clearly indicates that it was a great centre of Tantric worship in the Kosala country like Jajpur and Puri. The statues of this place closely resemble those at Jajpur and Puri in many respects, which only proves that they all were the works of the same ruling family and also belonged to the same age. It has been proved convincingly that the Daśāśwamedha-ghāt was a monumental work of Yayāti (Keshari) of the lunar dynasty. The Markandeswar Tank with the temples near it were most probably the works of the Somavaṃsi or Kesari kings It will not be wrong if the images of the seven mothers unearthed at Belkhandi are assigned to the rule of the latter Somavaṃsī kings, Yayāti I to Uddyota Kesari, who, it has been proved before, to have domination over Kalahandi tract.

The broken Siva temple at Mohangiri in the extreme north-east corner of this State bordering the Ganjam District and standing not very far from the famous Kalingaghat is a noteworthy monument

of this area. It belongs to the Parasurameswar type of temples at Bhubaneswar and is similar to the twin temples at village Gandharadi of Boudh State on the bank of the Mahānadi. The place Mohanagiri seems to have strategic importance in those days of yore, as it was situated on the highway passing from Kalinga (Ganjam side) to Kosala (Kalahāndi-Patna side) and this temple was erected to serve the purpose of a guide as well as place of worship to the passing travellers on this way. Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, followed this route while making his journey from Kalinga to Kosala (Patna-Sambalpur tract) in the middle of the 7th century. This temple may safely be regarded as a work of the Somavamsī kings ruling over this area as this can be assigned to the eighth or ninth century of the Christian Era.

The broken Siva Temple at Deypur in the Thuamul Rampur Sub-Division of this State with a very old inscription written in post-Gupta characters also belongs to a period when the power and influence of the Somavamsī kings was beginning to spread in this area. The ruins of temples at Topigaon (Biswanathpur) in the Lanjigarh Zamindary and at Sankosh and Rampur in the Madanpur Rampur Zamindary of the State most probably belong to the period of rule of these kings.

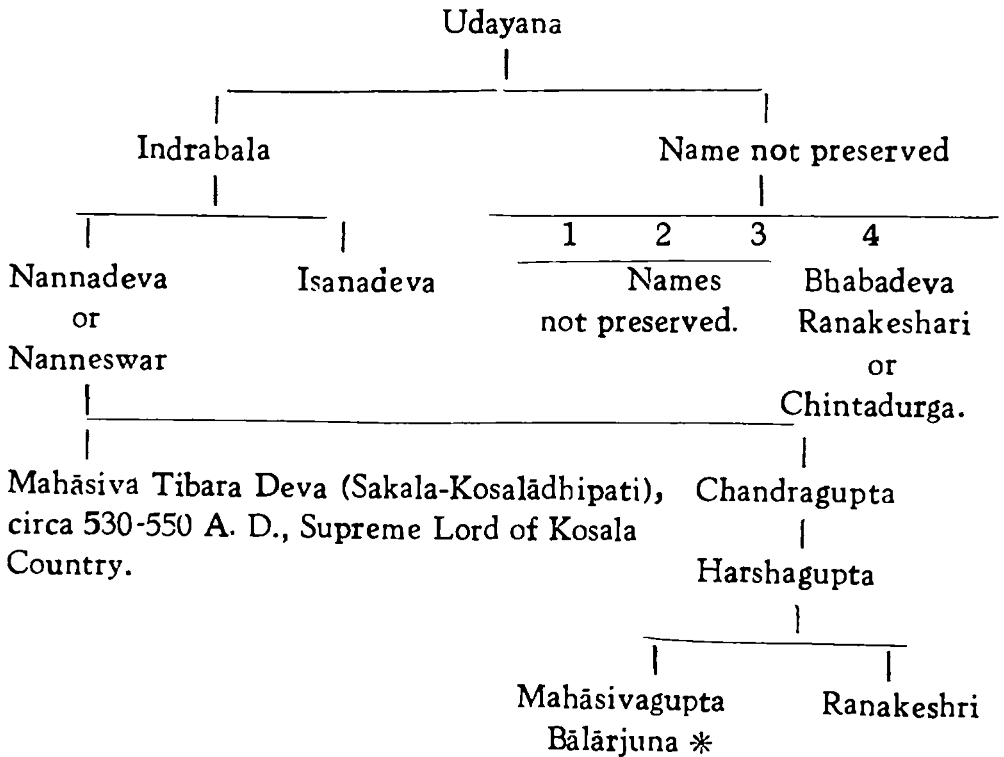
The valley of the Tel when properly surveyed is sure to disclose some other valuable remains of this age. The existence of the above worthy monuments bears ample testimony to the excellence of the culture and civilization of this tract in those days.

The genealogy of the Somavaṃsi kings (Keshari kings of longstanding tradition) who were ruling the tract now known as Kalahandi has been shown below as elicited by the study of the copperplate grants and stone inscriptions of this family.

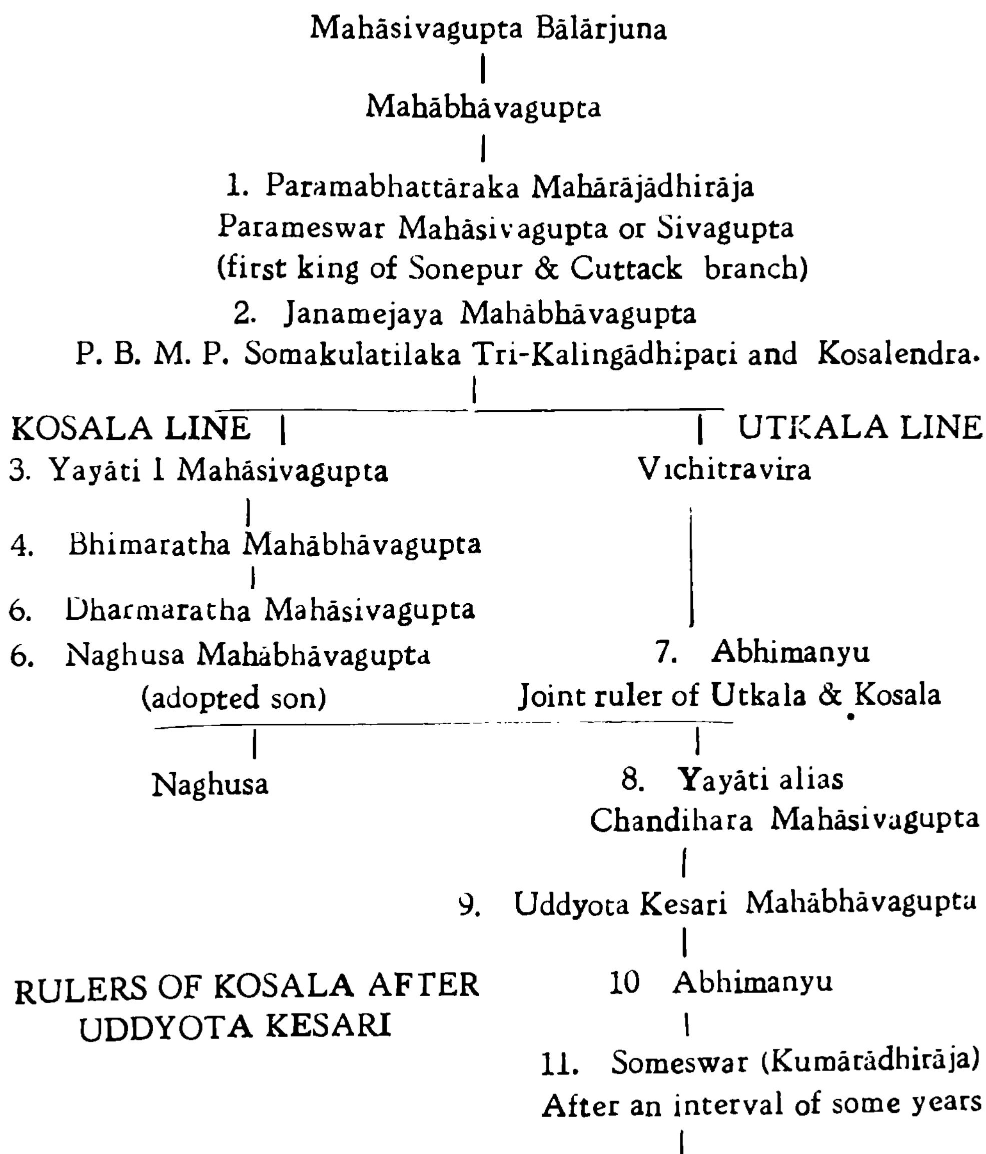
These four kings of Sripur branch, e. g., (I) Mahāsiva Tibara Deva,(2) Chandragupta, (3) Harshagupta, (4) Mahāsivagupta Bālār-

juna ruled for nearly a century over this area from the middle of the 6th century A. D. After Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna, the power of this dynasty declined for the time being, say for nearly 50 years, till the Sonepur and Cuttack branch of this family rose again to power and prominence under Janamejaya the great.

SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF SRIPUR



THE GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE FAMILY OF JANAMEJAYA A DESCENDANT OF BĀLĀRJUNA



12. Indraratha fought with Bhoja, king of Dhārā and was defeated and killed by the general of Rajendra-Chola in about 1020 A. D. and Chola rule was established in Sonepur area.

All the rulers beginning from Janamejaya to Uddyota Keśhari were very powerful monarchs as is proved by the assumption of imperial titles of Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja, Parameswar, Somakulatilaka, Tri-Kalingādhipati, Kosalendra, etc. by them. From inscriptions it is known that Yayati I defeated the Gangas of Kalinga and Chedis of Mahākosala and Yayati II alias Chandihara was a great conqueror of his age and over ran Gouda (Central Bengal), Rādha (West Bengal) and Vanga (East Bengal), Lāta, Mālava and Gurjara (Gujrat and eastern part of Rajaputanā), Kānchi, Drāvida (Tāmil country). (6) Uddyota Keśari is said in his Brahmeswar inscription to have defeated the armies of Siṃhala, Chola and Gouda. (7) He was perhaps ruling in the middle of the 8th century. Towatds the end of his life he permanently stayed in Utkala with his capital at Bhubaneswar and made one Abhimanyu, perhaps of royal birth, the ruler of Kosala. After him Kumāra Someswar Deva ruled the Kosala country in the first quarter of the 9th century. (8)

The history of this family after Someswar Deva has not yet been discovered from any source either epigraphic, literary or numismatic. But it is sure that this tract was under the domination of the Somavaṃsi kings till the time of King Indraratha, whose capital was at Yayātinagar on the river Mahānadi. He was a powerful king no doubt, but the porwer of this family declined during his regin as he was at first severely defeated by Bhoja, the Paramāra King of Dhārā, and subsequently by the general of Rajendra Chola by 1020 A. D. Whose army marched through Jeypore, Kalāhandi and Pātna regions for the conquest of Yayātinagar, the capital of Indraratha.

From two inscriptions found in the Sonepur State it is known that a line of Chola kings began to rule over this region with their capital at Sonepur. (9) They were (1) Challamrāja(a, (2) Yasarāja I, (3) Someswar I, (4) Yasarāja II, (5) Someswar II, (6) Dharanadeva Varman, (7) Yogeswar Deva Varman, (8) Someswar III. (10) A period of nearly one century may safely be assigned to these rulers, the last of whom was ousted by the Bhanja Kings from Sonepur-

Bouda area. But it is not definitely known whether the Kalāhāndi region was ruled by these kings as they were local rulers of a small kingdom.

The Chola invasion and the establishment of a line of Chola kings in Sonepur tract marks the close of a glorious epoch in the history of Kalāhāndi as well as that of South Kosala, after which darkness descends on this region till the rise of the Ganga power under Cholaganga Deva, the great Orissan conqueror, and empire builder in the beginning of the 12th century.

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GAJAPATI RAMACHANDRA DEVA-I.

The so-called anarchy in Orissa :—

The History of Orissa written by late R. D. Banerjee, a great historian is regarded as an authority by scholars, in which the following account is given about Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva I, the founder of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurdā, "In the north the chiefs of Khurdā were given the rank of Rājā of Orissa by the Mughal Emperor Akbar at the intercession of Mānasiṃha, whom Rāmachandra-I of Khurda had succeeded in bribing more heavily than Rāmachandra, the son of Mukunda Harichandana". (1) × × ×

"In northern Orissa the title of Gajapati remained in abeyance till 1592 or 24 years, when by a clever manipulation of religious opinion, Mānasiṃha managed to gain over the priests of Jagannāth in favour of Rāmachandra I of Khurda against Telingā Rāmachandra. For 24 years, from 1568 till 1592 there was anarchy in Orissa." (2)

But great injustice has been done to Rāmachandra Deva I of Khurda, by the remarks which are quoted above, who as will be shown below, was really a national hero of Orissa as he was able to carve out the small but powerful Khurda kingdom after the death of Gajapati Mukunda Deva in 1568, which could stem the tide of Mughal aggression from the north and the Golkunda expansion from the south and also revived the worship of Jagannātha at Puri after the historic sacrilege of Kalāpāhār.

The question of anarchy in Orissa was first discussed by Rama prasad Chanda who after examining all source materials then available rightly remarked "Kalāpāhār's expedition to the Puri district of Orissa was a mere raid. Soon after he turned his back, Rāmacchandra Deva carved out a kingdom in southern Orissa with

Khurda as its capital' (3). Sri Paramānanda Acharya in his learned paper on Rājā Mana Singh, based on all Mughal accounts and three Oriya inscriptions of the reign of Rāmachandra Deva I, came to the following conclusion. "This 'Rāmchānd' is no other person than Rāmachandra Deva ot the Srijanga and Kasiari inscriptions whose Aṅka years go to prove that he established supremacy in Orissa in 1568 A. D., when the Afghans of Bengal were in occupation of Orissa." (4)

The conclusion made by late Mr. Chanda and Sri P. Acharya is further corroborated by evidence furnished by the bi-lingual stone inscription of the Baripada Museum which has recently been edited and published by my colleague Sri S. C. De. (5) This inscription was writen in Saka year 1509, Vikram Samvat 1645, Sal 994 during the Samasta 24 Aṅka of a king whose name is not given. But he was undoubtedly Rāmachandra Deva I whose 24th Aṅka or 20th regnal year fell in 1509 Saka year, 1645 V. S. and 994 Sal which is equivalent to 1587-88 A. D. So the accession of Rāmachandra I on the throne, from which his Aṅka years began to be counted, took place 20 years before 1587-88 A. D. or in 1567-98 A. D. All the four inscriptions of the reign of Rāmachandra Deva I found in remote regions of Orissa like Balasore, Midnapur and Mayurbhanja, which were beyond the pale of his political jurisdiction are unanimous, in calculating the date of his accession from 1567-68 A.D., as will be shown in the chart given below :—

Name of the inscription.	Indian years used.	Corresponding Christian year.	Aṅka	Regnal year.	Actual Date of accession.
Baripada Museum stone inscription.	1509 Saka 1645 V. S. 994 Sal	1587-88 A.D.	24th	20th	1587-20 1567-68 A.D.
Srijanga Stone inscription No. I	Yuga year 4696 Saka 1517	1595 A.D.	34th	28th	1595-28 1567-68 A. D.
„ No. 2	Yuga year 4699, Saka year 1520	1598 A. D.	38th	31st	1598-31 1567-68 A. D.(6)
Kesiari inscription	Saka 1526	1604 A. D.	47th	37th	1604-37 1567-68 A. D.

The conclusion regarding anarchy for 24 years (1568-1592) arrived at by R. D. Banerjee is quite untenable in view of the information elicited from the above 4 contemporary stone inscriptions, which are unanimous in calculating the reign of Rāmachandra from 1567-68 A. D. just after the death of Mukunda Deva. His conlusion is based on the assumption that Rāmachandra was made king by the Mughal General Mānsingh after his conquest of Orissa in 1592 A. D., when the period of anarchy came to an end. But this assumption is wrong because by the year 1587-88 A. D. (in which the Baripada Museum inscription was written) that is four years before the conquest of Orissa by Mānsingh, Rāmachandra I had firmly established his supremacy in the Khurda kingdom, for about 20 years.

This fact is further corroborated by the account of Rāmachandra Deva I given by Ferishta, from which it is known that Mukoond Rāj, king of Cossimcota being assailed by the Golconda army in 1519 A. D. took shelter with Rāmachandra Deva I, who was very powerful at that time. The account of Ferishta runs as follows—" The Mahommedans gave him no rest, and compelled him to seek an asylum with Rāmchundar Rāj, a prince of great fame and power in those parts. Rāmchundar, in order to repel the invaders, wrote letters to Madhoo Sing, a rājā whose country bordered on Bengal, and who with a large army of Rajpoots, was in the service of Akbar Badshah of Dehly. Madhoo Sing, at the request of Ram chandur, marched into his assistance, while Ameen-ol-Moolk pursued the fugitive into that rājā's dominions, levying contribution on towns, devastating the villages, and pillaging the open country. Madhoo Sing, finding that no advantage was to be gained in the war, withdrew to Bengal, leaving Rāmachundur to the alternative of becoming a tributary to the king of Golconda" (7)

The above account clearly proves that Rāmachandra Deva I was a prince of great fame and power in 1589 A. D. that is three years before the conquest of Orissa by Mānsingh. He must have taken some years to gain such power and fame before this Golconda invasion, which disproves the theory of anarchy for 24 years, adopted by

R. D. Banerjee. The remark of Ferishta that Rāmachandra became a tributary of the king of Golconda seems eulogistic as it is not supported by any other evidence. On the contrary, Mukunda Rāja, the protege of Rāmachandra again occupied the throne of Cossimcota with the latter's help and issued a copper plate grant in Saka year 1517 the exact date of which is 19th January, 1596 A. D. (8)

Rāmachandra Deva and Rājā Mansingh :—

According to late R. D. Banerjee, Rāmachandra could get the throne of Khurda by profusely bribing Mānsingh, who by a clever manipulation gained over the priests of Jagannātha in favour of the latter. This above conclusion is also equally baseless as Rāmachandra retained his previously gained supremacy over the Khurda kingdom, by putting up a tough fight against Mānsingh, who was compelled by circumstances to acknowledge it. An account of the bold fight of Rāmachandra with Mānsingh is given by Abul Fazl, relevant portions from which are quoted below. "In the town of Bhadrak, news war received that the sons of Qutlu (and) Khwāja Sulaiman, Dilāwar Khān Malik Sikandar and Purukhotam had collected in the fort of Cuttack with 300 elephants. That fort is at the end of the country and on the sea-shore. It belonged to Rājāh Rāmchand who was great land-holder in that country. It was called Sārangarh Rājāh Mānsingh left Sujan Singh and some others in the city and went off to attack the fort and the Afghans took refuge in the forest near the sea. The fort was taken without a contest."(9)

From the text quoted above it is quite clear that (a) Rāmachandra Deva was very powerful and gave shelter to the Afghan Sirdars pursued by Mānsingh from the north in 1590 (b) Purukhotam who had joined the rebel Afghan generals was no other than Purushottam Deva, son of Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva. (c) The territory of Rāmachandra extended upto river Kathajori and included the fort of Sārangarh. (d) Mānsingh could occupy the fort without any contest, but this could not curb the power of Rāmachandra.

Having failed in this attempt, Mānsingh attacked the kingdom of Rāmachandra from the side of Pipili which is narrated as follows :

"Rājāh Rāmcand admitted those who had taken protection to Sārangarh. When Rājāh Mānsingh came to Cuttack he left Yusuf Khan and others to guard it and went off to pay his devotions at Jagannātha,. His idea was that he would be nearer to Rājāh Ramcand, and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him. When his thought has been realised he returned and took up his quarters near Sali (?). Everyday active men went forth and inflicted chatisement. In consequence of counsels he (Rājāh Rāmcand) became obedient and sent his son Birbal with presents. The Rājāh returned to Cuttack and established the foot of conquest near the fort of Sārangarh". (10)

From the passage quoted above it is learnt that the worship of Jagannātha at Puri had been restored by Rāmachandra long before the expedition of Mānsingh, who could not gain any decisive victory by invading the Khurda territoty from 'Sali', which is identified with modern Pipili on the Jagannātha road, except the occupation of the fort of Sārangarh.

Mānsingh's next invasion of Khurda in January 1593 is described as follows "At this time the home of Rāmcand was plundered. He is one of the famous Zamindārs of Orissa, and by the glory of his Majesty's star he became obedient, and sent his son to do service. Rājāh Mānsingh summoned him and he objected. The Rājāh from inappreciativeness consigned his goodness to oblivion and sent Jagat Singh, Mir Sharif Sarmandī. Mir Qāsim Badakhashi, Barkhurdār, Abūlbaqā, Muhamūd Beg Shāmlū, Shihābu-d-dīn Diwān and others to wage war on him. A commodation arose. Rāmcand entered the fort of Khurda which was the strongest of his fortresses. The imperialists took up their quarters close by, and procceded to attack the country. The forts of Sahajpāl, Khārgarh, Kālupāra Kabnān, Longarh, Bhūnmal (11) and many populated places fell into possession. On hearing of this, H. M. who appreciates dignities, became angry and issued censures. The Rājāh recalled his troops, and apologised, Rāmcand, on seeing the graciousness of H. M. took the thought of

paying his respects. On 21 Bahman he visited the Rājah (Mānsingh) and was treated with much respect." (12)

From the above account it is quite clear that Rāmachandra Deva boldly resisted the Mughal invasion of his State but had to yield in the long run, as it could not be possible for a chief like him to defeat the vast and well-organised Mughal army led by Mānsingh the ablest general of the age. But the tough fight given by him drew the attention of Akbar, who censured Mānsingh, who recalled his troops and apologised. In view of the facts stated above, the view of R. D. Banerjee that Rāmachandra became the king of Khurda by profusely bribing Mānsing is entirely unacceptable

Rāmachandra Deva, the founder of the Khurda fort :—

So far the contemporary epigraphic records and the accounts-given by the famous Muslim historians of his age like Abu-l-Fazl and Feristha have been critically examined to trace the history of the reign of Rāmachandra Deva I before the advent of Mānsingh in 1590-1592 A. D. Let us now see what the native chronicles of Orissa say about this national hero. In this connection the chronicle called 'Chakaḍā' found in the village Kuradhamal near Khurda is quoted below,

"ए समयरे राजामहीन्द्र गडरे ओडिशापात्र दनेई विद्याधरङ्क पुअ रामचन्द्रराउतरा महापात्रङ्कु धराइथिले। मुकुन्द देव ओ ताङ्क पुतुरा राघिभञ्ज एकादिनके युद्ध करि मले। ओडिशा अराज्य होइगला। ओ देवता ब्राह्मणङ्क नाँ बुड़िला। तहि उत्तारु दक्षिण दिग खण्डाइते रामचन्द्र राउतरा महापात्रङ्कु राजाकले। से तिनिवर्ष पर्यन्त गोटमा गड़रे रहिले। सेठारे ताङ्कु जणे खण्डाइत मल्लकाफरकु धराइ देवार शुणि से खण्डाइतकु मारि ओड़िशाराज्यकु पलाइ गले। सेठारे तिनिलोक सेवा करिथिले। कोकोल वाघपात्र। ए दानपात्रर भाइ अटे। घोड़ाडिआँ भाडु परिड़ा ओ मल्लीपड़ा शरणीपात्र। ए उत्तारु राजाङ्क गहणरे तेरजण सवार थिले। कटक पुरुषोत्तम मध्यस्थ खोलापला शुद्धसौरि वल विकम सिंहर खोरधा वोलि पल्ली गोटिए थिला। राजा विक्रमसिंहकु मागि ताहा नाम जगन्नाथपुर कटक वोलि शुभ देले। से वलविक्रम सिंहर मुण्डकाटि वड़अवकाश भद्रतले पोतिले।" (13)

At this time Rāmachandra Rāutrāya Mahāpātra son of Danai Bidyādhara, the minister of Orissa was interned in the fort of Rājamahendra (Rājamundry on the Godāvari). On the same day died Mukunda Deva and his nephew Raghi Bhañja, in the battle field and consequently there was anarchy in Orissa. The Chieftains of the south selected Rāmachandia Routrāya Mahāpātra as ruler of Orissa. He stayed in the fort of Gotam for three years, but when one of the chieftains tried to get him caught by Mallkafar ?, he killed that chieftain and fled to Orissa. During this period he was being assisted by three persons namely Bāgha Pātra of Kokkala brother of Dāna Pātra, Jhāḍu Paridā of Ghoradia and Saraṇi Pātra of Mallipadā. He had 13 horse soldiers. There was a village named Khurda mid-way between Cuttack and Purushottam (Puri), which belonged to Vala Vikrama Singh of Kholāpalā, a Khandait of Shouri or Shavara origin. Rāmachandra took this place (Khurda) as a gift from Valavikram Singh and established a fort there which was called Jagannāthapura Cuttack. (14)

From the above account it is known that Rāmachandra Deva I was the son of Janārdana Vidyādhara who was the prime minister and general of Govinda Vidyādhara(153?-1541)and his successors upto 1559 A. D., when he was imprisoned by Mukunda Harichandana in the fort of Bāravāṭi. At the time of death of Mukunda Deva in 1568 A. D. Rāmachandra was interned in the fort of Rājamahendra, but after his death, he was chosen the king of Orissa by the Chieftains of the south, with whose help he ruled at the fort of Kotam for three years. There after he came to Orissa proper and established a fort in the village of Khurda at the foot of Barunāi hills standing mid-day between Cuttack and Puri.The name of this new capital was called 'Jagannāthapur Katak' after the name of Lord Jagannātha whose deity was first reinstalled here after the famous sacrilege of Kalapahar.

In the 'Mādalāpāñji' we find the following brief account about the accession of Rāmachandra Deva e. g.

"यदुवंश राजाए एणे उदित होइले । दनेइविद्याधरङ्क पुअ तोटमी गडरे थिले। रामचन्द्र राजा होइले। खुरधा ना आद्रे जगन्नाथपुर कटक करि रहिलेबरुणाइ पर्वत तले। 15

After the death of Mukunda Deva, the king of Yaduvaṃśa began to rule. The son of Danai Vidyādhara was living in the fort Totama. He became king as Rāmachandra Deva and built a fort in Khurda at the foot of Baruṇāi hill, which was also called Jagannāthapur Katak.

The account given in the first chronicle is elaborate, whereas that recorded in the Mādalā Pāñji is brief. But the fact elicited from both of them is practically the same e. g. Rāmachandra Deva, son of Danai (Janārdana) Vidyādhara who was first of all ruling at Kotam in the south established the fort of Khurda as his capital which was called Jagannāthapur Cuttack. The establishment of the fort of Khurda by Rāmachandra Deva, also finds mention in the two stone inscriptions at Shrījanga, relevant portions from which are quoted below :

(क) चालुक्री मुकुन्ददेव अन्ते जवनभोग वरस २० एकवर-पातीसा हे रजपुत मानसीधं राजा कटक पच्छमेपरङ्ग खुरुदा थीत कटेक सूद्र गजपति राजा रामचन्द्र देव ३४ अङ्क श्राहो।

(ख) चालुकि मुकुन्द देव अन्ते जवनभोग वरस ३७ डिलिश्वर एकवर पातिसा होइ रजपुतमानसिघं राजा आमल ओडिशा राज करीत कटेक पछिमे परङ्ग खुरुदाथीत कटेक सूद्रराजा गजपति रामचन्द्र देव ३७ अङ्क ॥ (16)

If the above two inscriptions Khurda Kataka of Paraṅga is described as standing to the west of Kataka (modern Cuttack) where Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva was rulling. Paraṅga was the name of a 'Dandapāta' or division during the rule of the Gaṅga and Sūrya Vaṃsī kings of Orissa which comprised the eastern part of the present Khurda subdivision. The fort of Khurdā is also mentioned as the strongest of fortresses of Rāmachandra Deva in the Akbaranāmā (17) With the Khurda fort as capital Rāmachandra gradually extended

his power to the north and south and carved out a kingdom which extended from Sārangarh in the north to Bāṇapur in the south and the present Jagannātha Road to the east.

Rāmachandra and the Rājaguru family—

The family of Kaviḍiṇḍima Jīvadeva Āchārya, a court poet of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva (1497-1533 A. D.) was the hereditary Rājaguru family (Royal preceptor) of the Gaṅga and Sūryavaṃsa dynasties. As soon as Rāmachrndara I came to power Shrī Vardhana Mahāpātra, son of Kaviḍiṇḍima Jīvadeva acknowledged his supremacy and became his Rājaguru. This is known from the last verse of a palm-leaf manuscript of 'Durgotsava Chandrikā' by Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva, the real author of which was Shrī Vardhana Mahāpātra e. g.

श्रीजीवकविडिण्डिमो नृपगुरुः षडदर्शनी देशिक-
स्तस्यायं तनयो नयोत्तमधनः श्रीवर्द्धनस्तादृशः।
सोऽय भूपुरुहूत रामनृपते रादेशतः शैलजा-
पूजाकर्मकृते सतामभिमतां काञ्चिन् कृतिं निर्ममे ॥

This co-operation received from the influential Rājaguru family, must have enhanced the prestige of Rāmchandra in the society.

Rāmachandra and the Rājā of Sambalpur—

It is known from the Historical work named 'Kośalānanda Mahākāvya' by Gaṅgādhara Mishra (19) that Ealarāma Deva the founder of the Sambalpur territory helped Rāmachandra Deva of Orisaa, when the country of Utkala was going to be submerged in the sea of the Yavanas or Musilms.

निमग्नमावीक्ष्य स यावनाम्बुधौ
तमुत्कलं देशमशेषभावनम्।
चमूसमाना मनयद् यमक्षय
मुदासमारुह्य महारयं हयम् ॥६

त्रिद्यायमैत्री मधिगत्य सादरं
सुगवं मुर्वीतल सर्वं सोदरः
तृणायमेनेऽन्य महोश संहृतिं
क्षमाभुजा येन स रामभूपतिः ॥ ७

The author of this work was a younger contemporary of Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva as it was finished in Kaliyuga year 4716 or 1516 A. D. that is 8 years after death of Rāma. So this account is reliable and acceptable. Thus it is clear from the above two verses that Rāmachandra was able to save a portion of coastal Orissa from the clutches of the Muslims by receiving the voluntary help of Valarāma Deva, Rāja of Sambalpur. The fight of Rāmachandra with the Muslims is also referred to in one introductory verse of Svarapaddhati, a work on astrology which was written by Mukunda Deva I, (1659-1689) a descendant of the former :—

यो रामचन्द्र इव भाति पुरा मुरारे-
रात्मार्पितैक विभवोऽद्भुतकीर्त्तिराशिः ।
भूमिसुरानसुर कल्प तुरस्कसंघा-
दुर्द्वृत्तं मैहृत वमूव स रामचन्द्रः । (20)

'Turaska Saṃgha' used in the above verses perhaps refers to Turko-Afgans who ruled Orissa for a short period (after 1568 A. D.) before the Mughal occupation of this State.

The Sacrilege of Jagannātha at Puri :—

The account of sacrilege of Lord Jagannātha at Puri by the Muslim general Kalaphara in 1568 A. D. after the death of Gajapati Mukunda Deva as given in the temple chronicle 'Mādalā Pāñji' (21) is also supported by the account given by Abul-Fāzal e. g. 'Kalapahar, the general of Sulaymān Karāṇi on his conquest of the country flung the image into fire and burnt it and afterwards cast it into the sea (22). Al Badāioni another historian of the reign of Akbar also states thus :—

"He (Suleimān) had conquered the fort of Kataka-a-Banāras, the mine of heathenism and having made the strong hold of "Jagannātha a home of Islam." (23)

Neamet Ulla in his history of the Afhgans compiled during the reign of Jehāngir between 1609-1611 A. D. writes thus "He (Suleiman Kerrani) concerted a scheme to subdue the fort of Orissa, which they call Juggernauth and its troops : it being the strongest fortress of the infidels into which the Mohammedans had not yet set a foot. The town was surrounded on four sides with temples and a deep water, to cross which, Suleiman mounted the Afgans upon three hundred elephants, and by that means demolished the temples." (24)

Another version of this notable event runs thus "The largest temple of the Hindus is situated in the kingdom of Orissa and is known by the name of Jagannātha. He turned his attention towards its destruction and marched with a corps of troops in that direction. He pulled down the shrine and ordered the images of God Krishna which was decorated in elegant and beautiful ways and whose limbs were made up of red gold and pair of eyes formed of Badakshani ruby, to be borken into fragments and cast into gutter. (25)

The description of demolition of the temple of Jagannātha as recorded in the third and forth passages quoted above is entirely false and as such quite unacceptable, because it is still standing intact in spite of this first and subsequent Muslim invasions But it is a fact that the wooden images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā were desecrated for the first time by the first Muslim conqueror of Orissa and thrown into fire and burnt, which gave a tremendous shock to the entire Hindu society and was deemed as a great victory ot Islam by its followers.

RE-INSTALLATION OF JAGANNĀTHA :

After coming to power, Rāmachandra left no stone unturned and lost no time to re-instal the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra

and Subhadrā in the temple at Puri which were practically desecrated after the sacrilege of Kalapahar. But the exact date of this memorable event is not yet known. It is certain that before the invasion of Khurda by Mansingh in 1592 A. D. Jagannātha had been installed in the Puri temple as he (Mānsingh) went off to pay his devotions at Jagannātha (26). From the bilingual stone inscription (27) of Baripada museum it is learnt that Rājā Vasantaji Māṇikchanda dug a well for supplying water to the pilgrimes to Jagannātha in Saka year 1519 or 1587 A. D. which clearly proves that worship of Jagannātha had been revived before that date. It was learnt from Sri P. Acharya the Ex-Superintendent of Archaeology, Orissa that the findspot of the inscription is village Raikama which stood on the old Mughal road from Rajghat to Puri. Thus it fixes the latest limit for this notable event before 1587.

It is learnt from a local chronicle चकड़ा quoted before that Rāmachandra established the Khurda fort in (1571-72 A. D.) three years after the death of Mukunda in 1568 A. D. Thus this gives the earlier limit for this event. In this connection it may be stated that Rāmachandra assumed the title of 'अभिनव इन्द्रद्युम्न' (discussed below) after this achievement. But we do not find this title or any reference to this event in his work 'दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका' which was compiled during the early part of his reign.

The only mention of this event is made in the 'Mādalāpāñji' or temple chronicle, the statement of which may be accepted till the contrary is proved by more authentic evidence.

अ ९ ङ्क राजा कुजङ्ग गड़रु ब्रह्म अणाइले । खुरुधा कटके वनयाग करि सुमुरुति कराइले । अ ११ ङ्क कक्रड़ा १८ दिन श्रावण शुक्ल नवमीदिन श्री पुरुषोत्तम वड़देउले रत्नसिंघासने विजे कराइले । ब्रह्म आणिला विशर महान्तिङ्कि पोर नाएक कले । (28)

The king (Râmachandra) brought the Brahma from Kujanga in his 9th Aṅka and got the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrá constructed and consecrated in Khurda Kataka after performance of necessary sacrifices. The images were installed on the

Ratnasiṃhāsana of the Jagannātha temple on the 18th day of Karkataka, which was Shrāvaṇa, Shukla, Navamī in his 11th Aṅka.

According to astronomical calculation such a combination occurred on Sunday, the 17th July 1575 A. D. which was the 18th day of Karkataka, but the tithi was Shrāvaṇa, Shukla, Daśami, but not Navamī, as recorded in the Pāñji. (29) But this minor discrepancy is negligible as difference of one day in the calculation of tithi is sometimes marked in almanacs used in different parts of India. As regards the eleventh Aṅka year, it may be said here that Mukunda Deva having died in early part of 1568 A. D. the second Aṅka of Rāmachandra was calculated immediately from the date of his death and his third Aṅka was counted from 3. 9. 1568 A. D. which was a Bhādra Shukla Dvādaśī or Sunia. Calculating from that date the eleventh Aṅka of Rāmachandra ran from 74 to 75 in which Aṅka the deity of Lord Jagannātha was re-installed in the temple at Puri.

The complete defeat of Daud in the battle of Takarai (3-3-75) and his signing the treaty of Cuttack (on 12-4-1575) marked the downfall of the Afghan rule in Orissa (30) and Rāmachandra who was an able statesman took full advantage of the situation to revive the worship of Jagannātha to the overwhelming joy and inspiration of the Hindus all over India.

Rāmachandra styled as 'अभिनव इन्द्रद्युम्न' :

From the temple chronicle it is also known that Rāmachandra re-established the sanctity of the 'महा प्रसाद' which was very gladly taken from his hands near the Jaya Vijaya gate of the Jagannātha temple by the leading persons of different orthodox sections of the Hindu society like the Bhaṭṭa Miśras, religious mendicants and disciples For this noble work Mahārājā Rāmachandra Deva was honoured by them with the title of second Indradyumna.

This statement of the temple chronicle is corroborated by the following quotation made from the Sanskrit drama called 'श्रीकृष्ण-भक्तवात्सल्य चरितम्' attributed to Gajapati Rāmachandra himself in

which he takes pride in calling himself 'अभिनव इन्द्रद्युम्न'; the title conferred upon him by the leaders of the nation. This drama was staged at the time of the car festival of Jagannātha as a mark of great rejoicing because this festival could not be performed for some years due to non -existence of the deity of Lord Jagannātha in the temple since 1568 A. D. The passage of the drama runs thus : (31)

"नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः ।

सूत्रधारः—कमल निर्विशेष चरणकमलस्य कमलामुखकमलातुल—माध्विक लुब्ध मधुव्रतस्य नीलशैलशिरोमणेः भगवतः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य केनापि कारणेनावसर रसप्रयुक्तहृदयस्य सांप्रत मभिनवइन्द्रद्युम्ने गजपतौ श्रीराम रम्यचरणकमल रोलम्ब रामचन्द्र देव कोटि जन्मार्जित सुकृतप्रभाववति कृपावशतः प्रकटितदारुमयमधुरमूर्त्तेः पुण्डरीकाक्षस्य गुण्डिचामहोत्सवोऽयं तदनन्तरसंस्थं भगवन्त मनादिमध्यन्तमनन्तमालोक्य जन्म सफलयामि" ॥

Chānd Kavi an Oriya poet of the time Rāmachandra also eulogises him as "अभिनव इन्द्रद्युम्न अवतार"

नवदिनयात्रा शेषे जगन्निवासे ।
नीलाद्रि प्रवेशे रमा मनउल्लासे ॥
X X X X
अभिनव इन्द्रद्युम्न अवतारा ।
युगे युगे रहिले ए कीरति विस्तारा ।
रामचन्द्र नरपति दुर्लभ कीर्त्तिए
चान्द भणे इहपर लोके गतिए ।

A famous Sanskrit poet of Orissa named Haladhara Miśra who lived in the first half of the 17th century, has glorified Rāmachandra as 'नवइन्द्रद्युम्न" for reviving the worship of 'दारुब्रह्म' (Jagannātha) in the great temple on the blue mountain (नीलशैल) in the fifth introductory verse of his unpublished work called "वसन्तोत्सव महाकाव्यम्" (32) which is quoted below.

पुराकिल धरातलेऽखिल विपक्ष कक्षानलो ।
निरन्तर धरासुरप्रकररक्षणे दक्षिणः ।

दयानिधिरुदायुधोऽजनि स रामचन्द्राभिधो-
विधिपद सरोरुह द्वितय दत्तचित्तोनृपः ॥ (३)
सदाकिल जलाशया सुकोमलारणन्
कोकिलावली मुनिमनोविनोदनकरी धरामण्डले ।
हृया अपि मनोरया गतभया विशालादया
इभा अचल सन्निभा भुवनदुर्लभा यस्य तु ॥ (४)
दारुब्रह्म प्रवल सुकृतान्निर्गतोपाधिलब्ध्वा ।
विष्णोराज्ञामपि ममतनुमञ्जसोन्मिलयेति ।
इन्द्रद्युम्ना नव इति यशः प्रापयोऽस्यातिदिव्यां
नव्यां भव्यां X X X नोलशैले निवेश्य ॥ (५)

Though some letters of the above fifth verse referring to the revival of Jagannātha worship at Puri are lost due to worm-eaten condition of the manuscript still the other lines give a clear picture of the whole thing.

This title of 'अभिनव इन्द्रद्युम्न' was deemed as a symbol of great honour by Rāmachandra and his successors. So we actually find the use of the title of 'इन्द्रद्युम्नावतार' along with other conventional titles in one of the copper plate grants of Vira-Keśari Deva I. (33)

The revival of the worship of Lord Jagannātha in the great temple at Puri not long after the historic sacrilege by Kalapahar (1568 A. D.) by Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva enhanced his prestige and popularity among the people of Orissa in particular and the Hindus of India in general and he was hailed as a great national hero for this memorable achievement.

Rāmachandra a benevolent ruler :—

On the eve of occupation of the fort of Barabati by the Muslims the beautiful image of Sâkhigopāla, which was long being worshipped in a temple inside the fort was carried away to a safe place by its devotees. After the foundation of the fort of Khurda, in circa 1571-72 A. D. Rāmachandra built a temple where the deity

of Sākhīgopāla was installed and began to be worshipped by the people.

It is stated in the Madalāpāñji that Gaura Rani, the wife of Mansingh built the 'मुक्तिमण्डप' (34) within the enclosure of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. Baharistan-i- Ghaybi mentions that 'Rani Gaura was the chief wife of Raja Man-Singh. (35), Mansingh visited Puri in 1592. So it is quite possible that the 'मुक्तिमण्डप' at Puri was built in 1592-93 A. D. by his chief queen in commemoration of his visit to this great temple. We know from the Kāsī Khanda that there was a 'मुक्तिमण्डप' at Kāsī (36), a famous holy place of North India. The building of this at Puri by Mansingh greatly stimulated the revival of Hindu religion carried on by Rāmachandra Deva.

Ramachandra also founded some big 'Shasanas' or Brāhmaṇa villages like Vīra Rāmachandrapura, Shrī Rāmachandrapura, Pratāpa Rāmachandra, Vijaya Rāmachandrapura and Ubhayamukhī Rāmachandrapura, near the Jagannātha road which exist till today to commemorate his memory. His minister Dāsa Vidyādhara founded the Dāsa Vidyādharapura Shāsana.

Rāmachandra, a patron of learning :—

Rāmachandra became famous as the author of 'दुर्गोत्सव चन्द्रिका' which is a popular work in Orissa regarding the autumnal worship of Durgā and his name appears in the second introductory verse and last verse of this work e. g.

"सकलागम तत्त्वसार वेत्ता
सकलावानिव सर्वतोऽनवद्यः ।
तनुते भुवि रामचन्द्र देवः
चरणाम्भोरुह भक्ति मम्बिकायाः" ॥

last verse

"उद्ग्रीवः सततं विभावसुरसौभास्वान्भृशं लीयते,
नित्य वारिधि वारि विद्युति जगत् ख्यातैव सांत्कम्पते ।
श्रीराम क्षितिप प्रतापमहसि प्रत्यर्थि सीमन्तिनी
निश्वासैर्विसरालुनि त्रिजगति त्रस्यन्ति तेजांस्यपि" ॥ ६७ ॥

But the real author of this work was Vardhana Mahāpātra, the Rājaguru of the king and the son of the famous Kaviḍinḍima Jīvadeva Mahāpātra as stated before. Vardhana also wrote a grammar in Sanskrit which goes by the name of Vardhana Kārikā.

The authorship of a small Sanskrit drama called 'कृष्णभक्तवात्सल्य चरितम्' a passage from which is quoted before is also attributed to Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva I, but the real author of this work is still lost into oblivion.

Kavi Chintāmaṇi Miśra :—

Kavi Chintāmaṇi Miśra who was at first the court poet of Chakra Pratāpa also called 'चक्रेश' was the contemporary of Rāmachandra for some years. He was the author of 'सम्बरारिचरित, त्रिशिरावध (व्यायोग), कादम्बरीसार and other works and finished his 'वाङ्मय विवेक' in Kaliyuga year 4675 or 1574 A. D. (38)

Kavi Chandra Viśvanātha Sāmantarāya :—

The life history of Kavichandra Viśvanātha Sāmantarāya is described in the last chapter of the second part of 'Sūrisarvasva' compiled, by his illustrious descendant Kavibhūshaṇa Govinda Sāmantarāya (39). From this it is known that Viśvanātha was very famous before the invasion of Mān singh into Orissa and had been honoured with the title of "कविचन्द्र" by the king for his vast learning and poetic attainments.

The king whose name is not mentioned was no other than Gajapati Ramachandra Deva, in whose reign he lived. In the verses quoted below it is stated that Rājā Mānsingh who was very much pleased with the poet took him to the court of Akbar at Delhi, where he stayed for some time. In appreciation of his poetic attainments, he got valuable rewards such as money, land and ornaments from the Badshāh. After earning name and fame in the Mughal court, the famous Kavichandra returned to his native country and settled in Pratāpa Rāmachandrapura, e. g.

कालेप्रविष्टं नृप मानसिंहं ।
पाश्चात्यभूपैः सह वर्त्तमानम् ॥
अतोषयत्काव्य-रसोपहारैः ।
हरे इवात्युज्ज्वल रत्नसारैः ॥
नीत्वा सहामुं स नृपः स्वदेशं ।
सम्मेलयामास च पत्तिशाहा ॥
प्राज्ञैः कवीन्द्रैः परिचायितोऽसौ
कालं कियन्तं च निनाय तत्र ॥ १० ॥
ततो धनैर्भूमि-विभूषणाद्यैः
सु सत्कृतो हास्तिन पत्तिशाहा ॥
स्वदेशमागान् प्रथितप्रतिष्ठ-
स्तिष्ठन्ति यत्र स्वजना स्म सर्वे ॥ ११ ॥

× × ×

प्रतापपूर्वं किल रामचन्द्र-
पुरं पुरा शासनमध्युवास ।
सम्बन्धिभिस्तत्र निवासि विप्रैः
सुसत्कृतोऽसौ कविचन्द्र नामा ॥ १४ ॥

Rāja Mānsingh came to Puri in 1593 A. D. where he proclaimed Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva as the king of Khurda. There Kavichandra Viśvanātha got an opportunity to gain the sympathy and good will of Mānsingh by the display of his poetic talent. Mānsingh returned to Delhi and presented two nobles of Orissa in the Mughal court on the 23rd February, 1594. Poet Viśvanātha who accompanied Mānsingh must have reached Delhi at that time. It may be mentioned here that there was a famous Hindu Pandit in the court of Akbar, named Viśvanātha who finds mention along with others in the Ain-i-Akbari but who has not yet been identified (40). But in view of the facts stated above, the famous Hindu Pandit Viśvanātha mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl may safely be identified with Kavichandra Viśvanātha Sāmantarāya from Orissa, who as stated in the verses quoted above, had the good fortune of being honoured by the

Hāstina 'pattiśāhā' or Badashah of Delhi, through the kindness of Rājā Mānasiṃh whom he accompained. After returning from Delhi, Kavichandra settled with his family in the Brahmaṇa village Pratāpa Rāmachandrapura with his relatives, who held him in high esteem.

The names of two Oriya poets who adorned his court are known as yet. One of them was Chānd Kavi, whose verse has been quoted before. He also wrote a Kāvya in Oriya called 'Gopīchandana' an old and worm-eaten manuscript of which is preserved in our museum. The name of the other was Damodara Champatirāya three verses of whose find place in the work 'Types of ancient Oriya prose and poetry' (41). He may be identified with Dāmodara Champatirāya, son of Parikshā Baḍajenā Mahapatra who is stated in the Mādalāpāñji to have re-set the 'Nīlachakra' (blue discus) straight and upright on the Kalasa of the temple, as it had heen thrown down by a cyclone. The names of other Sanskrit and Oriya scholars of his reign which are now lost into oblivion are expected to come to light by the study of new manuscripts in our museum collection, the number of which is steadily increasing every year.

The territory of Rāmachandra Deva :—

By the time Rāmachandra Deva came to power and prominence, the Afghans of Bengal had been in possession of the entire costal region of Orissa between the rivers Hugli in the north and Kathjori in the south with the city of Cuttack as its capital. In the south the Sultan of Golconda who was very rapidly extending his supremacy was able to occupy the whole of the plain portion of south Orissa between the Godavarī and Riṣiku yā rivers within a period of 20 years, after the death of Gajapati Mukunda Deva. This is proved by the bilingual inscription of the General Sultan of Golconda of the Saka year 1512 or 1590 A. D., which is found on a hillock near the Lāṅgalavenī fort of Athagarh in the Gañjām district. (42) Rāmachandra who was the target of both the expanding powers had no other alternative to be satisfied with the annexation

of the small territory left unoccupied by the Muslims. In this connection the account collected by A. Sterling from Persian sources regarding the extent of the territory of Rāmachandra Deva may profitably be quoted here. "The jurisdiction left to the Rāja of Khurda extended from the Mahanadī to the borders of Kimedy in Gañjām, comprising 129 Killlah, Gerhs or hill estates exclusive of those situated within his own Zamindarī. The above number tallies exactly with that given in the Aein-I-Akbari, the author of which observes "In Cuttack are one hundred and twenty-nine brick forts (Killas) subject to the command of the Gajapati'.

X X X X X

Statement of Killajat in the jungles and hills under Zamidars, subject to tribute (Peshkash) according to the allotment of Rājā Mānsingh in 990 Amli (1593 A. D.). Under the Rājā of Khurda whose Manseb is that of 3500 are placed exclusive of Mehals, thirty-one Zamindars and two hundred Killahs.

The Rāja's own estate of Khurda one Zamindari contains 71 Killas viz.

1. Khurda, 2-Rathipur, 3-Bergerh, 4-Sisupāl, 5-Jharpareh, 6-Kupilipersad, 7-Paterpareh, 8-Nonepur, 9-Jamkhely, 10-Tapanga, 11-Chatarma, 12-Lal Sinh, 13-Gamgapareh, 14-Malipareh, 15-Dumduma 16-Palih, 10-Ramesar, 18-Maṇibandh,19-Mankgora, 20-Mangoi 21-Kormati, 22-Kalhmatia, 23.Kondlogerh, 24-Mangalajuri, 25-Jariparah, 26- Rorang, 27- Karm, 28- Malligerh, 29- Narsingpersad, 30-Barangerh, 31-Karang, 32-Mirtunjaygerh, 33-Kaimattia, 34-Usna, 35-Baranda, 36-Balbhaderpersad, 37-Nowailee 38-Banjgiri, 39-Tarkai, 40- Seraen Gerh, 41-Bangro, 42-Matiapareh, 43-Bhingro, 44-Koklo, 45-Karki, 46 53- eight Killas in Limbai, 54-Andharua Darutang, 55-Kolapakhar, 56-68 Tirah sowri thirteen Killas, 69-Nakhikot, 70. Kaipadda, 71. Bolegerh, 72. Gumhapur and 73. Muljher.

Under the Rājā's command are thirty zemindars of Hindu Sirdars, containing one hudred and twenty-nine Killas.

(a) Banki became a separate tributary state later.

(b) Dumpareh, became a separate tributary state later.

(c) Attari, included later in Khurda.

(d) Kalupareh, included later in Khurdā.

(e) Barrambah, became a separte tributary state later.

(f) Tigiria do do do

(g) Narasimhapur do do do

(h) Anghole do do do

(i) Talchere do do do

(j) Murdeswara, annexed to Khurda.

(k) Athgerh, became a separate tributary state do

(l) Dhenkanal, do do do

(m) Sirhinda became later a part of Bankee.

(n) Andhiyari
(o) Bajar cote
(p) Achal cote
— later separated from Khurda

(q) Nayagarh—Tributary state

(r) Khandiapareh ,,

(s) Ranpur ,,

(t) Daspālla ,,

(u) Banpur containing Suran, Roheri, Bakahir, Banpur, Parrikud Chattergerh.

(v) Ghoomser
(w) Kalicote
(x) Kurlo Atgerh Hatgerh
(y) Chagatti
(z) Moheri
(a) Shirgerh
(b) Palur
(c) Tikally Raghunathpur
— These 8 hill estates were separated from Orissa about 1730 A. D.

From the above list it is clear that the territory of Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva comprised the major portion of the present Puri district (excluding the Kothdesa area) the Athagarh subdivision and the Banki-Dompara area of the present Cuttack district, the

N. E. parts of the present Gañjām district and major portion of the Dheṅkānāl district of Orissa as constituted after 1947. The area of this will be approximately 15,000 square miles.

Aṅka years of Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva :—

From the discussion made in the first part of this article it is known that Aṅka years of Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva began to be counted all over Orissa just after the death of the Gajapati Mukunda Deva, the last independent sovereign ruler of Orissa. But it is not definitely known when Mukunda Deva died. But it seems quite plausible that he died some days before 3. 9. 1568, on which date fell Bhādra Shukla Dvādaśī or Sunia from which Aṅka years of the Orissan kings are calculated. The ground for this assumption is "In the winter of 1557-58, while Akbar was engaged far away in the siege of Chitor, Sulaimān sent an expedition to Orissa under his son Bayazid X X X (44). After this expedition into Orissa which took place in the beginning of 1568, there was complete chaos and anarchy for a period of some months during which Mukunda Deva was killed. Until the contrary is proved, his death may be placed in july 1568. In that case the 2nd Aṅka of Rāmachandra Deva was counted from that date up to 3. 9. 1568, on which date commenced his third Aṅka.

As regards the last Aṅka year of Rāmachandra, no direct evidence has yet been obtained. But this can be calculated with the help of the inscription written during the 11th Aṅka year of his son Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva in the Sarvamaṅgalā temple of Kasiari which has been read and published by Shri P. Acharya (45). This was written in Shakābda 1537 Samasta 11 Aṅka, śrāhi, Kumbha di 13 ne sudi Shukravāra which corresponds to the 9th February 1616 A. D. which was friday, the 13th day of Kumbha and the Shukla dvitīyā, of the lunar month of Phālguna. (47) So the eleventh Aṅka of Purushottama ran from 25. 9. 1615 to 14. 8. 1616 both being 'Sunia' days. Calculating backwards it is found that his second Aṅka ran from 24th August, 1707. Therefore Rāmachandra

Deva might have died either on this date or some days after the Sunia of 1607. Thus the Aṅka years ot Rāmachandra Deva may be calculated according to the list given below :—

ANKA YEARS OF RAMACHANDRA DEVA — I

	From	3. 9. 1568	day of 'Sunia'		-3rd Anka
	,,	23. 8. 1569	do	do	-4th Anka
	,,	11. 9. 1570	do	do	-5th Anka
	,,	1. 9. 1571	do	do	-7th Anka
	,,	20. 8. 1572	do	do	-8th Anka
	,,	8. 9. 1573	do	do	-9th Anka
	,,	29. 8. 1574	do	do	-10th Anka
	,,	18. 8. 1575	do	do	-11th Anka
	,,	4. 9. 1576	do	do	-12th Anka
	,,	25. 8. 1577	do	do	-13th Anka
	,,	14. 8. 1578	do	do	-14th Anka
	,,	2. 9, 1579	do	do	-15th Anka
	,,	22. 8. 1580	do	do	-17th Anka
	,,	10. 9. 1581	do	do	-18th Anka
	,,	30. 8. 1582	do	do	-19th Anka
	,,	20. 8. 1583	do	do	-21st Anka
	,,	6. 9. 1584	do	do	-22nd Anka
	,,	26. 8. 1585	do	do	-23rd Anka
(A)	,,	15. 8. 1586	do	do	-24th Anka
	,,	3. 9. 1587	do	do	-25th Anka
	,,	23. 8. 1588	do	do	-27th Anka
	,,	11, 9. 1589	do	do	-28th Anka
	,,	1. 9. 1590	do	do	-29th Anka
	,,	21. 8. 1591	do	do	-31st Anka
	,,	8. 9. 1592	do	do	32nd Anka
	,,	28. 8. 1593	do	do	-33rd Anka
(B)	,,	17. 8. 1594	do	do	-34th Anka
	,,	5, 9, 1595	do	do	-35th Anka

	From	24. 8. 1596	day of 'Sunia'		-37th Anka
(C)	„	14. 8. 1597	do	do	-38th Anka
	„	2. 9. 1598	do	do	-39th Anka
	„	23. 8. 1599	do	do	-41st Anka
	„	6, 9. 1600	do	do	-42nd Anka
	„	30. 8. 1601	do	do	-43rd Anka
	„	19, 8, 1602	do	do	-44th Anka
	„	7, 9, 1603	do	do	-45th Anka
(D)	„	26. 8. 1604	do	do	-47th Anka
	„	15, 8, 1605	do	bo	-48th Anka
	„	3. 9, 1606	do	do	-49th Anka

(A) This is year of the bilingual Baripada Museum stone inscription. It cannot be fully verified.

(B) and (C) The Shakābda and Yugābda given in the two.Srijanga stone pillar inscriptions when calculated according to years of the Christian era tally with the Aṅka years mentioned in both.

(D). The exact date of Kasiari Sarvamaṅgalā temple inscription which is 'Samasta' 47 Aṅka Shrāhi Makara di 3 ne, su 5, Somavāra 1527 Shaka, corresponds to 31st December, 1604 A. D. Monday which was the 3rd day of Makara and Kṛshna Panchami of the lunar month of Māgha. Only 'Su' is read by mistake. This date fell in the 47th Aṅka of Rāmachandra Deva, which ran from 26. 8. 1604 to 15. 8. 1605. This furnishes an exact authentic date to calculate backwards the Aṅka years of the king.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF GAJAPATI RĀMACHANDRA DEVA-I

I

Bilingual stone inscription of the Baripada Museum (47) Hindi text

line १ संवत् १५४५ साके १५०६ सन ६६४
„ २ समए जैष्ट पूर्णिमा १५ गुरुवासरे
„ ३ अमल श्रीकुतुव साहि फिरोजसा नोहानि
„ ४ कृत श्रीराजा विसन्त जिउ मानिक चंद गो—

line ५ हलो तमुल पिपारा कलोकाले कुआ। मा
,, ६ गै हटे। यो सब्बारे सोपेहि रकम कुआलगाहे
,, ७ रहु सांहं अउर कमन लगाव्ये दुरी करतेके
,, ८ ह सोमंजहैं मुसलमान कहत—
,, ६ लाकोहै हिदुकह गोब्राह्मण मारहत्या ।

(Oriya Text)

Line १ सम्वत् १३४५ साके १५०६ सन ६६४ समस्त २४ अङ्क
,, २ श्राह्री रीसभ दि २० सु १५ गुरुवारे आमुल श्री
,, ३ कुत्तग साहा फिरोजखाँ लोहाणि करीतं
,, ४ कुआ श्रीराजावसन्त जाँउ माणिकचन्द्र गोह्लो
,, ५ तमुळ पिपरा कालकाले जेवे कुत्तागें आहि
,, ६ सेहि प्रमाणंकु लग करिव जेवे एहि प्रमाणे
,, ७ लङ्घन करिव तेवे मुसलमानकु त-
,, ८ लाक हत हींदुकु.गोब्राह्मण हतः ।

II

Srijanga stone pillar inscription (now standing on the bank of the old tank) (48 A)

(on two sides)

श्रीधर्म सरण	चालुकी मकुन्द
जूगाब्व ४६६६	देव अन्ते
माकाब्व १५१७	जवन वरस २८
दङ्तारि विसु	एकवर पातीसा
आलमुपुत्र	हौं राजपुत्र
अचुत वली	मानसीघं रजा
आर सीघं	कटेक पच्छीमे
महापात्र	परङ्ग सुरीदा
पुस्करणी	थीत कटेक

देले स	शूद्रगजपति
ग्या अच्युतसाम्र	राजा राम
ए मण्ड़लेएका	चन्द्र देव
नाएके	३४ अङ्क श्राही ।

III

Sriganga stone pillar inscription (now preserved in the Orissa State Museum) (48 B)

(on four sides)

धर्म सरण	रणोस	कुलचलुकि	कटेक पच्छि
जुगाव्व ४६६६	ग्याअ	मकुन्द	मे परङ्ग
वाकाव्व १५२०	चुतग-	देव अन्ते	खुरीदा थी
दइतारि वि	गां ए	जवन भोग	त कटेक
सुआलसु	मण्ड़ले	वरस ३०	शूद्र रजा
पुत्र अचुत	एका ना	डिलिश्वर	गजपिरा
वलिआर सि	एक ए	एकवरपा	म चन्द्र दे
घं कृत पुस्क		तिसा होइ	व ३७ अङ्क
		रजपुत्र मा	ए दिन सरि
		न सिंह रजा	ए पुस्करणी
		आमल ओडिशा	खोला ।
		ज करिव	

IV (49)

,, १ श्रीशुभमस्तु श्रीमानसिंह महाराजाङ्कर विजे शुभराज्ये समस्त ४७ अङ्क श्राही ॥

,, २ मकर दि ३ ने सु ५ सोमवार १५२६ शके कुल्यसेन मामर श्रीगोविन्द भुयाँङ्कर प्रपौत्र

,, ३ श्रीरघुनाथ भुयाँ पौत्र श्रीयदुभुयाँङ्कर पुत्र श्रीमान् श्रीचक्रधर भुयाँ

,, ४ श्रीमङ्गला ठाकुराणीङ्कर आग्यां प्रमाणे प्रति आदेश हेला वे X X

,, ५ लइवे ऐ देउल अध्यक्ष X X विकलदास

,, ६ न कमिल वसुराम कि तु X X

,, ७ ए करण हरिदास ।

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1. History of Orissa p. 348.
2. History of Orissa p. 350.
3. Muhammadan conquest of Orissa J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIII, p. 23.
4. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission Vol. XXII, 1945. p. 87.
5. O. H. R. J. Vol. II, Part 3 & 4, p. 93.
6. Journal of the Orissa Academy part III pp. 21-32.
7. History of the Rise of the Muhammedan power in India by M. K. Ferishta Vol. III p. 466.
8. O. H. R. J. Vol, VI, pp. 39-42
9. Akbarnama Vol. III., p. 941.
10. Ibid.
11. Sahajpal is the same as Sahajaparikataka of the Ganga period which stood near Delang Rly. Station. Khargarh is present Aragarh near Khurda road, Kalupada stands near Motri Rly. Station. Bhunmal is present Bhuinmul near Delanga and Longarh is identical with the modern Lunigarh near the Luni river.
12. Akbarnama Vol, III p. 967—968.
13. The Jhankara (Oriya monthly) Vol. IV No. 2 p. 200.
14. (a) Gotam can be identified with 'Kotam' which stands five miles to the east of Srungavarapukota town of the Vizagpatam District of the Andhra State. (Vide Sewell's List of Antiquarian Remains Vol, I. p-14).
(b) Kokola is the same as Garh Kokala lying to the east of the Chilika lake near the confluence of the Bhargavi river.
This place was of strategic importance as it stood on the road from South Orissa to North Orissa and finds mention as such in the गङ्गवंशानुचरित चम्पू by Vasudeva Rath Somayaji written in 1762 A. D.
(c) Ghodadia is present Ghoradia near Delang Rly. Station.
(d) Mallipada was an old fort not far from Khurda town.
15. The Madalapanji, Prachi Edition, p. 62.
16. The Journal of the Orissa Academy, Vol. III. No, I. p. 25.
17. Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 967.
18. This old manuscript was collected by Sri Paramananda Acharya from the Mayurbhanja District.

19. Chapter XVII of 'कोशलानन्दमहाकाव्यम्' two manuscripts of which are preserved in the Orissa State Museum.
20. Quted from the manuscript of 'स्वरपद्धति' preserved in our Museum.
21. Prachi Edition.
22. Ain-i-Akbari Vol. II, p. 128.
23. Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikkh Vol. II. p 166.
24. History of the Afgans translated by H. Dorn. p. 181.
25. The Karrani and Lohani rule in Bengal vide 'Bengal past and present' Vol, LXXII, No, 135, p. 22.
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27. O. H. R. J. Vol. II, pts, 3 & 4, p. 98.
28. Madalapanji, p. 62-63.
29. The Indian Ephemeris by Pillai, Vol, V p. 353.
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31. Quoted from its manuscript preserved in the Orissa State Museum.
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37. Quoted from 'दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका'
38. Proceedings of the 12th A. I. Oriental Conference, 1946 p. 228.
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41 'प्राचीनगद्यपद्यादर्श' Prachi Edition p. 118-119.
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46. An Indian Ephemeris by Pillai Vol, VI. p. 34. es
47. Orissa Historical Research Journal Vol, II, No, 3 & 4, p. 98.
48. A & B The Journal of the Orissa Academy—Vol. III.
49. Raja Mansingh from some Oriya and Persian records of Orissa by Sri P. Acharya,—Proceedings of Indian Historical Rccords Commission Vol, XXII., p. 89.

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ऋ = ṛ; ए, े = e; ऐ, ै = ai; ओ, ो = o; औ, ौ = au.
(Anusvāra) = ṃ : (Visarga) = ḥ
Jihvā mūliya = x Avagraha—'

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	=	ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	=	cha	chha	ja	jha	ña
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	=	ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa
त	थ	द	ध	न	=	ta	tha	da	dha	na
प	फ	ब	भ	म	=	pa	pha	ba	bha	ma
	य	र	ल	व	=	ya	ra	la	va	
	श	ष	स	ह	=	śa	ṣa	sa	ha	
				ळ	=	ḷa				

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